

"OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES?"

**An Exploratory Analysis Of Community-Based Policing
In Rural Alberta**

M.A. Thesis

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**“OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES?”
AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING
IN RURAL ALBERTA**

BY

MURRAY DYCK

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of
Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree
of
MASTER OF ARTS**

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ABSTRACT

In recent years police organizations around the world have made a shift in their philosophy and style of policing service delivery. This shift has been away from the reactive, incident driven style of police work largely referred to as the professional, bureaucratic, or traditional model of policing. Instead, police agencies have adopted a community-based approach which emphasizes a police-community partnership in order to facilitate a long-term problem solving approach for dealing with community problems.

As a progressive and modern police organization, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has also made this shift in their mode of policing service delivery. Since 1989 the RCMP has made the adoption and implementation of community-based policing one of its top priorities. The purpose of this thesis is to conduct an exploratory analysis of RCMP community-based policing by seeking to answer three primary questions surrounding this issue.

The study itself is composed of three distinct stages of research using a qualitative research methodology. This study is facilitated by way of an analysis of RCMP policy documents, telephone interviews with key informants, and in-person interviews with front-line RCMP respondents in rural Alberta.

The research indicates that while the adoption of community-based policing has meant a change in the practices of the RCMP at the rural detachment level, there is still room for improvement in this regard. A significant finding is that many front-line members of the RCMP steadfastly believe that community-based policing has always been practised by the Force, while other evidence clearly shows that this is not the

case. It has also been found that recent neo-Foucaultian theories of governance and risk management provide a useful framework for the analysis of the development and current state of community-based policing efforts of the RCMP.

This thesis concludes that while substantial progress has been made by the RCMP to adopt and implement community-based policing practices over the past several years it is important that these efforts continue. This is necessary in order to ensure that the rhetoric of community-based policing becomes a reality in the lives of the members of the RCMP across this country.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	5
Lack Of Research	6
Defining Community-Based Policing	9
The Community Concept	16
The Philosophy Of Community-Based Policing	21
Rural And Small Town Policing	23
The RCMP And Community-Based Policing	26
Community-Based Policing And The Mission Statement	29
Community-Based Policing And Theories Of Governance	34
3. METHODOLOGY	44
Research Design	44
Method Of Analysis	48
Sampling	49
Researcher's Role Management	53
Generalizability	55
4. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF POLICY DOCUMENTS	57
Document #1	59
Document #2	65
Document #3	68
Document #4	72
Document #5	74

5.	ANALYSIS OF KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS	80
	“What Is Community-Based Policing?”	83
	“Why Did The RCMP Adopt Community-Based Policing?”	89
	“How Has Community-Based Policing Been Implemented?”	92
	“Does Community-Based Policing Represent A Change?”	97
6.	ANALYSIS OF IN-PERSON INTERVIEWS	101
	“What Is Community-Based Policing?”	107
	“Why Did The RCMP Adopt Community-Based Policing?”	110
	“How Has Community-Based Policing Been Implemented?”	114
	“Does Community-Based Policing Represent A Change?”	118
7.	DISCUSSION	121
8.	CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	128
	APPENDIX A	133
	APPENDIX B	137
	APPENDIX C	138
	REFERENCES	140

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the community-based policing efforts of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). There are three distinct but interconnected objectives of this particular study.

This study first strives to determine why the current model of community-based policing was adopted by the RCMP. It is argued that the international mass movement by police agencies away from the professional and bureaucratic model of policing to the popular community-based model is a relatively recent phenomenon. As the RCMP is a police agency which prides itself on being at the cutting edge of innovation, in police strategy and technology, the Force has made the formal adoption of community-based policing one of its top priorities over the past several years. An examination of the underlying reasons behind this development is essential for this thesis.

The second objective of the research is an effort to determine the ways in which the Force has attempted to live up to its commitment to this particular philosophy. In other words "how has community-based policing been implemented?" As it shall be explained, there are many strategies and programs worldwide that have been implemented in the name of community-based policing; however, here the writer is solely concerned with examining those practices and strategies undertaken in the name of community-based policing by the RCMP.

The third important goal of the research is to shed some light on the issue of

whether community-based policing has meant a substantial change in the daily operations of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Thus, it is necessary not only to assess why and how community-based policing has been implemented but also whether these changes in policing, if any, represent a fundamental shift from the way the work has been done in years past. In other words, is community-based policing nothing more than "old wine in new bottles?" (Rosenbaum et al, 1998).

To this end it is necessary to narrow the parameters of the study in order to bring the research down to a manageable level. In particular the writer's focus is on RCMPolicing at the rural detachment level. There are several reasons for focussing the research efforts here, all of which stem from practical and pragmatic reasons related to the

soliciting the thoughts and opinions of these members on the issue of RCMP community-based policing in general, these in-person interviews also enabled a valuable comparison to be made between those respondents at the policy-making level.

This thesis has found that the decision to adopt a new philosophy of policing was based on a recognition of the inherent weaknesses of the professional model of policing, and its incompatibility with the needs and goals of the RCMP in the present day. The findings also demonstrate that the philosophy of community-based policing has been implemented through a variety of measures throughout the province of Alberta and the nation as a whole. It is also clear, however, that the Force has not been completely successful in this regard and the implementation process is on-going. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the research indicates that several rural detachment members steadfastly believe that the RCMP has always been doing community-based policing and in their minds it does not represent a fundamental change from previous years. This definitely conflicts with the views of those respondents at the policy-making level. It appears that while community-based policing may not be a totally new concept in the world of the RCMP there are disparate and conflicting perceptions of what this concept truly is.

These essential findings are detailed within the body of the thesis which follows. For now the attention must turn to an examination of the writer's research based literature review. As in any such undertaking, the writer's ability to construct a viable research project is based on a substantial review of the applicable literature on the subject at hand. The literature review in Chapter Two provides an examination of the most important and relevant issues in the field of community-based policing including an overview of

theoretical considerations. In particular, the applicability of theories of governance and risk management is examined in relation to a discussion of community-based policing. It has been determined that the governmentality literature has proven useful as a framework for analysis with respect to the research findings in this thesis.

Chapter Three contains a detailed discussion of the methodological approach utilized in this study. The writer's research findings are then presented in Chapters Four to Six, along with a critical discussion centering on whether this thesis' key questions have been answered and what the answers are. Chapter Seven includes a discussion on precisely how applicable theories of governance are as a theoretical framework for analysis in the writer's efforts to examine community-based policing. Finally the thesis concludes with a brief discussion of its contributions for sociological analysis on the subject of community-based policing and possible directions for future research in this area.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW

As Polowek (1995) notes, it is important to conduct a literature search like the one that follows, as this enables researchers to make the best use of previous work in the field under investigation. Through this literature review, theories and concepts related to the issue of community-based policing can be explored, and generalizations that may apply to the issues under consideration can then be examined.

A review of the literature on community-based policing reveals there are competing schools of thought on the issue as a whole and on the viability of conducting research in this area. Some argue that community-based policing in its true form does not exist and that a dramatic shift in most police practices is required in order to embrace the concept of community-based policing (Thurman and McGarrell, 1997; Trojanowicz et al, 1998). Others contend that community-based policing does not represent a radical new vision of policing and is therefore “nothing new under the sun” (Braiden, 1987), while still others argue that implementing true community-based police initiatives does not require a fundamental shift in the way the police currently operate (Wasson and Crawford, 1975).

Several important themes have been identified by the writer while researching this topic. The following review will serve to highlight the current state of the research, or lack thereof, that has been done in this particular area. It will also show that despite persistent attempts to arrive at an agreed upon concrete definition for community-based policing, achieving consensus on such a definition seems fraught with difficulty. However, despite

this lack of consensus, the writer believes that a suitable working definition of community-based policing has been located within the academic and policing literature. Furthermore, for the purposes of this thesis, locating such a definition enables the researcher to measure what the RCMP has been doing in the name of community-based policing.

The literature review also reveals how important an understanding of community is in this model of policing, and conveys an appreciation of what the community-based policing philosophy represents. In addition this literature review also contrasts rural and small town policing with community-based policing in general, followed by a discussion of the importance and relevance of community-based policing for the operational efforts of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the present day.

As previously stated one of the most important issues raised in the literature review is that there does not exist a clear and identifiable theory of community-based policing. As such, the final section on community-based policing and theories of governance is highly informative, as these theories provide a useful analytic framework for this study.

Lack Of Research

The greatest impetus for the writer's decision to analyse community-based policing in the RCMP is the fact that very little research has been undertaken in this area. In fact the most prevalent finding in the literature on community-based policing in Canada is that there is a genuine lack of active and ongoing research in this field. This is somewhat ironic considering that the policy makers and practitioners of the modern criminal justice system, including the police, are increasingly being called upon to explain and account for their

efforts. One of the consequences of the widespread popular interest and implementation of community-based policing is that it has generated intense pressures for evaluation (Polowek, 1995; Conference Board of Canada, 2000).

Indeed, the community policing model itself came into being in response to the need to use police resources more efficiently. This need for greater efficiency was identified by evaluative studies conducted on police programs. These evaluations in turn served to identify community-based policing as "the wave of the future." As evaluation research has played a significant role in the evolution of police work over the past several years, it is obvious that much more work is required in this area to ensure that the promise of community policing is fulfilled (Linden, 1991). However, Murphy (1999a) reveals that as a result of an apparent lack of interest in Canada for government supported police research, the findings from American and British studies are relied upon heavily in order to assess and evaluate Canadian police strategies such as community policing. Indeed, a substantial amount of the literature on Canadian community-based policing is not entirely relevant as the research findings do not come from Canadian studies. In fact, researchers and scholars seeking to write about the Canadian experience are dependent on research conducted in other western democracies, particularly the United States and Britain (Seagrave, 1997). The importance of conducting research unique to Canadian policing efforts is perhaps best understood when one considers that research-based knowledge serves to stimulate public and government debate on changing policing goals and policies (Murphy, 1999a). Ongoing evaluative research on policing in Canada is sorely lacking. Assessments of community-based policing efforts are clearly needed but these studies

must be made wholly relevant to the Canadian experience.

It is with this understanding that this current study has been approached, but the question of why there have been so few evaluations of Canadian community-based policing remains. One answer to this question is found in the following statement:

It is apparent...there is a strong commitment to the philosophy of community policing in this country...The driving force behind the implementation of this philosophy has been strong police leadership which has offered a community-based alternative to the existing professional model of policing...The ongoing monitoring of the new initiatives is virtually non-existent, although there is a stated intention in all police agencies to fully monitor these when they are in operation throughout the system. A major impediment to this is the lack of resources within police organizations to be used for this evaluation process (Kennedy, 1993).

It would seem that while there is a strong desire on the part of Canadian police practitioners to put community-based policing into practice they simply are unable to conduct follow-up evaluative studies of their programs in order to ensure they are being properly implemented. However, this explanation by itself fails to provide a complete answer to why there is a lack of research on community-based policing.

A more complete understanding of the problem is achieved when one considers that while community policing in Canada clearly invites attention by scholars there are few academics involved with police research and even fewer involved in pursuing evaluations of policing. Furthermore, due to the very nature of community policing it is difficult to prove that a philosophy works (Leighton, 1994). It has also been stated that while many within police and policy fields may proclaim the success of community-based policing there has been little follow-up by way of empirical evaluation. One reason for this is that as a

concept, community-based policing is difficult to test "...because its goals and objectives, which should be defined and measured as indicators of success, are unknown" (Seagrave, 1997).

Leighton's (1994) observation that community-based policing is often thought of as a philosophy raises the next important issue found in the review of the literature - how community-based policing is conceptualized and defined. The following section details the different ways that community-based policing has been defined by police practitioners and social scientists alike. While a great deal has been written on community-based policing over the years, it is obvious that there remains some debate and confusion over exactly how this concept should be defined. As Seagrave (1997), has observed, community-based policing is a concept frequently discussed but rarely defined or analysed in depth. It is the writer's belief that the brief analysis of this concept offered below highlights the difficulty that both academics and police professionals face when attempting research in this area.

Defining Community-Based Policing

The first thing that needs to be clarified when addressing this issue, is that the terms community policing, community-oriented policing, and community-based policing are used synonymously (Seagrave, 1997; Leighton, 2000). As in the applicable literature where these terms can be, and are, used interchangeably, so too in this study are these terms and their use synonymous. For the purpose of this thesis the term most frequently utilized due to the preference of the writer is community-based policing. However, the question of

how community-based policing is defined and conceptualized is another matter entirely. While the idea of community-based policing has swept across North America (Kelling and Moore, 1988), in practice the term has been defined in many different ways, some of them seemingly contradictory (Weisheit et al, 1994).

It is important to note that although community-based policing has been the subject of academic interest for nearly 20 years there is some confusion over what it actually is. It is a concept that has been used to refer to a wide range of programs and activities and as a result it means many different things to many different people. As Greene and Mastrofski (1988) note: "It is at once an ideology, an organizing framework for many police activities, and a set of individual programs."

From this statement alone one can see that community-based policing can be described and conceptualized in a variety of ways, one of which is as a set of programs. The view of community-based policing as merely a myriad of various strategies and programs is a common one. Greene (1989) refers to community-based policing as "a new patrol strategy," and observes that such strategies "have currently captured the imagination of the local police and the public." While this view may be widespread, it is not altogether accurate. Due to the lack of a concise and concrete definition of community-based policing, one must be careful in referring to a particular strategy or any specific initiative as community-based policing. Indeed, the very nature of community-based policing implies that any initiative receiving support from the police and the community can fall under the rubric of community-based policing (Greene, 1989; Seagrave, 1997).

There is an alternate, and perhaps more appropriate, way of looking at particular

strategies and programs that are referred to as community-based policing. It can be said that while there may not be any single articulated form of community policing, police agencies are engaged in a diverse set of practices and are united in the general idea that the police and the public need to become better partners in order to control crime, disorder, and a host of other problems (Weisel and Eck, 1994). This position is quite similar to that held by Rosenbaum et al. (1998) who argue that although definitional problems abound, it is a mistake to conclude that community policing is all rhetoric and no substance. While community policing has been implemented through a variety of strategies and practices, the concept appears to be supported by a common set of guiding principles and elements.

One of the most prominent community-based policing strategies is crime prevention initiatives. As these initiatives and programs are widely recognized and referred to as community-based policing it is important to briefly discuss the nature and purpose of these programs. Commonly associated with community relations programs, crime prevention programs are designed to reduce levels of crime and increase citizens' perceptions of safety. The existence of some of these programs pre-dates the rise of community-based policing as the dominant rhetoric in the field of policing and police research (Seagrave, 1997).

While a multitude of various crime prevention programs have been created over the years, Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1994) have identified three types of crime prevention programs: primary, secondary, and tertiary. A "primary" crime prevention program seeks to identify the conditions in which criminal offences take place and to alter these conditions

in order to reduce the likelihood of a crime being committed. Classic examples of primary crime prevention programs are Neighbourhood Watch and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). "Secondary" crime prevention programs focus on areas and locales that produce crime and other problems. Examples of this type of program include targeting high crime areas and educational crime prevention programs in schools. Finally, there are "tertiary" crime prevention programs which are designed to intervene with youth and adult offenders in order to reduce their likelihood of re-offending. This type of program is typically operated by the criminal justice system and serves to deter and rehabilitate offenders. While the level of police involvement in a given program varies depending on which category it falls into, the police are involved in all three types of crime prevention programs (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994; Greene, 1998).

The extent to which crime prevention programs by themselves can serve to define community-based policing is inconclusive. There is no question that crime prevention programs promote police-community contacts and make the community more aware of crime prevention initiatives (Seagrave, 1997). However, despite the popularity of crime prevention programs as a form of community-based policing, these programs must be recognized as only one such form. Although it can be successfully argued that a specific initiative like crime prevention programs does represent community-based policing, it would be wrong to say that such programs by themselves actually define community-based policing per se.

The above examples illustrate that there is considerable confusion over how this concept is being interpreted, enacted, and defined (Seagrave, 1997). The reason for this

confusion lies in the fact that **community-based policing is an elastic term, often used to provide a superficial coherence to a wide and disparate set of policing activities and various forms of police-community dialogue. The phrase has become an umbrella term for almost any policing innovation. As a result, too often, community-based policing has become a buzz phrase and a panacea for almost all social problems facing the police and society (Weatheritt, 1988; Trojanowicz et al, 1998).**

Community-based policing can be seen as a very trendy term with numerous definitions. As Rosenbaum et al (1998) have put it, the popularity and ambiguity of this concept is both a blessing and a curse. The theoretical imprecision surrounding community-based policing has contributed largely to its criticism. They further state that, "The challenge is to determine what community policing is (and is not) and to differentiate it from traditional policing. Is community policing, in practice, truly ground breaking or simply 'old wine in new bottles'?" The concern that prompts this question is whether the police have truly moved away from the traditional/professional model, or simply maintained this model and repackaged it under the immensely popular title of community-based policing (Seagrave, 1997).

Community-based policing is difficult to evaluate empirically and as a result it remains a broad ideological phenomenon with a loosely linked set of objectives and varied programmatic strategies. It has also been observed that as a variety of police initiatives can be loosely grouped under the term "community policing", the term has been overused to the point of being of little assistance in describing police policies and programs (Murphy, 1988; Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1994). This theoretical imprecision and conceptual

ambiguity which surrounds community-based policing has fostered a certain sense of scholarly frustration. This frustration has brought some scholars to the seemingly pragmatic conclusion that because community policing can mean many things to many different people, the success of community-based policing will never be evaluated (Bayley, 1994). This statement should not be interpreted, however, to mean that evaluative studies of policing should not be undertaken. Rather, the argument here is that researchers should undertake such studies, keeping in mind that efforts to succinctly define and conceptualize community-based policing per se may be an exercise in futility.

However, this argument has certainly not precluded such definitions from emerging. One of the most widespread and popular definitions of community-based policing is that of: "...a multi-dimensional model from which changes in policing strategy, organizational structure and organizational culture can occur...At the core of community policing is the concept of a police/community partnership" (Solicitor General of Canada, 1991). This definition identifies the two basic premises of community-based policing which are (1) a greater involvement on the part of the police with the community and (2) changes in the structure of the police organization itself (Murphy, 1988; Seagrave, 1997; Reed, 1999). Clearly then, community-based policing not only represents a shift in the key values underpinning police work, but as Trojanowicz et al (1998) have observed, also involves the restructuring of police agencies and a rethinking of the organization of police work.

This shift in values, and the apparent need to change the structure of the police organization, seems to represent a new and innovative approach in the way police work is conducted. It is important to realize, however, that community-based policing is not a

totally new idea. It has already been noted that the community-based policing model became prominent in response to the heavily bureaucratic police organization of the 20th century and its various associated social, political, and economic problems. The move to community-based policing was prompted by a recognized need to encourage community involvement in order to enable the police to deal with community problems in a proactive, innovative, and creative way. While some would say community-based policing is a development of the last twenty years, it may be more appropriate to view it at least in part as a renewal or re-emergence of the original style of policing first envisioned in 19th century Britain. As was the case then, in the present day with community-based policing, the overall goal is to develop a police-community partnership for dealing with crime and related problems (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990; Seagrave, 1997).

Thus it is a common misperception that community-based policing is a totally new and modern innovation in law enforcement practices. The primary reason for this misperception, as demonstrated above, is the fact that a clear definition for community-based policing has not yet emerged. There is even considerable debate over whether or not such a definition will ever be found. It comes then as no real surprise that community-based policing is often thought of as a "new approach" rather than a "re-emergence" of an old idea. After all, it is not unusual to assume something is new when you cannot give it a clear name or definition (Lab, 1997).

There are several innovative and helpful suggestions for trying to understand what community-based policing really is. Leighton (2000) has stated that as we often define what it means to be Canadian by contrasting ourselves with American society, so too can

a better appreciation for community-based policing be achieved, by contrasting it with the traditional or professional model of policing. Ultimately, however, there is no question that a great deal of imprecision surrounds the concept of community-based policing. As a result, what it means to researchers and police practitioners alike is open to a certain amount of interpretation (Seagrave, 1997). No doubt this has had, and will continue to have, an impact on research in this area of policing. Perhaps the best that one can hope for is merely a consensus on an ideal type of community-based policing. For the sake of future research efforts the significance of this absence of a clear definition of community-based policing must not be underestimated.

The Community Concept

No review of the literature on community-based policing would be complete without addressing the importance of the community. It has been revealed that the most defining aspect of the community-based policing model is the partnership between the police and the community at large. While the efforts of police personnel in this endeavour can be readily gauged, the same cannot be said for the so-called "community." After all, what is meant by this term? How does one define who or what constitutes a community? How important is such a definition in the context of the current discussion? These questions can best be addressed by revealing what is said on this issue in the academic literature on community-based policing.

The role of the community within the context of community-based policing has been much discussed and analysed. Unfortunately, just as the efforts to concretely define

"community-based policing" have been inconclusive, so too have efforts to reach a consensus on the meaning of "community" failed. As Rosenbaum et al (1998) explain, in the early-to mid-1980's the focus of community-based policing was on the community, but the term "community" when used in the context of policing is problematic. It has been discovered by practitioners and researchers alike that the "community" cannot be easily defined as a single, unidimensional, or monolithic social group. Furthermore, the observation has been made that before one can consider the nature of community policing, it is necessary to know what is meant by the idea of community. Competing and different definitions of "community" present a real problem, for when it comes time to design a community-based policing program, any police strategy could be implemented and called "community" policing (Reed, 1999). Thus it can be seen that a potential obstacle to truly understanding community-based policing is the difficulty involved in attempting to understand the meaning of community.

As the history of the concept on community in sociology suggests, it has been a gloss for notions of integration and moral solidarity. While sociologists have valiantly sought to define community operationally and empirically, it remains well-embedded in commonsensical ideas that make it a symbol for vast, undifferentiated, and vague notions (Manning, 1988). The wholesale endorsement of community as both the means and the end of community-based policing presupposes agreement about the conceptual and empirical validity of community as an identifiable and viable concept. The image of community as it has been used in much of the literature, has been criticized for being nostalgic, consensual, geographically limited, and value laden. Leighton (2000) believes

that the notion of community-based policing is easily rendered useless when the meaning and interpretation of a “community” relies on geographical space such as neighbourhoods. This position is similar to that held by Murphy (1988), who suggests that a more realistic and useful conception of community is that of “...a community of interests, united on a temporal basis, in relation to specific interests, requiring some degree of mutual collaboration and agreement.”

While this may seem appropriate, such a definition can be criticized on the grounds that it is not geographically limited. This demonstrates that the term “community” is often used to refer to collectivities that do not share a common place. In such a context, this use of the term is not useful for the purposes of policing and crime prevention, because place is extremely relevant, and all localities (regardless of the quality of interactions) must be served. Therefore, it is argued that the most significant defining characteristics of community includes: people, a level of interaction, shared ties, and a specific locality (Duffee, 1997). The difference between these two positions demonstrates the lack of consensus on how best to operationally define “community.” However, there is no questioning the need for such a definition.

The need to define community and establish its existence as the basis for order maintenance policing has been identified as a major problem for the community-based policing model. As a result, and despite the difficulty involved, researchers continue their efforts to adequately define this concept. Mastrofski (1988) offers the following:

On a conceptual level, the community policing model would seem to require the following as a minimum standard. ‘A basis for police action requires a demonstration that a group of

people--say a neighbourhood--shares a definition of what constitutes right order, threats to it, and appropriate methods for maintaining it. To the extent that community implies a basis for citizens to work collectively with police to restore and preserve order, it also requires a sense of group identity or attachment--a "we-ness" derived from shared experience and interaction.'

However, the viability and widespread academic acceptance of such a definition remains unclear.

Rather than arguing for a clear, concise definition of community, it may be easier to focus on the various roles played by the community however it should be defined. As such, there are several distinct roles in terms of community participation that have been identified. The first is to act as the "eyes and ears of the police" by providing information about crime and criminals in their neighbourhoods. The second is "cheerleading" which refers to frequent intervention on behalf of the police in the political arena. A third role is that of supporting the police by way of monetary assistance, which serves to provide funds for specific community-based initiatives. The fourth role of the community is "statement-making" which refers to symbolic or confrontational statements which the public makes on specific policing concerns. Finally there is the fifth community role, that of "actual confrontation" of criminal or disorderly conduct, which means direct citizen interaction into illegal activities (Buerger, 1994).

These various roles ascribed to the community, make no specific mention of its role in facilitating the reduction of crime. On this issue Buerger (1994) believes that community-based policing by and large remains a unilateral action on the part of the police. That for all the rhetoric of community-based policing, rather than empowering the community to act

in its own interest and take responsibility for itself, the police do little more than assign to the community a role that simply enhances the police response to crime and disorder. Similarly, Seagrave (1997) has noted that for a variety of reasons, involving members of the community in crime prevention and related projects can be a problematic enterprise.

However, despite any perceived difficulties in soliciting the community's participation in crime prevention and reduction, there is a definite and growing emphasis on developing what Normandeau and Leighton (1990) have described as "healthy communities." Such a community is ideally said to possess several desirable characteristics including income equity, social justice, properly fed and housed citizens, peace, resources of various kinds, educational opportunities, and a stable economy. It is believed that a community seriously deficient in these areas will experience many social problems, only one of which is crime. It is therefore in the interests of many community agencies, including the police, to play a role in fostering such a community environment. In keeping with this idea, the image of the solitary police officer, single-handedly stemming the tide of crime, with villains on one side and citizens on the other, no longer exists. In other words, "the police are the community and the community is the police" (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990).

Thus, there is a great deal which can be said about the concept of community within the context of community-based policing. There is obvious confusion and disagreement over how best to define the meaning of community and the importance of this cannot be overstated. As there remains, to date, no adequate working definition of community, and as there is obviously no single community, it can be argued that there can be no single

way to conduct community-based policing. In addition, it has been noted that some proponents of community-based policing are themselves unclear about the proper role of the community (Seagrave, 1997).

In order to gain a further appreciation for the difficulties inherent in the attempts to better understand community-based policing, the focus now turns to a brief discussion of one of the most important and widely held beliefs found in the literature: community-based policing as a philosophy.

The Philosophy Of Community-Based Policing

As noted earlier, one popular view is that community-based policing represents an entire philosophy of policing as opposed to a specific program. This definition of community-based policing is the one most frequently discussed in the academic literature. As a philosophy it focuses on the police and the community working in partnership to influence the management and delivery of police services. This represents a significant departure from the traditional professional or bureaucratic model of policing which prevailed in Canada for decades. In fact the perceived inefficiency of the professional policing model was largely responsible for the move towards community-based policing. The difference between these two approaches is clear. While community-based policing advocates that the police and community should work together to identify mutual issues of concern, professional policing implies that the police by themselves know better than anyone what should be done (Seagrave, 1997; Lab, 1997; Maguire et al, 1997).

This sentiment is also echoed by Trojanowicz et al (1998) when they state:

The idea of community policing is a radical departure from traditional notions of policing...a paradigm shift that challenges long-standing conceptualizations of the police and fundamental assumptions about doing police work. As a philosophy, community policing is grounded in a defined set of values that serve as its ethical and moral foundation, values that sought to change both the nature of the tasks police perform and the number of people responsible for determining the desired means and ends associated with policing.....the community policing philosophy means...exploring creative ways to address the underlying dynamics that create an environment where problems can persist.

The philosophy of community-based policing is straightforward: the police cannot successfully prevent or investigate crime without the willing participation of the public, therefore, the police should transform communities from being passive consumers of police protection to active co-producers of public safety (Bayley & Shearing, 1996).

Community-based policing as a philosophy advocates a broad, social role for police and an enhanced community responsibility and participation in policing (Murphy, 1988). This philosophy therefore not only makes a break with the past, but also presents the image of police and police work in a most favourable light to the general public and community at large. The philosophical interpretation of community-based policing provides the broadest most ideal definition and it is easy to see why this definition is so widely popular (Seagrave, 1997). If efforts to achieve consensus on "the" perfect and ideal definition of community-based policing is indeed an exercise in futility, the philosophical interpretation identified above may be adequate for providing a framework for research and analysis on this subject. However, as previously mentioned, while this is the dominant view it is by no means the only one.

Rural And Small Town Policing

As we have seen, for some scholars community-based policing is simply “old wine in new bottles” Rosenbaum et al (1998), while for others it is a revolutionary concept whereby the police are mobilized to tackle a wide range of crime-related and other social problems that affect the quality of life in a community. In contrast, Thurman and McGarrell (1997) prefer to think of community-based policing as “...an extension of rural or small-town policing that seeks primarily to maintain order...in effect, a smarter way of doing business, if the result is crime prevention.” It has also been commonly observed that community-based policing looks and sounds a great deal like rural and small town policing as it has been practised for a long time (Weisheit et al, 1994).

Whether this is true or merely a presumption, the policing of rural areas and small towns is an issue that remains ignored by most contemporary police literature and research (Murphy, 1988; Solicitor General of Canada, 1991; Maguire et al, 1997). In fact, there are several qualities of small town or rural policing that appear to make it an ideal model for community-based policing. Many small town and rural police steadfastly insist that community-based policing is what they have always done. This is because the rural setting typically means the police are responsible for stable integrated communities, and they actually know most of the people they police, enabling them to handle many matters informally by exercising their discretion. Other “community-based” characteristics include a decentralized police management at the rural level, responsive police services, and increased community accountability. Furthermore, a unique quality of small town policing is the broad function of police work; small town policing is not dominated by law

enforcement activities which is considered by some to be “real police work” (Murphy, 1988; Cordner and Scarborough, 1997).

In a comparison of rural and urban policing, it has been suggested that rural and small town police have always done community-based policing. Small towns and rural areas are characterized as homogenous with lower levels of cultural diversity and crime, as well as physical isolation, in contrast to urban centres. For this reason rural and small town police agencies can take less formal and less structured approaches to community-based policing than are typically seen in more urban areas. It can therefore be argued that many elements of community-based policing are already in place in small towns simply as a natural product of their rural environment (Weisheit and Hawkins, 1997). Furthermore, it has been argued that in many ways rural police forces are positioned to be the very embodiment of community-based policing. As such, urban police forces could very well look to rural areas for insights into policing in general, and community-based policing in particular (Weisheit et al, 1994).

Despite the idea that rural policing is identical to community-based policing, it has been argued that even small town police agencies in America have had to transform their operational strategies with the rise of the modern community-based policing era. While the extent to which these agencies have successfully accomplished this is unknown, research has found that 52% to 66% of small town police forces in the United States either currently practice community-based policing or are in the midst of planning community-based policing strategies (Maguire et al, 1997). This finding is significant even if rural policing practices do not exactly mirror community-based policing practices. It demonstrates at the

very least that some elements of community-based policing have always existed in the rural sector and that perhaps small town and rural areas are those in which community-based police initiatives are most likely to take root and flourish.

Although it can be argued that modern community-based policing draws heavily on practices that have long been traditions in rural areas, it would be a mistake to say that community-based policing is simply and invariably the same as rural policing (Weisheit et al, 1994; Crank, 1997). Instead it may be more appropriate to think of community-based policing as a formalized and rationalized version of small town policing. In the words of Weisheit et al (1994), "Community policing and rural policing are not identical...rural policing presents an ideal type example of community policing."

It should also be noted that the use of the term "rural" as an operational concept can be fraught with difficulty. It has been observed that an understanding of what is meant by the term "rural" is essential to the study of rural and small-town crime and justice. However, while people everywhere may be familiar with the use of the term, it is a concept that eludes precise definition. There is no question that in any given study it is important that how the concept is defined be clearly spelled out. Unfortunately, the question of what the proper definition of rural is, is one to which there is no simple answer. Furthermore, it has been noted that sociologists engaged in rural studies have struggled for decades in a vain attempt to define the concept in social scientific terms (Weisheit et al, 1999).

Despite this lack of a precise definition, the term is not necessarily rendered useless as an operational concept. Indeed one of the most common operational approaches is to not attempt to explicitly define rural at all. Rather researchers have tended to rely on

implicit and common intuitive understandings of the term. As Weisheit et al (1999) have further noted, "...there is something to the idea of 'rural' that distinguishes it in intuitively and sociologically important ways from what is called 'urban'." Thus, while bearing in mind that the use of the term can be problematic, for the purposes of this study the writer believes the use of the term rural is appropriate. This belief stems from the fact that, as it shall be explained in the methodology section of this thesis, the focus here is on conducting research on RCMP detachments which themselves are designated explicitly as rural. This designation is based not only on the geographical location of the said detachments but also on the size of the surrounding population or community to which they provide policing services.

As in the United States, there is also some debate in Canada whether or not rural policing is identical to community-based policing. Kennedy (1993) states: "In the deployed forces operating outside of the major metropolitan areas, there is an assertion made that what they have been doing in their detachments all along is community-based policing." Of direct relevance to the purpose of this thesis is the extent to which this statement applies to the RCMP. The standard response from members of the RCMP has been that, as a police force serving a predominantly rural and small town constituency, the RCMP has always been doing community-based policing (Leighton, 1994). As previously stated, through an analysis of the opinions of the RCMP membership, this thesis offers a means of exploring this issue further.

The RCMP And Community-Based Policing

The RCMP is Canada's federal police force and the largest police force in the country. As a result the RCMP has a wide range of responsibilities and duties. The RCMP was originally established in 1873 as a symbol of law and order and Canadian sovereignty in what was then an unsettled and non-developed north-west territory. Today the RCMP hold jurisdiction right across the country and have a combined civilian and regular police force membership which comprises approximately 21,000 employees (Himelfarb, 1997; Seagrave, 1997).

The RCMP has three major roles which result in the delivery of police services across Canada. The first relates to the enforcement of major federal statutes such as the Criminal Code of Canada, and the Controlled Drugs and Substances Act. Secondly, the RCMP acts as a provincial police service under contract with eight of the ten provinces and all three territories. Third, the RCMP acts as a local police force, serving over 300 towns and municipalities where its members are responsible for the enforcement of municipal by-laws (Leighton, 1994; Himelfarb, 1997).

The community-based policing model has received wide praise and popular support from the international police community. There has been, and continues to be, a growing consensus among police professionals and academics that community-based policing is the most appropriate response to the challenges and problems currently facing police forces everywhere. To varying degrees community-based policing has been applied in several police jurisdictions around the world and Canada is no exception (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990; Inkster, 1993). Yet it has been noted that the decision of Canadian police forces to embrace the philosophy of community-based policing and implement

community-based policing initiatives is somewhat of a paradox.

Unlike in the United States in the late 1980's, policing in Canada had not yet become a serious political or public issue. In Canada the police have typically been popular with the general public and have experienced relatively few serious policing problems. There was no demonstrated crisis in Canadian policing that would seem to justify the need for a radical change in policing practices. This begs the question of why, despite a lack of external pressure for police reform, community-based policing has been widely adopted and developed in Canada (Murphy, 1988; Leighton, 1994).

One answer to this question can be found in the following statement by Murphy (1988), who believes that community-based policing is primarily a U.S. police reform strategy:

Regarded as a potentially more effective approach to crime control, community policing is consistent with traditional government concerns regarding police efficiency and effectiveness. The possibility of shifting some policing responsibilities and costs back to the community, and reducing the reliance on government funded public policing, makes community policing a highly pragmatic as well as a politically appealing reform.

This is a sentiment shared by others such as Inkster (1993). However, while the importance of a fiscal crisis in policing must be recognized, it may be wrong to believe that Canadian police practitioners merely succumbed to an American influence.

Rather, Leighton (1994) argues that Canadian police never really strayed from their original 19th century roots. Instead of being fully swayed by the American trend toward the professional policing model in the 20th century, Canadian police largely stayed the course,

which for the RCMP meant retaining much of their original community-based features. Even so, with the dawn of the 1990's, new challenges began to emerge for the RCMP. In addition to fiscal restraint, increasingly diverse communities were demanding greater service and responsiveness to their needs, and new technologies presented both operational challenges and opportunities to transform policing. The major question facing the RCMP was whether the organization would be buffeted by the forces of change or embrace them and shape them. As a result, the RCMP began a process of organizational renewal based on a modern version of community-based policing. The RCMP thus recognized that their ability to maintain their commitment to excellence would depend on a commitment to change (Himelfarb, 1997).

With this came a decision to develop a strategic action plan for the implementation of RCMP community-based policing described as, "a philosophy of policing and a method of service delivery" (Leighton, 1994; Seagrave, 1997). Out of this rose the formation of community consultative committees in the various RCMP detachment areas; the purpose of such committees is to facilitate a police-community partnership for dealing with issues of crime and disorder via a consultative process. In addition, individual detachments were given the autonomy to experiment with the concept of community-based policing, and the RCMP basic training regimen was restructured along the lines of the modern community-based policing philosophy (Seagrave, 1997; Himelfarb, 1997).

Community-Based Policing And The Mission Statement

Several competing arguments have previously been noted in the literature on the

apparent difficulty that exists in defining community-based policing. However, for the purposes of this thesis the writer believes it is necessary to identify and adopt an appropriate definition of community-based policing. With such a definition it is possible, through this study, to gauge the success of the RCMP in their community-based policing efforts.

The writer believes that such a definition must incorporate and recognize the importance of a problem-solving or problem-oriented strategy. It has been firmly stated that problem-solving is a core strategy of community-based policing used to address local crime and disorder problems. By way of this strategy the police can take steps to solve the common underlying causes of problems in the community (Leighton, 2000).

The writer believes that such a definition can be found in the RCMP's mission statement of 1991 which proclaims:

RCMP Community Policing is a partnership between the police and the community, sharing in the delivery of police services. With this valuable community cooperation, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police pledges to: uphold the principles of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; provide a professional standard of service; ensure all policing services are provided courteously and impartially; work with the community and other agencies to prevent or resolve problems that affect the community's safety and quality of life; act within the Canadian justice system to address community problems; promote a creative and responsive environment to allow RCMP members to deliver community policing services.

As Seagrave (1997) explains, in 1991 the RCMP developed this mission statement which provides a lengthy definition of community-based policing, and which now appears in both official languages on posters in all reception areas of RCMP detachments. The purpose

for the adoption of a mission statement of this type is explained by Normandeau and Leighton (1990) in their report on behalf of the Solicitor General.

Successful organizations usually have a clear and precise idea of what it is they want to accomplish and in this respect the RCMP is no different. Having a firm plan enables such organizations to set strategic objectives, identify the most appropriate means for achieving their objectives, and to engage in the daily activities deemed necessary to make the organization a success. Furthermore, a mission statement of this type is a set of principles that defines the nature and ultimate purpose of the organization. When one considers the high expectations that are increasingly being placed on the police by the public and the mass media, a statement of mission serves to foster the development of standards of excellence that will enable the police to meet those expectations. Such a mission statement for policing, as envisioned by the office of the Solicitor General, should include three distinct elements: the mission statement itself which contains broad objectives for policing, a statement of the means of fulfilling these objectives, and a statement of core values or principles to guide police professionals in reaching their objectives, thereby enabling them to achieve a standard of excellence in policing (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990). It is apparent that the RCMP have been successful in meeting these criteria, and in so doing, they have provided a definition of community-based policing suitable for the purposes of this thesis.

This definition of community-based policing put forth by the RCMP in their mission statement is indeed appropriate for several reasons. Not only are the community-based policing practices of the RCMP the subject of this study, but this definition also meets

several of the criteria, or twelve essential ingredients of the “new blue line,” as set out by Normandeau and Leighton (1990) in their publication for the Solicitor General. Of these so-called “ingredients,” those captured by the RCMP’s definition of community-based policing include: increased police accountability through a strategy of community consultation, greater management decentralization for front line police officers which allows for the development of a creative and responsive policing environment, and the adoption of a problem-oriented strategy designed for enhancing the community’s safety and quality of life.

As previously stated, problem-oriented policing is, generally speaking, a force-wide approach for the delivery of police services aimed at identifying, researching and solving problems through an interactive process that involves both the community and the police. Using this problem-solving approach, the police are expected to go beyond individual incidents of crime and calls for service, to take on the underlying conditions that create crime problems (Polowek, 1995; Leighton, 2000).

That an emphasis on a problem-oriented strategy has been included in the RCMP’s vision of community-based policing is not surprising. It has been noted that some researchers have used the terms community-based policing and problem-oriented policing interchangeably. This would seem to indicate that there are profound similarities between the two concepts as a whole (Seagrave, 1997). As previously noted, however, the importance of a problem-oriented approach to policing is that police officers should attempt to specifically define problems and locate their underlying causes. A variety of different strategies and tactics may then be employed as a response to the problems that are

identified. A key step in the problem-oriented approach to policing is a process of ongoing evaluation and assessment to determine whether or not a given police response has been successful (Normandeau and Leighton, 1990; Seagrave, 1997).

The impetus for the development and adoption of this problem-oriented approach to modern policing is the recognition that the incident driven style of policing, which has traditionally defined most patrol functions in Canada, has been less than effective in solving community problems. Research has suggested that the trademark characteristics of this style of policing, namely rapid response and mobile patrol, were in need of refinement and improvement in order to ensure a quality mode of police service delivery to members of the community. The central question was how to deal more effectively with the complex and persistent problems that made up the bulk of routine police work. The problem-oriented policing approach was identified as one such answer to this question (Murphy, 1992).

It would appear that a suitable definition of community-based policing must emphasize to at least some degree the importance of a problem-oriented strategy. It is clear that the RCMP has recognized the importance of a such a strategy. This is reflected in the Force's mission statement of 1991. It is also significant that over the past several years, training in problem-oriented policing, and the adoption and utilization of the CAPRA model for problem-solving purposes, has been increasingly emphasized in the ranks of the RCMP (Seagrave, 1997).

This CAPRA problem-solving model serves to address the four basic steps in the problem-solving process identified by Murphy (1992). These are as follows:

Stage 1 - Identification: The description and selection of the problems to be addressed.

Stage 2 - Analysis: The unrestricted search for the cause or conditions that create or influence the problem.

Stage 3 - Response: A specific strategic response based on clear, comprehensive analysis of the problem.

Stage 4 - Evaluation: An assessment of the impact or effect or strategic response on the selected problem.

The use of problem-solving techniques in this fashion allows for a more effective means of addressing routine and repetitive problems which confront the police on a regular basis.

The writer believes that the definition of community-based policing, identified in the mission statement of the RCMP, serves the purposes of this thesis well. As previously stated, this thesis is also served by having a theoretical perspective which can be used as a framework for analysis. This literature review shall now discuss a new paradigm of community-based policing which has recently emerged and situates our understanding of this concept within the context of theories of governance.

Community-Based Policing And Theories Of Governance

A review of the community-based policing literature has demonstrated that there are several ways of interpreting and defining this concept. An alternate understanding of community-based policing shall now be introduced. As mentioned previously, this alternate and arguably radical perspective is theoretically relevant to the research in question. The interest here is in how community-based policing represents a particular form of governance. It is important therefore to review the work of several neo-Foucaultian authors who have written and conducted research on policing in relation to studies of

governmentality and risk management. The following can therefore appropriately be described as a discussion of community-based policing as "...a discourse that captures and articulates the policing of risk society" (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997).

It must be noted that the writer's interest in discussing community-based policing in relation to a theory of governmentality is not prompted by a desire to explicitly test such a theory. Indeed, as the literature review has demonstrated, there is no one theory of "community-based policing" per se. Rather, it has been identified largely as a concept and as a philosophy. For the purpose of the research these theories of governance are to be utilized merely as a framework for analysis and as a context in which to couch the discussion which follows from the findings of the study itself.

The major impetus for this study is that there is a conspicuous lack of current and ongoing research in the field of Canadian policing. Of the research that has been conducted to date, most of it has focussed on micro-level changes in policing. While these types of changes have been documented and analyzed, only recently has it been suggested by some researchers that there is a connection between these and macro-level, global, and political changes in society. New developments in policing research and theory are making explicit the link between macro-global shifts in government and governance, and the current changes in the nature and structure of public policing (Murphy, 1999b). These new developments in research and theory are extremely relevant to this thesis. It is for this reason that the utility and applicability of this research, as expressed in theories of governance, must be explored in detail.

To demonstrate how theories of governance can be applied to the study of

community-based policing it is important to first locate and identify how governmentality is defined. A general definition of governmentality identifies it as a "...range of governmental rationalities and practices, associated with liberal rule, by which populations are rendered thinkable and measurable for the purposes of government" (Stenson, 1999). To breakdown the concept of governmentality in such a seemingly simplistic fashion inarguably fails to do justice to Foucault's governmentality thesis. Yet for the purposes of this study on community-based policing this general definition of governmentality is quite appropriate.

The Foucaultian preoccupation in the governmentality discourse centres around questions such as: "How to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best possible governor.....how to be ruled, how strictly, by whom, to what end, by what methods, etc." (Foucault, 1991). Foucault's insights have been used to assist criminologists in making sense of changes in patterns of crime control in western liberal and neo-liberal regimes. Furthermore, neo-Foucaultian analyses have provided the stimulus for studying community-based strategies of crime prevention in the advanced democracies of the mid to late twentieth century. This approach has also fostered an interest in analysing the emergence of new forms of governance in liberal society (Pavlich, 1999; Stenson, 1999; O'Mahony et. al., 2000). Community-based policing is perhaps best understood and analyzed as one such form of governance.

In keeping with the governmentality perspective, community-based policing can also be thought of as a form of governmental technology. That is, it can be thought of as a new

technique or strategy of governance in policing which has emerged to prevent and control crime by way of citizen participation and community involvement. Such a technology of governance in policing represents a shift away from 'top down' disciplinary and repressive controls to a more indirect and informal persuasive form of control. Referred to as "action or rule at a distance," community-based policing as a governmental technology attempts to foster self-regulating and self-policing behaviour in citizens. It is argued that in doing so, the behaviour of populations becomes regulated in a manner that is acceptable to a broad range of authorities. Thus community-based policing as a governmental technology, or as a form of governance, in this manner serves to render the population thinkable and measurable for the purposes of government (Stenson, 1993, 1999).

It is apparent that the governmentality literature can provide an appropriate framework for understanding and analysing the phenomenon of community-based policing. To further this understanding, however, it is necessary to broaden the discussion of community-based policing as a form of governance. The writer believes this can best be accomplished by reviewing the work of Foucault-inspired researchers who have written on the related issues of risk and risk management in post-modern society.

As Ericson and Haggerty (1999) note: "Society consists of myriad institutions, each with a relatively autonomous system of governance. Governance is organized in terms of risk management technologies that simultaneously identify dangers and help do something about them." This statement makes it clear that not only are governmental technologies implemented in order to ensure the appropriate governance of a society, but these technologies are also inherently sensitive to, and designed for, providing assessments of

risk. In this light, community-based policing should therefore be viewed as an essential governmental technology, or a technology of risk management that facilitates the governance of a "risk society" (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997; Pavlich, 1999).

This view of community-based policing and the risk society is premised on the belief that policing and the society in which it takes place are best understood in terms of a model of risk communication. Society is replete with risks of all kinds. These include natural disasters, technological catastrophes, and the threatening behaviour of human beings. Society is seen to operate on a preoccupation with fear of harm and this produces a need for risk assessment and risk management. As risk management models have fear as their focus, the priority is one of governing through the calculation of risks and the social distribution of negative effects. In other words, risk management entails a concern with the consequences of harmful actions, and with the mitigation or prevention of these consequences. In risk management the emphasis is not on attempting to eradicate problems by locating and eliminating their causes; rather, in this paradigm the collective fear and foreboding which underpins the value system of society perpetuates insecurity and this in turn feeds an incessant demand for more knowledge of risk (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997; O'Malley, 1999a).

In this view of society as a "risk society," it quickly becomes apparent that considerations of risk management take precedence over all else. As such, institutions increasingly organize themselves around the knowledge of risk and its transmissions. Even the issues and practices of law enforcement are influenced in this fashion. No longer are such practices shaped and patterned by legal considerations, but rather by the

pragmatic principles of risk management. The police are viewed as an organization whose primary role is to make risks visible. In this perspective all social phenomena are aligned according to their relationship to risk (O'Malley, 1999a, 1999b).

The successful management of the risk society is quite obviously an immense responsibility. For the police this responsibility is historic in nature. The following statements by Ericson and Haggerty (1997) reflect this truth:

Indeed, policing within risk communication systems has its roots in forms of governance of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Early modern governance emphasized surveillance of populations as a way to develop statistical probabilities about them that would assist in judgements concerning social utility, health, and happiness. This emphasis was especially salient in police organizations - such as the North-West Mounted Police and its successor, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police - that were geographically dispersed into large, sparsely populated areas, for they had to represent all aspects of population governance in those territories.

There is a clear and definite historical connection between the actions of the police and governance. However, this understanding must be accompanied by a recognition that in the post-modern society, the state and the police do not hold a monopoly over the risk-management function. While public police agencies are the most easily identified institutions in society through which governance is facilitated, the policing of the risk society is a collective effort. In other words, the once dominant image of society as one in which security is provided and guaranteed by the public police, is being challenged by a rival community-based order (Garland, 1996; Pavlich, 1999).

The collective spirit of this enterprise reflects the fact that risk in the late modern society is inherently a variable and difficult thing to manage. As a result governance is

largely privatized and dispersed across many different and fragmented institutions. In turn the onus is placed on these institutions, and on individuals alike, to be more self-sufficient and more responsible for managing their own risk management needs (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). The police can be seen as occupying a central position in the risk management enterprise. Working out from the central place occupied by the police governance appears as a spreading network of agencies and institutions with a common focus on risk management needs (O'Malley, 1999b).

Therefore, it is fair to say that community-based policing is indeed an appropriate subject for analysis as a technology of governance and risk management. As previously discussed, the community-based policing philosophy emphasizes as one of its tenets, the need for the police to engage in partnerships with individuals and other groups in society to prevent and deter crime. In this fashion it can be reasonably argued that, the police as key facilitators in risk management, succeed in this primary task by delegating responsibility. By encouraging community groups and individuals to be partners in crime prevention, thus enabling them to be more responsible for their own needs, governance is extended far beyond the normal realm of the police. For this reason it is appropriate to think of community-based policing as a form of policing symptomatic of risk society, and as a model that provides a rationale and a justification for the policing of the risk society (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997; O'Malley, 1999b).

The "risk society" thesis put forth by Ericson and Haggerty (1997) has received mixed reviews in the academic literature on policing. It is a theory driven piece of research on policing that has been hailed by some for its original and insightful approach, and

criticized by others (Brodeur, 1998; Punch, 1999). As the risk management thesis is important to the writer's analysis of community-based policing these critiques are briefly considered below.

There are several issues that Brodeur (1998) identifies in his critique of Ericson and Haggerty's (1997) work, all relating to a perceived difficulty in how future researchers might replicate their study. The most overriding concern is that these authors, "...have articulated no less than a paradigm that transforms existing research on policing in several ways...one does not normally try to replicate a paradigm, which is not an object for replication but a framework in which one labours" (Brodeur, 1998).

A further concern that Brodeur (1998) identifies is with respect to their methodology. He argues that the authors have in their approach to conducting research, put together a study that in reality represents an attempt to develop a paradigm for future research on risk, as opposed to an actual empirical study on policing per se. Again, the concern here is that Ericson and Haggerty (1997) have not produced an empirical study that easily yields itself to social scientific replication.

Finally, it is argued that these authors have neglected to theoretically elaborate on two concepts which are of central importance to their risk management thesis: risk and knowledge. As a result of this, Brodeur (1998) feels that the whole of their study is based upon nothing more than "a persuasive evaluative assumption," which further complicates the possibility of replication.

Brodeur (1998) does acknowledge the important contribution of Ericson and Haggerty (1997), that policing can no longer be reasonably conceived as the monopoly

of a single institution, but the alleged shortcomings of their work are also noted. He argues that future research of this type must take these shortcomings into account as a means of properly advancing the risk management thesis as it relates to policing.

The second critical argument made in relation to the risk society thesis belongs to Punch (1999). In this review of Ericson and Haggerty (1997), it is argued that their work represents a considerable achievement in redefining police studies and will likely become the starting point for subsequent police research. The reason for this is precisely the main point identified by Brodeur (1998), that these authors have produced an entirely new paradigm for locating the police centrally within the risk society.

Punch (1999) believes that by documenting the intricate inter-agency connections and the complex flow of communications that exist in the risk society, Ericson and Haggerty (1997) have essentially demystified community-based policing and offered a new lens through which to analyze the police. In contrast to Brodeur (1998) however, Punch (1999), is of the opinion that the proposed paradigm these authors have identified is precisely the vehicle needed in order to conduct future research in this area. Not only have these authors provided a critique of existing research, but their paradigm is a viable conceptual framework in which to truly understand policing in the postmodern "risk society."

As previously stated, theories of governance and risk management are to be utilized by the writer as a contextual framework for analysis on community-based policing. For this reason Punch's (1999) favourable comments regarding the risk society thesis as a paradigm for future research are important to bear in mind. It is also important to take into

consideration Brodeur's (1998) analysis and the alleged shortcomings he has identified in the work of Ericson and Haggerty (1997). It must be noted that while it is not the writer's intent to specifically replicate the work of these authors, their research is unquestionably relevant to this thesis.

The writer believes the validity for using theories of governance and risk management as a framework for analysing RCMP community-based policing can be related to the three primary questions which this study seeks to answer. In locating an answer to the question of why the force adopted community-based policing, it is possible to analyse this issue through the lens of the governmentality perspective; to determine if perhaps community-based policing was introduced as a means of enhancing the police's ability to render populations thinkable and measurable for the purposes of government.

Similarly, the questions of how RCMP community-based policing has been put into practice, and if this approach has significantly changed policing practices, analysed by way of the theoretical perspective of governmentality may very well show that the governance function has been served and enhanced.

Chapter Three

METHODOLOGY

Having identified the research problem through an extensive review of the literature, and as expressed in the three key questions that the writer is seeking to answer, the next major step is to formulate a research design compatible with the goals of the research itself. As such, what follows is a research design which facilitates the collection of data on: 1) why the RCMP has decided to implement community-based policing, 2) how this has been put into action at the rural detachment level, and 3) whether or not this has brought about a change in policing practices at this level.

Research Design

It is the writer's belief that a qualitative approach to conducting the research is the most logical and rational means of data collection with reference to this particular study. Specifically, this study has been facilitated by the use of a three-part qualitative research design. The first step in this process was a document analysis conducted on RCMP literature with the principal goal of attempting to answer at least in part the question of what prompted the RCMP's decision to implement community-based policing as a formal force-wide policy. This stems from Polowek's (1995:18) observation that, "It is wise to collect and scrutinize all available written documents which describe the motivation and reasons for program formation and its specific activities, goals and objectives." There is a substantial amount of literature on this issue available from the offices of the RCMP. A

significant amount of this material has been accessed by the writer through his correspondence with the staff of the Community Policing Section of the RCMP at its headquarters in Ottawa. It is believed that an analysis of this type contributes substantially to an appreciation for the issues which lay at the root of the RCMP's community-based policing strategy.

In total there were five key pieces of material which the writer identified for analysis. The first is a monograph on community-based policing in the RCMP, published as a joint project of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the office of the Solicitor General (1985). The second document is the strategic action and implementation plan for the RCMP. This provides an overview of the action taken by the Force to implement community-based policing up to 1995. The third document is the (1995) community policing review report prepared by the RCMP Audit, Evaluation, and Corporate Services Directorate. The fourth document is the (1998) community policing review report prepared by the RCMP Community, Contract and Aboriginal Policing Services Directorate, while the fifth document chosen for analysis is the (1999) follow-up report prepared by this same directorate. After a review of the material it was felt that the selection of these documents for analysis would be satisfactory for the purposes of this thesis.

This document analysis was supplemented with the second stage of the research design. This involved conducting a number of telephone interviews with key RCMP personnel at the administrative and policy-making level. The decision to conduct these interviews followed from the recognition that they would allow the researcher to query staff members' views regarding program philosophy, purpose, goals and objectives (Polowek,

1995). A total of twelve telephone interviews were conducted. The subjects included several respondents who have played a role in the formation of the Force's community-based policing strategy to date. This prepared the writer for the next major step in the research process, an additional qualitative research method which involved conducting in-depth partially or semi-structured interviews with members of the RCMP. These in-person interviews were conducted with front-line police officers working at the rural detachment level. It is this stage of the research process that has produced the most important data on the phenomenon being researched, namely RCMP community-based policing.

The in-person interviews were tape recorded with the consent of the respondents, and these recordings later transcribed, thereby producing the actual hard copy of the data for analysis. The telephone interviews were conducted in a similar fashion with the responses tape recorded by the writer during the course of the interview. The decision to proceed by way of a partially structured in-person and telephone interview format was based on the belief that it was the most viable means of answering the three key questions which lay at the heart of this study. Furthermore, by these methods the writer felt that it was possible to substantially address the issues that have been identified in the preceding literature review. A qualitative research design was preferred as this has permitted the researcher to study selected issues in detail. A qualitative methodology allows the research questions to be approached without the constraint of predetermined categories of analysis. It is this process that contributes to the depth and openness of qualitative inquiry (Polowek, 1995).

This study's greatest contribution lies in providing research data on a phenomenon

which is clearly under researched in Canada. Interviewing a large sample of police officers in this fashion has elicited information pertinent to what community-based policing and a sense of community means for those engaged in this profession. It has also served to address the issue of rural and small-town policing and whether this type of police work constitutes an ideal type of community-based policing for members of the RCMP.

The decision to conduct the face-to-face interviews at the detachment level via a partially structured interview format, versus a highly structured questionnaire format, was deliberate, as was the decision to conduct the telephone interviews. These decisions were made based on the researcher's desire to have the interview subjects provide a subjective description for how they see and define the policing environment in which they are employed. The decision to conduct the face-to-face interviews was further motivated by the fact that such interviews allow for the production of a truly rich text of information, thereby potentially producing an extremely rich data base. This is indeed one of the key benefits offered by this type of qualitative research. Therefore, in terms of informational adequacy, the writer firmly believes that these data collection techniques were the best for obtaining the required qualitative information on this research topic.

Furthermore, it should be noted that there is a definite link between the writer's use of theories of governance as a framework for analysis and the research design. By way of these qualitative techniques the writer felt that not only could the three key questions which form the basis for this thesis be answered, but they could also be used to address a much larger question inherent to the approach and thinking of governmentality and risk management theorists such as Ericson and Haggerty (1997). In other words, the combined

qualitative methodology of document analysis and interview techniques can be used to adequately determine whether or not the community-based policing model is indeed being used to serve the purposes of government, and if in fact community-based policing provides a discourse which rationalizes the policing of the risk society. It is believed that these micro and macro-level questions can best be answered by analysing the responses of the RCMP membership at two levels, namely the policy-makers and those on the front-line.

Method of Analysis

It has been noted that raw data gathered in the form of interviews and by unobtrusive measures, such as the RCMP literature in this study, are often not amenable to analysis until the information they convey has been condensed and made systematically comparable. This process of applying an objective coding scheme to the data is commonly referred to as content analysis (Berg, 1995). It is this process which constitutes the method of analysis used by the writer in this thesis.

In this study the purpose has been to analyse the written text in order to determine why and how community-based policing has been adopted and further if this has meant a change in the nature of RCMPolicing. In order to satisfy the requirements for this type of qualitative analysis the writer has examined the data with a focus on the terms and phrases found in the written text. This analysis, which is inductive in its approach, has led to an identification of the various themes and patterns inherently present in the data itself.

In particular it has been through the process of open coding which has led to an

identification of the concepts and categories that fit the data. In other words the writer has engaged this research process with an open mind in order to identify patterns and categorize the data on a subjective level. However, it is important to note that in so doing, the writer did not proceed into this analysis with any preconceived notions of what would be found or what the data should ideally represent. Specifically in this thesis a careful and minute reading of the raw data has been conducted to locate and identify themes and patterns which give rise to the answers sought by the writer based on the preceding literature review. It is the writer's firm belief that this content analysis is the best suited method of analysis for this study. While a qualitative content analysis may not be appropriate for some research problems and designs, as Berg (1995) has observed: "It is a particularly beneficial procedure for assessing events or processes in social groups when public records exist. It is likewise helpful in many types of exploratory or descriptive studies."

Sampling

The units of analysis in this study are primarily individual members of the RCMP working at various rural detachments in the province of Alberta. As with any survey research, in order to conduct a study into the beliefs and attitudes of this population, it was not feasible or practical to conduct in-person interviews of every single member of the RCMP. Therefore it was necessary to limit the number of members interviewed by means of a sampling process. For the purposes of this study the writer chose to select members to be interviewed by the means of a non-probability sampling design, namely convenience

sampling. This type of sampling was suitable for this particular study as the aim was to conduct an exploratory analysis of community-based policing in rural Alberta. As the objective here has been primarily to become more informed about the problem itself, the writer believed it was sufficient to select a range of cases non-randomly without concern for precise statistical generalization (Singleton et al, 1988).

These in-person interviews were conducted on a sample of police officers, all members of the RCMP, within a limited geographic region of rural Alberta. The decision to focus attention on a particular subset of police officer test subjects within this particular area was motivated primarily on the basis of practicality. Limiting the sample of test subjects in this fashion provided the writer ease of opportunity for accessing these subjects for interview and made practical sense in terms of time and resources. It should also be noted that, as in any such study, the writer recognized the need to remain flexible in the research and sampling design.

For the purpose of this study the writer decided to interview select members from several rural RCMP detachments which comprise the former St. Paul Sub-Division in the province of Alberta. These detachments are as follows: Bonnyville, Cold Lake, Elk Point, Kitscoty, Lac La Biche, St. Paul, Tofield, Two Hills, Vegreville, Vermilion, and Viking. It should be noted that the RCMP detachment of Wainwright, Alberta, was the only detachment in the former St. Paul sub-division that was not included in the sample. This was specifically done in order to help eliminate bias in the research as this particular detachment is where the writer is currently posted.

It was felt that a sample of 20 police interviews, out of an RCMP Sub-Division

membership total of approximately 100 police officers, was sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the research. The interview schedule, previously submitted for approval to my thesis committee and the Department of Sociology research ethics committee, is included in Appendix A.

As an added precaution, in order to attempt to eliminate interview and interviewer bias in the research and data gathering process, the writer pre-tested the interview schedule. This was facilitated by conducting a total of six in-person interviews with various members of the Wainwright detachment. These interviews were not included in the actual sample for this study, but they were conducted in order to pre-test the schedule of questions to help identify any potential imperfections in the structure of the questions posed to respondents. Through this process it was determined that some changes were necessary in terms of sentence and question structuring. It was also determined that certain additional questions were required in order to more fully explore the issues identified through the preceding literature review and these were subsequently incorporated into the body of the interview schedule.

In addition this pre-testing procedure assisted the writer by identifying potential flaws and errors in the manner that the interviews were conducted. It was particularly important to highlight instances in which a potential respondent was inadvertently biased in their answer due to the presence of the interviewer. These occurrences were identified and duly noted and efforts were then undertaken to ensure that potential interview-interviewer bias was minimized as much as possible. Thus, the pre-testing sequence for the interview schedule was beneficial on two levels. Not only was it valuable in helping to

locate imperfections in the schedule itself, but the process also assisted the writer in constructing and maintaining his role management. As a result it is the writer's belief that these measures helped to produce a set of raw data by means of a data gathering technique which possessed enhanced validity and reliability.

The key-informant telephone interviews were conducted with a relatively small purposive sample of respondents. This sample included people who were either intimately involved in the Force's decision to move towards community-based policing, or involved at an administrative level as members of the RCMP. These individuals had initially been identified through the writer's correspondence and communication with the staff of the RCMP's Community Policing Section in Ottawa. It is the writer's belief that these telephone interviews contributed significantly to the research project as a whole, and assisted in addressing several of the questions posed by this study, including one key question namely, why the Force formally adopted the community-based policing model.

As noted above, the structure of the telephone interview schedule differs from that of the in-person interviews. The telephone interview schedule was reduced somewhat in size and scope with a focus on questions designed to address select issues related to the origin and implementation of community-based policing in the RCMP. The telephone interview schedule, which had also been previously submitted for approval, is included in Appendix B.

Researcher's Role Management

A major concern for researchers is entry and accessibility to the subjects being sampled. Not only was this concern overcome by limiting the sample, but the fact that the researcher is himself a police officer is of great significance, as little difficulty was experienced when approaching these subjects for interviews. The researcher acknowledges that a degree of resistance to being interviewed by some members was expected. However, such resistance was overcome by the fact that the total number of RCMP members in the former St. Paul Sub-Division engaged in detachment policing was quite large. Even after taking into account a certain degree of resistance to this study among certain members of the RCMP the writer was confident that the desired number of successful interviews could be achieved.

It must be noted that in addition to the practical benefits that are derived from this type of sample, there has been a personal motivation behind the writer's decision to focus on rural detachment level policing in the province of Alberta. As already noted, the writer is currently posted in Alberta at a rural detachment located within the designated geographic boundary which limits the size and scope of the study. The benefit offered by the researcher's location and proximity to the subjects in the sample are obvious bearing in mind the limited resources that the writer has had at his disposal for conducting this research. However, it is important to acknowledge that the decision to focus explicitly on rural policing in Alberta was indeed prompted by the fact that the writer is engaged in this type of police work himself.

The researcher was aware that in soliciting these RCMP members for interview,

these respondents would be giving of their personal time, or their time on the job, to be surveyed. As these subjects would invariably be adjusting their priorities and routines, at least to some degree, in order to assist the researcher, it was important that the issue of reciprocity not be overlooked (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). Reciprocation to survey participants has taken the form of a promise that feedback will be made available to respondents if they so desire. It was the writer's intention from the outset that the results of the study, in the form of the final report, would be provided to any and all interested participants at the conclusion of the research.

As with any such qualitative research design this study must adhere to ethical principles. While the researcher has recognized that not every problematic issue could necessarily be anticipated in advance of formulating the research plan, the writer was also aware that an appreciation of and commitment to, ethical principles for research must be demonstrated (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). As such, it is important to note that this study was subject to approval by the Faculty of Arts research ethics review committee for sociology and psychology. The most pressing ethical concern for the study appeared to be the ability of research participants to provide their free and informed consent for inclusion to the study. As per sociology departmental guidelines for informed consent, all potential respondents for the in-person interviews were required to sign a letter of consent, prior to their participation in the study. This letter of consent, which was previously submitted for approval by my thesis committee, is included in Appendix C.

Generalizability

As previously stated, due to the nature of this thesis the writer was less concerned with achieving precise statistical generalization, than with conducting an exploratory analysis of rural detachment level RCMPolicing. It is obvious that the results of a study focusing explicitly on rural detachment level policing in Alberta cannot necessarily be used as a measuring stick for RCMP operations across the country as a whole. However, the writer believes that the findings of this study can reasonably be applied to other rural and frontier areas of the country in which the RCMP have jurisdiction. The basis for this reasoning is found in the administrative and operational structure of the RCMP. As Canada's national police force, the RCMP is an organization which represents a measure of continuity and familiarity from one end of the country to the other. Within this hegemonic landscape, however, there are vast differences in how policing is practised depending primarily on the size of the individual detachment. At the extreme one can compare some of the RCMP's largest detachments, which may have a staff complement of well over four hundred police officers, to many of the very small detachments scattered across the country which staff only three or four police officers at the most.

The number of RCMP members posted at any given detachment is based on the surrounding population within a designated jurisdiction. Working with a ratio of one police officer for roughly every one thousand people (Statistics Canada, 1997), it can be seen that the areas of responsibility for different detachments vary considerably in size and composition. Concomitantly, the variable size and structure of a detachment area has an indirect effect on the nature of the police work that the individual police officer participates

in, depending on the amount and type of crime and criminality inherent to his or her environment.

In short, there is a world of difference between policing a large metropolitan centre and policing a small, rural, prairie town. It is this type of discrepancy which undoubtedly makes it impossible to apply the results of a rural policing study to every jurisdiction policed by the RCMP, the larger detachments in the lower mainland of B.C. being the most notable examples. However, the RCMP has a multitude of small rural detachments under its umbrella of responsibility which are scattered across the country. As a result it can reasonably be argued that an analysis of rural detachment level policing in Alberta does have implications for the RCMP's community-based policing efforts in other rural areas. The generalizability of this study is inevitably tempered by the inherent limitations of the research itself. Nevertheless, the writer believes that this study holds considerable potential for contributing to the academic understanding of RCMP community-based policing.

It is the writer's firm belief that the research problem as operationalized by the three key questions, coupled with a manageable social scientific approach to finding the answers to these questions, does shed light on what has historically been a clearly under-researched area in Canadian policing. In the final analysis this study will be judged on its merits and it is for this reason that the writer feels confident in the work that has been done. It is now time to turn attention towards an examination of the writer's research findings and analysis.

Chapter Four

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF POLICY DOCUMENTS

As previously stated the actual research component of this thesis was divided into three different stages of qualitative research. In what follows, the first stage of the research design is described in detail, along with an overview of the findings and analysis of the various RCMP policy documents.

The first stage of the research had as its primary focus the first key question which this thesis is striving to answer; namely, why the RCMP formally adopted community-based policing. As such, this stage of the research involved performing a content analysis of five separate RCMP documents related to this issue.

The first of these documents was the executive summary on community-based policing, published as a joint project of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Programs Branch of the office of the Solicitor General of Canada. This publication predates the RCMP's formal adoption of community-based policing by approximately four years and is the only document included here which does so. In this regard, this report can be seen as one of the preliminary measures taken by the Force in an effort to begin to formulate an official policy on community-based policing.

The second document selected for analysis was the RCMP's strategic implementation plan. This document provides an overview of some of the most important reasons for the move to community-based policing. This document also

includes an important memo written by Norman Inkster, the former commissioner of the RCMP. Significantly, Inkster is widely regarded as a key player and the driving force behind the RCMP's decision to adopt and implement community-based policing.

The remaining documents consist of three different community policing review reports prepared by various service directorates under the auspices of the RCMP. Together these reports encompass a review of RCMP community-based policing from the period 1993 to 1998. More importantly they provide an overview of the Force's efforts and attempts to make the transition from the incident-driven reactive style of traditional policing, to the more proactive style of the community-based model.

Overall the writer's content analysis of this literature has revealed that there are several consistent themes or patterns which emerge from the data when it is examined. There is of course a slight measure of variability in these themes and patterns which is a natural result of their development from different data sources. However, in general terms this stage of the research and analysis has recognized a consistent focus by the RCMP in justifying the need and impetus for adopting a new paradigm of policing, namely community-based policing. As a result, much of the discussion inherent to this literature contrasts sharply the negative attributes of the traditional model of policing against the positive attributes of the community-based model. In addition, it has been found that much of this literature deals with identifying what the RCMP has already done in the name of community-based policing, where the Force has fallen short in its efforts to implement community-based policing, and what remains to be done in order to continue this process of implementation.

In more specific terms it is important to provide examples of the various categories identified by the writer by displaying some of the select sentences and phrases that fall into these categories. In all, a total of eight broad categories or themes were identified by the writer from the analysis of the five different RCMP policy documents. What follows is a descriptive overview of each of these categories, with examples of the different phrases as they were found in each document. The themes identified by the writer at this stage of the research include: how to define community-based policing, what traditional policing is, the drawbacks to traditional policing, the benefits of community-based policing, the prerequisites for community-based policing, the need for further change, the requirements for the successful implementation of community-based policing, and the obstacles to this process.

A practical approach to presenting the findings from this stage of the research in a comprehensive fashion is to analyze each document in chronological order. In this manner the applicable categories for each document can be clearly identified and explained.

Document #1 - (Murphy and Muir, 1985)

Community-Based Policing Is...

A consistent finding in the data has been a discussion of what community-based policing is. While for the most part there is not a specific and formal concrete definition of community-based policing offered per se, the authors of all of the various publications and documents do devote a considerable amount of their discussions to

community-based policing. The following statements from (Murphy and Muir, 1985) in the first policy document exemplify this:

Community-based policing, to date, represents a loose amalgamation of research findings, experimental police strategies and various community-oriented philosophies of police work. (p.5)

Community-based policing is an “umbrella” term used to describe certain approaches to policing that encourage police involvement with the community. (p.9)

The community-based model stresses the need for training which goes beyond traditional crime fighting role models and stresses a broad understanding of the social and legal complexities of contemporary society. (p.14)

The first section of this summary has drawn attention to numerous social pressures that suggest the necessity of change for the police. The community-based model represents a logical response to these pressures and can be viewed as an approach which adjusts traditional notions of the police role in order to meet the demands of the police environment. (p.16)

Community-based policing does not imply a specific programmatic approach to policing; only that there be community involvement in both the identification and resolution of problems. (p.19)

Community-based policing appears to offer a way of “doing more with less” by providing new and previously untapped community resources and support. The redefinition of what had become exclusive police problems as shared community problems draws on the capacities of both the community and the police to respond co-operatively to the order and security needs of the community. (p.27-28)

Traditional Policing Is...

In order to provide the context in which a sharp contrast can be drawn between the virtues of community-based policing and the negative attributes of its antithesis, a considerable amount of attention was necessarily devoted to a description of the traditional model of policing. The first document that was analyzed (Murphy and Muir, 1985) was the only one in which this particular theme was identified.

Exemplary phrases which served to describe traditional policing were those which stated:

Large bureaucratic police organizations that reward crime control activities more than they reward social service, order maintenance and crime prevention have contributed to some alienation of the police from the community. (p.1)

Community-based policing models integrate the complex social role of the police into a broad policing philosophy, while the traditional crime control model places more emphasis on crime related aspects of the police mandate. (p.7)

In the crime control model, the most important goal of policing is the suppression of crime. The police define themselves as law enforcers or crime fighters. (p.7-8)

...it exaggerates the effects of police strategies in controlling crime...leads to the neglect of other important police service and orders maintenance functions and...is an inappropriate model for Canadian policing, given the relatively low rate of serious crime in Canada. (p.8)

Past efforts to improve police responses have been greatly limited because of a preoccupation with the criminal justice system and the assumption that responses must be developed and discharged only from within the police agency. (p.20)

Traditional preventive patrol is intended to create an image of police omnipresence within a community through the

random, visible movement of police vehicles, in order to deter crime and facilitate rapid response to calls for service. Research has challenged the effectiveness of random patrol as a deterrent.....Research also indicates that rapid response is not the major factor in determining citizen satisfaction. (p.24-25)

This particular theme is unique to this one document and it is the writer's belief that this is because it pre-dates the Force's formal adoption of community-based policing. It would seem that for this reason the authors were required to place an emphasis on describing the traditional model of policing in order to strengthen their argument for the need to move to the community-based model. This theme does not present itself in the remaining four policy documents, and this seems due to the fact that by the time of their publication the decision to adopt community-based policing had already been made. As a result there was, essentially, no need to make the argument that traditional policing practices were no longer viable.

Drawbacks Of Traditional Policing

This category was easily identified due to the emphasis placed by the authors on the aforementioned contrast between the two models of policing. In order to enable this contrast, it was necessary to focus on what the writer felt was a description of the drawbacks to the traditional model of policing. Again, this category was found to exist solely in the first document under analysis. The reason for this is again the fact that this document by Murphy and Muir (1985) pre-dates the Force's formal adoption of the community-based policing philosophy. Statements and phrases which fell into this category were of the following nature:

Non-crime related activities are considered peripheral to crime control functions, even though the majority of police time is spent on social service activities. Thus a crime control police department justifies its mandate mainly on the basis of its ability to do "real police work", fighting crime and apprehending criminal offenders (p.8)

Traditional organizational change strategies have concentrated predominantly on internal management issues.....Because of growing financial constraints such changes will prove increasingly difficult to justify unless their impact on substantive policing problems can be demonstrated to the public (p.16)

It is increasingly apparent that the police alone cannot supply the level of protection that many communities require. One solution to this problem is to adopt a different response to the traditional problems of crime control and community protection. (p.21)

Benefits Of Community-Based Policing

This category was also readily identified due to the contrast being made between these two models of policing. This category was found to exist in the first policy document under analysis, as well as two others. In keeping with a focus on Murphy and Muir's (1985) publication, statements which lent themselves to inclusion in this category are:

Community-based policing seems to offer a more effective way of using police resources in order to meet broad community needs and changing public expectations. (p.7)

Shifting responsibility to the community for aspects of policing such as crime prevention programs, coupled with an awareness of the limits of police resources and capabilities, should provide the police with more flexibility in the management of scarce organizational resources. (p.11)

The major advantage of the community-based model is that

it recognizes and accepts the fundamental diversity of the community and allows for the flexible and democratic development of an organizational approach to policing which is consistent with the responsibilities and obligations of the police to the community and the law. (p.19)

Decreasing the volume of calls for immediate response thus allows policemen to concentrate on the quality and continuity of services provided. This should ultimately translate into more productive police and greater citizen satisfaction. (p.24)

The redefinition of what had become exclusive police problems as shared community problems draws on the capacities of both the community and the police to respond co-operatively to the order and security needs of the community. (p.28)

Prerequisites For Community-Based Policing

This category was identified solely within the first document under analysis and emerged based on a recognition that a considerable amount of the paper was devoted to describing the various changes that were needed in order to transform traditional policing into the community-based model. This comes as no surprise as this is the only publication that pre-dates the RCMP's formal adoption of community-based policing.

Some statements and phrases identified for this category are:

Major alterations to existing arrangements will require a re-evaluation of police priorities and capacities. Changes that would alter the present methods and levels of police services will require careful negotiation between police agencies and the communities they serve. (p.4)

...it is necessary to adopt a perspective that differs from traditional approaches to police management. Police managers must recognize the importance...of the community as an essential participant in police operations. (p.10)

A community-based police organization must have the flexibility to delegate decision making authority to those teams or individuals that deal directly with the community. (p.12)

Selection, training and career planning is of critical importance since the success of community-based policing work depends on the attitudes, goals and skills of police personnel at all levels of the organization. Police training must be timely and relevant to current policing realities. (p.14)

Selecting and implementing alternatives should be a collaborative effort, with the police as lead agency. This approach requires the police to be more outgoing and to seek ways of working more effectively with other community agencies. (p.20)

Document #2 - (Strategic Implementation Plan)

Community-Based Policing Is...

As this theme is present in all of the policy documents under analysis it is important to see how it emerged in the RCMP's strategic implementation plan. The identification of this theme is based on the following types of statements:

The philosophy and the service delivery style of community policing is responsive to modern society's demands for a relevant and accountable policing service. (p.1)

Community policing is not a distinct program or collection of programs added on to existing police programs such as drug enforcement investigation, traffic law enforcement, or crime prevention. Community policing is a philosophy of policing and a method of service delivery. It is a "mind-set" which forms the basis for the delivery of all police services. Community policing goes beyond the bounds of what has traditionally been known as policing...(p.3)

In other words, community policing is “an interactive process between the police and the community to mutually identify and resolve community problems.” (p.3)

...Community Policing is not an add-on program, it is a total service delivery method for policing. Everyone involved in providing this service for the public, from RCMP member to civilian, and from Commissioner to Constable, must share in the responsibility for making community policing work...community policing is not the responsibility of one member assigned to crime prevention or community relations, it is the responsibility of every member...(p.7)

Benefits Of Community-Based Policing

As previously noted, this particular theme was identified in more than one policy document. Here the benefits of community-based policing are also lauded, as demonstrated by the following statements and phrases:

Through community policing, the community and the police can work in partnership to identify community concerns, share in the decision making process, and together take on the responsibility of resolving local problems to ultimately reduce crime and disorder. (p.1)

The adoption of the philosophy of community policing allows the RCMP to become more responsive to the needs of the communities it is serving. The open management style of community policing under which general duty officers and members at all rank levels are empowered to make appropriate informed decisions and take action, will give the members of the RCMP the flexibility needed to provide a completely responsive, integrated and relevant police service. (p.3)

Need For Further Change

This category emerged from the writer's analysis of all of the documents with the exception of the preceding one. This category was recognized on the basis that certain

things should be done to successfully implement community-based policing.

Furthermore, while steps have been taken to make the transition to community-based policing, additional steps must be taken for it to ultimately be successful. Examples of the types of statements and phrases particular to this category are:

The successful implementation of community policing depends largely upon the necessity to change and become more open and flexible to the changing needs of employees and the community. (p.2)

Society is in the midst of a profound change that is compelling police services among other public agencies to reassess the relevance of their present roles and responsibilities. Many police forces in Canada as in other parts of the western world are recognizing that the community is no longer willing to be regarded as a passive recipient of police services. (p.3)

A large amount of police time is presently spent in administrative "paperwork" tasks. The statistical and paperwork demands, both from internal and external sources, must be reduced to allow more time for direct community service. (p.6)

Requirements For Success

This particular category was identified by its presence in two of the documents under analysis, one of these being the strategic implementation plan. This category appears to possess a degree of semantic similarity to two of the preceding categories, those titled 'Prerequisites for Community-based Policing' and 'Need for Further Change'. However, here there is no call for particular prerequisites or changes per se. Rather, the terms and phrases in this category are representative of an emphasis on good community-based policing practices already in use by the RCMP, and calls for the

continued use of these practices.

Some of the phrases and sentences particular to this category are:

It is important that this process of change continue, and...members continue to meet the challenges of contemporary policing by ensuring that community policing dominates the approach to the delivery of RCMP policing services. (p.1)

Investigation and enforcement are essential elements of community policing, but the way in which these and other services are delivered to the community will depend upon several factors such as the nature of crime and social problems found in the community, the resources (both human and financial) available to the community to solve these problems...(p.4)

The police cannot meet the needs of a community effectively if their actions and decisions are dictated to them from above. The members working in a community are the most qualified people to decide how best to serve that community. (p.5)

In community policing the general duty officer, in direct daily contact with the client community, is the most important position within the police service. The existing generalist position must be augmented to allow and encourage experienced and tenured members to remain there and continue to direct their expertise toward serving the community...(p.6)

Document #3 - (Community Policing Review Report, 1995)

Community-Based Policing Is...

Community policing is fundamentally different from the professional model that emphasizes a rapid response to calls for service...In this sense it is a progressive, proactive, community-based and collaborative style of service delivery that is based on partnerships. (p.1)

The RCMP's Community Policing Mission Statement defines community policing as an organizational philosophy and management style that promotes a partnership between the police and the community, sharing in the delivery of policing services. (p.3)

Community policing is a proactive style of police response that focuses scarce resources on the root causes of crime and social disorder through an interactive partnership. In this sense, it is fundamentally different from the professional model and broadens the police role by involvement in activities that are not normally associated with the police mandate. (p.7)

The philosophy of community policing is characterized by its basic principles with a focus on partnerships and sharing in the delivery of policing services. The successful implementation of these principles help in recognizing community policing in practice and they are the standards against which the quality of service is ultimately measured. (p.18)

Benefits Of Community-Based Policing

It is through community consultation that members will be more inclined to routinely engage in problem-solving activities and work closely with other agencies to address root causes of crime and social disorder. (p.4)

Community agencies are often more able than the police to provide a longer-term response, particularly for victims of crime. The objective of sharing responsibility is to remove the underlying causes of crime in this regard, the police partner with other agencies to promote a more cooperative spirit, and productive division of labour, given the frequency of overlapping demand for resources. (p.10)

There is a need to examine the issue of accountability in relation to community policing. The successful implementation of the principles means that detachments will become more accountable to their citizens, and therefore policing services must become more closely aligned to reflect community concerns...(p.14)

Need For Further Change

An integrated and relevant service delivery model is still required to allow the RCMP to become more responsive to the needs of its clients and permit effective partnerships to be developed and maintained. (p.4)

...there has not been a concerted effort to broaden the role of the generalist in the spirit of community policing. Members generally believe that traditional management systems and the chain of command have not been sufficiently modified to allow more autonomy at the street level. (p.12)

There is no denying that the implementation of the principles of community policing has progressed significantly in some areas and not as well in others. Progress is particularly obvious in locations where members and the community have been exposed to education. There are, however, still many members, at all levels, who do not understand the philosophy and how the principles can be integrated in their day to day responsibilities. (p.16)

For community policing to occur means that the RCMP will have to accept the fact that some detachments will operate differently from others. This does not mean that we abandon our standards of performance, but rather, that we actively encourage and support change, and resist the temptation to undermine initiatives because of rules that may be inconsistent with a new model of service-delivery. (p.23)

The effectiveness of the RCMP in the future will be assessed on its ability to work with the community. The principles of community policing will not become institutionalized, however, until such time as the organizational structure is changed and we improve our communication and marketing strategies so that all employees, regardless of rank or position, fully understand and support the concept. Education, professional communication and organizational commitment to change are tantamount to the achievement of this goal. (p.26)

Obstacles To Community-Based Policing

This is one of the more interesting categories identified by the writer through his content analysis at this stage of the research. The importance of this particular category stems from the Force's on-going process of identification for potential impediments to the successful implementation of community-based policing. This category emerged from the analysis done on two of the five documents, namely the 1995 Community Policing Review Report and the 1998 Community Policing Review Report. Statements from document number three which serve as prime examples for this category are:

...community policing is seen by senior members, many of whom are detachment commanders with 21 or more years of service, as "soft on crime" and "overrated" as an effective approach to delivering policing services. It is their view that community policing diverts scarce resources away from our first responsibility of crime control and law enforcement. (p.8)

The organizational structure of the RCMP is paramilitary and centrally controlled, and it has not been significantly modified to accommodate community policing. (p.13)

There is a lack of understanding, by members and the community, about the principles of community policing, as well as the mandate, roles and responsibilities of consultative groups working in a partnership and sharing in the delivery of policing services. (p.18)

The issue of resistance to change cannot be ignored because there are members who simply refuse to change their orientation to the job or to the way in which they interact with the community. These members tend to view community policing as an "add-on program" that is soft on crime and a fad that will eventually go away. (p.19)

Sharing information and working together to resolve crime and social disorder problems are often impeded because we are an organization that is conditioned to cautiously guard our information. Consequently, there is a reluctance to share information with other agencies, unless of course, it suits our purpose. (p.21)

The internal strategies that are necessary to support the delivery of community policing impact on all facets of the organization. These strategies have not been effectively communicated, and as a result, members who are responsible for delivering policing services, or who support the members delivering the service, are not entirely committed to changing the way they perform their duties. (p.24)

Document #4 - (Regional Community Policing Performance Review Report, 1998)

Community-Based Policing Is...

As a modern, progressive learning organization, it was also recognized that the successful integration of a philosophy of policing which places greater emphasis on strategies to eliminate the root causes of crime and social disorder in communities begins with basic training. (p.3)

A key component of community policing is the requirement to consult with the community in order to identify and mutually share the responsibility for the long-term resolution of crime and public safety concerns. (p.34)

The philosophy of community policing, as adopted by the RCMP, is predicated on the belief that before we can expect employees to deliver quality services in a community, we have to provide the same quality internally. (p.36)

In fact, it is impossible to discuss Restorative Justice, or any of the other initiatives in isolation. These strategies are all key components, and very characteristic of community policing as it has been adopted, and adapted, by the RCMP. (p.44)

Need For Further Change

Clearly, there is evidence of some excellent progress throughout the region.....this progress is reflective of the dedication and professionalism of employees, at all ranks and levels, who have diligently incorporated the principles of quality service delivery in their respective jurisdictions. Unfortunately, there are also areas within the region where very little has changed...(p.6)

Generally, detachment commanders and supervisors are aware that their traditional role in the organization is changing as a result of the application of the principles of community policing. Some members are uncomfortable with these changes, however, and have expressed concern with the shift in emphasis from command and control, and close supervision of work and people, to risk management and leadership. (p.11)

These members feel they have relatively little support and believe some of their peers are content to let them do it all. From our observations, these dedicated and highly motivated members are clearly overworked, and the added burden places them and the organizational goals at considerable risk. (p. 13)

...the immediate challenge is to identify and implement a strategy that will ensure the change process continues to develop in a positive fashion by learning from their experiences. There is also agreement and recognition that many of these changes are going to take time, continuing education and leadership from all levels of management. (p.54)

Obstacles To Community-Based Policing

In spite of the fact that the transition to community policing has been the dominating theme and activity within the RCMP for almost nine years, it is believed that there are still employees, at all ranks and levels, who do not understand, or support this model of policing. We also have reason to believe that many are also uncomfortable with...their changing role in an evolving police organization. (p.4)

...in some locations, the basic principles, for whatever reason, are not supported, understood, or practised by all employees. Indeed there are some who still view community policing as an adjunct to, rather than a model of, quality service delivery. (p.6)

At the time of this review, and in spite of training, the majority of operational members we interviewed had very little knowledge of CAPRA, or how it might be applied to address issues in the community. The acronym is familiar, however, the process and its use is not very well understood. (p.12)

There is a tendency among some to differentiate, and regard community policing as something less than real police work. This is an education and communication issue, and until clearly articulated it alone will continue to frustrate the transition to quality service delivery. (p.60)

Document #5 - (Regional Community Policing Performance Follow-Up Report, 1999)

Community-Based Policing Is...

Community Policing is not a passing fad, or a temporary project doomed to wither and die as many similar projects do. Community policing is a philosophy. It must be so ingrained in the organization that our members practice it without a second thought. It must be so pervasive that our personnel are faced with elements of Community Policing wherever they turn. (p.4)

...the members are generally enthusiastic and energetic about integrating the Community Policing philosophy into the culture. Emphasis on partnerships, problem-solving, community participation, and community consultation will continue to be a priority...(p.17)

...the Division sees a need to shift their focus toward client identification, problem-solving, development of partnerships, internal and external consultation and an exploration of integrated enforcement approaches. (p.20)

Need For Further Change

A survey of members with a service range from five months to 30 years is reported to confirm that the level of knowledge about the principles of Community Policing was generally good. However...there are still some individuals and units who still require education on Community Policing and the use of CAPRA. (p.6)

The need to enhance members' skills and experience through training and education was identified in order to satisfy current and emerging challenges in policing. This will be accomplished by promoting approaches which recognize the RCMP as a professional learning organization and sharing investigational proficiency. (p.14)

The OIC Community Policing believes more structural and management change is needed to allow for an expansion of problem-solving efforts and long-term solutions to community crime issues through education, training and coaching. (p.20)

Requirements For Success

The Commanding Officer also reports the excellent work of our members in the Division with youth and specifically comments on the success of the Ventures Program, Crime Stoppers in six high schools, involvement with youth facilities in two communities, and the Provincial Family Violence Consultant with respect to sexual exploitation of children wherein in excess of 200 citizens participated in an education workshop. (p.7-8)

The involvement with youth in the Division is seen as an integral part of providing police service both at present and in the future.....This process is viewed as a very positive partnership and consultation mechanism which has a direct impact on policing services. Throughout the Province, districts and detachments have embraced the importance of consulting and involving our youth population in the day to day service delivery. (p.9)

...most members in the division now have a good understanding of the philosophy of Community Policing, including the problem-solving model CAPRA, and that these members demonstrate a keen sense of importance of the philosophy with clients. As well members are said to be deeply involved in numerous initiatives in which they have formed partnerships and/or consulted with clients to solve problems, overcome obstacles, and generally make the communities a better place to live. (p.15)

Upon completion of this stage of the research the writer had obtained a comprehensive understanding of these documents. This analysis demonstrates quite clearly that the Force is, at least at the policy-making level, wholly and totally committed to the adoption and implementation of community-based policing in the RCMP.

What must be considered after having completed this first stage of the research, is whether or not an answer has been provided to any of the key questions which lie at the heart of this thesis. From the outset the purpose of this policy document analysis was to determine an answer to the first key question; the qualitative analysis indicates, however, that partial answers to all three of these key questions have been found.

The picture that emerges from analysing these documents is that the RCMP chose to formally adopt community-based policing due to the perceived inefficiencies and noted shortcomings of the traditional/professional model of policing. At the highest levels of the Force it was therefore deemed that a change was necessary and for this reason efforts were slowly made towards adopting and implementing the philosophy of community-based policing. It is important to compare this picture with the one that

emerges from the key informant interviews which shall be introduced in Chapter Five.

The answer to how community-based policing has been implemented in the RCMP, is at this stage of the research, multi-faceted. It is apparent that there are a multitude of different initiatives that the Force has undertaken to implement in the name of community-based policing.

There is no question that the RCMP has in its whole-hearted commitment to the adoption of community-based policing, initiated several different strategies, programs, and overall changes. These changes have served to fundamentally re-structure the face and nature of the police organization. Thus at this first stage of the research, at least a partial answer to the question of whether or not community-based represents a change in the nature of the RCMP's delivery of policing services, has also been answered.

As in any social science research, the theoretical considerations of a study must not be forgotten or overlooked. Therefore, at this juncture it is important to briefly consider the applicability of the theoretical framework for this thesis, namely theories of governance. The concern the writer has at this point, is whether or not these preliminary research findings suggest in any way that the RCMP's decision to adopt community-based policing has been influenced by the growth of governmentality and risk management thinking.

As previously mentioned the writer feels this theoretical perspective is a valid lens through which the Force's community-based policing efforts can be analyzed. This belief is in keeping with the risk society paradigm of such authors as Ericson and

Haggerty (1997), Pavlich (1999), and O'Malley (1999) who postulate the view that community-based policing is a newly emerged form of governance in neo-liberal society. In terms of governmentality and governance, the police are less concerned with efforts designed for addressing crime control than they are with ensuring order maintenance. In this sense community-based policing can certainly be viewed theoretically as a strategy of governance in policing designed to ensure the risk management function is served.

There is some evidence from the document analysis which supports the views of previous research undertaken on community policing from a governmentality perspective. Specifically, in line with findings of the previously noted researchers, the documents examined frequently made reference to the need for promoting greater community involvement through encouraging "partnerships" which made individual citizens also "responsible" for policing in their communities. The movement toward making citizens more responsible for crime control is a central feature of neo-liberal crime control strategies that are now being widely adopted in a number of western countries, including Canada (Smandych, 1999). Although the findings of the document analysis do not provide any clear evidence that the move to community-based policing was intentionally based on a need or desire by the RCMP to serve a governance or risk management function, this analysis provides at least some indirect evidence which suggests that the RCMP has moved in the direction of adopting neo-liberal governance and risk-management thinking as part of its approach to community-based policing. In the following chapters, attention is turned to introducing data obtained from key

informant and police officer interviews which helps to further answer the key questions raised in this thesis. In the course of this data analysis, and in the concluding section of the thesis, further attention is given considering the usefulness of approaching the study of community-based policing from a risk-management governmentality perspective.

Chapter Five

ANALYSIS OF KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The telephone interviews were included as part of the overall research design for two reasons. The first was to supplement the preceding stage of the research, as it was felt that a direct solicitation of the thoughts and opinions of those members of the RCMP at the academic and highest levels of the police organization would be equally informative. However, it became apparent that this was no minor undertaking, and it quickly became a fundamentally separate phase of the research process.

Originally the document analysis phase of the research was designed to address the first key question of why the RCMP adopted community-based policing. The purpose of these telephone interviews was merely to round out this key question. However, upon completing the document analysis it was found that partial answers had instead been provided to all three of the key questions relating to this thesis. As a result the telephone interviews were conducted with the view of identifying any and all answers to each of these three key questions, and in this regard this phase of the research has also been successful.

The second purpose was to provide a means of comparing and contrasting the responses to certain questions from the interview schedule. The contrast is between the telephone interviews and the in-person interviews, or rather between those persons at the 'policy-making level' and those members of the RCMP working on the 'front-line' of policing.

The findings with respect to these telephone interviews were again based on a qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts. These findings have been categorized and coded according to the purposes for which the various questions were designed and included in the interview schedule. As detailed in Appendix B, the telephone interview schedule consists of a total of ten questions. All of these questions are also found in the interview schedule detailed in Appendix A, thus enabling the contrast to be made. These ten questions were designed to elicit on a small scale, respondents' thoughts and opinions on four separate issues under discussion with respect to RCMP community-based policing.

The first issue was a consideration for what community-based policing is. Examining this issue offered a means of exploring how community-based policing is defined. The first four questions in the key-informant interview schedule are related to this issue.

The second issue was an examination of why the Force adopted community-based policing. To this end question number five and six were included in the interview schedule.

The third issue explored by these interviews was an effort to determine by what means community-based policing has been implemented in the RCMP. Questions seven and eight were included in order to solicit respondents' thoughts on this issue.

Finally, the writer included questions aimed at addressing the issue of whether or not the adoption of community-based policing in the RCMP has meant a change for the way policing is done; questions nine and ten were included for this purpose.

The initial research plan called for a total of nine telephone interviews to be conducted with particular respondents. These respondents were included in the telephone sample based on their knowledge of the issues related to this study. Specifically it was their intimate knowledge of community-based policing and their involvement in the RCMP's efforts to bring about this new model of policing which made their selection appropriate for this telephone survey sample. These respondents are for the most part current or former members of the Force, acting in the capacity of regular members or civilian employees. There was also one respondent in particular who does not have any formal affiliation with the Force, but as an academic has done research in the field of RCMP community-based policing.

As this stage of the research progressed, through an informal process of referral and communication between the writer and various respondents in the initial sample, the decision was made to expand the number of persons interviewed. At the conclusion of this stage of the research all but one of the originally selected respondents had been interviewed. In addition, four additional respondents were identified and selected for inclusion in the study, which brought the total number of telephone interviews to twelve.

Of this total, ten surveys were conducted over the phone by way of a direct interviewing procedure. The remaining two respondents had previously advised that they were unavailable for an interview and it was at their request that a copy of the telephone interview schedule was forwarded to them. They in turn chose to answer the questions in the schedule by way of a written format and returned the completed questionnaire to the writer at a later date. While this was not the preferred method for

obtaining their responses to these questions, the writer felt that their responses on the various issues under discussion were valuable and chose to include them in the sample at this stage of the study.

“What Is Community-Based Policing?”

As previously identified in the writer’s literature review, there is still a considerable amount of debate surrounding the definitional question of community-based policing. As this question has not been completely answered, the writer felt it prudent to attempt to address this issue here. The goal in soliciting respondents’ thoughts on this issue was not only to see how they personally identified with the concept, but also on a slightly less important scale, to see how closely their perception of community-based policing and that of the respondents in the in-person sample came to the formal definition adopted by the RCMP in their Mission Statement. In this latter regard, the research findings indicate that the respondents’ perception of community-based policing is indeed quite similar to the Force’s formal definition. In analysing the data for this set of questions, the writer identified a variety of themes in relation to the overall question of “What Is Community-based Policing”. Together these themes indicate that this sample of respondents believe that community-based policing is a dramatic improvement over the traditional model of policing and that they hold a positive view of community-based policing.

The first indication of this is the heavy emphasis placed by respondents on a police partnership with the community which is important in order to facilitate the

accomplishment of certain police goals.

Police-Community Partnership

It is held that an important component of the community-based policing philosophy involves developing and sustaining a police-community partnership.

Examples of statements and phrases belonging to this category are:

I define community policing as a functional relationship between police and citizens to provide policing services to a community. Policing services being very broadly defined, ranging the whole gamut from service to law enforcement, but involving citizens of a community intimately in that process. (Key Informant Respondent #4)

I define it by utilizing the Mounted Police definition that it's a partnership between the police and the community and I think what most people miss on that, in the delivery of providing policing service. You know, when you ask people about community policing 80 or 90 percent miss that it's a partnership in the delivering of the policing service.....If you're talking about partnerships then the community are paramount. I think we've shifted away from the 60's and 70's where we told people and elected councils when they brought policing issues to the Mounted Police, we said "Oh, now that we know about them we'll deal with them, you don't have to concern yourself." (Key Informant Respondent #9)

The role of the community is to be a social, economic and moral participant. This encourages community ownership of community issues. Ownership creates a forum to decrease conflict and promote peace and harmony. Therefore, the community becomes an active partner, working closely with the police to develop a safe, healthy community. Making a community safe is everyone's responsibility, the onus does not rest solely with the policing agency. (Key Informant Respondent #10)

It is important however, to ensure that in this partnership there is a clear role differentiation so that each partner can contribute in a way so that each partner draws

on their unique strength. Namely, it is understood that the police still retain their formal job description, while the public assists in ways which preclude participation in a direct law enforcement capacity.

Problem Solving

Through this police-community partnership can be facilitated a process of problem-solving. Particularly the focus of these problem-solving efforts will be problems of mutual consequence, so that generally speaking neither partner involved in this process will feel that their needs and concerns are overshadowed by those of the other. Some of the statements which gave rise to the identification of this category are:

Sharing the responsibility suggests that the community is willing and able to assume a role that goes beyond reporting crime to the police. Rather, it means that the community agrees to accept a more collaborative role as a partner in identifying systemic problems and working actively with the police and others to find long term solutions. (Key Informant Respondent #1)

Problems in a community are not solely that of...police, we just happen to be one social agency that's involved with maintaining peace and order and whatever else. We need to work with the communities and have the communities for instance involved with you to identify what the problems are and once you've identified the problems then we'll look at involving them in resolving the issues. (Key Informant Respondent #5)

Well I think safer communities is the most important objective really...problem solving. It really causes police officers to go beyond the actual incident and really look behind what's causing, say a crime situation and trying to find a resolution for it. So it gives them a broader application to problem solving than traditional policing which was in my early days, that was you got a complaint, you determine if a criminal offence had occurred and if it did you investigate it,

gathered evidence, went to court and you figured your job was done. (Key Informant Respondent #8)

In this process of problem-identification and problem-solving is the need to make such efforts mutual. It is not enough that there is community consultation and cooperation. It is important that the problems targeted are of mutual consequence to both the police and the community at large.

More Than Just Rhetoric

The recognition here is that there is a difference between merely talking about community-based policing and making concerted efforts towards making it a reality in the police organization. Examples of the statements that fall into this category are

To me it was at the time a blinding flash of the obvious, that community-based policing was the kind of stuff that was easy in rhetoric and difficult in application. I grew quickly tired of the mantra "we're already doing this" trying to render a small community model of policing in urban areas and so forth, that perspective came from those who in my view were completely missing the point....I actually believe now that the rhetoric was so far into the reality for well over a decade, that even when Commissioner Inkster published that famous 1989 directional statement that he decreed that we were going to embrace community-based policing, well here we are eleven years later and we can say now we are comfortably beginning to embrace it in a non-defensive kind of way, in other words the police community in itself, we've accepted it as part of the vernacular and part of the vocabulary of our work, which has taken a long time. (Key Informant Respondent #2)

The way in which it's being operationalised varies from place to place. The meaning of community-based policing is whatever the police service has defined it, how they define it operationally, and that ranges from community crime prevention officers to foot patrol programs to store front operations to problem solving, but in some places it's just a

word, it's just a philosophy, it doesn't mean anything. (Key Informant Respondent #7)

Clearly moving past mere rhetoric towards a formal implementation of the philosophy is very important.

Structural Change In The RCMP

It was also noted that structural change in the police organization is an important consideration in defining what community-based policing is. Examples of what respondents had to say in relation to this category are as follows:

Well there are all sorts of ways of describing it but one of the ways I've always emphasized it, since we introduced it into the RCMP, as the application of modern management principles to policing...it includes things like flattening of organizations, restructuring, empowering, decentralising and so on. (Key Informant Respondent #3)

That's part of it...it's the philosophy, it's also a methodology of delivering a policing service that dictates a change in management and philosophical styles of management within the organization. In order to effect an appropriate change externally from a reactive to a proactive type organization, you have to change the way you do business internally in order to allow and to facilitate that change outside. (Key Informant Respondent #12)

From this it would seem that certain respondents in this sample are inclined to agree with the observation made from the literature review, that community-based policing requires a structural re-organization of the police agency.

Accountability And Legitimacy

Finally, in response to the issue of defining community-based policing, this sample of respondents had a strong belief that community-based policing is

fundamentally an extension of the values of a democratic society. Here it was clear that respondents placed a strong emphasis on a high level of accountability to the public and on the legitimacy of the police role in a democratic society. Some exemplary statements relating to this are:

Well, I think really it's all about maintaining freedom. Freedom in a democratic sense, freedom from crime, from fear, from intimidation, from anything which is harmful.....I think community-based policing is a major contributor to the maintenance and the furtherance of the democratic values in society.....Community-based policing really shores up democracy, so it's really only able to flourish in a democracy. (Key Informant Respondent #3)

It offers, particularly in a democratic society, it offers the chance for the police to be both, seen as legitimate within the community and accountable back to the community. I know there's a lot of argument about the notion of accountability and I've heard senior police officers say that they are not accountable back to the community, they're accountable to the law and I would differ with that. (Key Informant Respondent #4)

From these emerging categories based on the first four questions in this interview schedule, it is clear to see the belief among these respondents that community-based policing is better than the traditional or professional model of policing. The fact that these respondents hold this opinion also clearly shows that they have a positive view of community-based policing.

The next categories to emerge from the data are those that came from an analysis of the respondents' answers to the next group of questions in the interview schedule. Here the concern was with what respondents said when the issue of "Why

did the RCMP adopt community-based policing” was explored.

“Why Did The RCMP Adopt Community-Based Policing?”

This issue was explored by asking two related questions, namely numbers five and six in the interview schedule. The first question asked respondents where community-based policing came from, and was included to assess whether or not they would identify the concept historically as evidenced in the writer’s review of the literature. The second question directly asked respondents why community based policing was adopted. The themes identified by the writer through his analysis of their responses to these questions are as follows:

Historic Merits Of Community-Based Policing

Respondents clearly located community-based policing in its historical context. The vast majority of respondents made the connection between modern day community-based policing and the virtues of policing first espoused by Sir Robert Peel in the 19th century. This was evidence to the writer that RCMP community-based policing can definitely be considered a throwback to its original roots and that at least in part, a reason for adopting this model of policing is to get back to the original concept upon which policing was based. The following comments are evidence of this:

Well world wide it certainly came from Robert Peel, when he formed the Bobbies, when he said...the police and the public have the same responsibilities and are the same, only the police are paid full time to do what communities should do, or something along that line. So really what he’s saying is that the community and the police are one, only the police get paid full time to do the job. I think that’s the first start of it

and if you look at the style of police work that's been done in Britain for years, it was the traditional community-based policing. (Key Informant Respondent #9)

The idea of community policing has been around since the early 1800's. Sir Robert Peel was the founder of the first metropolitan force of London, England. His nine principles of policing closely match modern ideas of community-based policing. Peel espoused that police have no power without the approval and cooperation of the public, and that police are in fact, members of the community who are employed to devote their attention to community issues and welfare (Key Informant Respondent #10)

...what comes to mind for me is Robert Peel in England, the last century where one of his works talks about the police are the community, the community are the police. So it's nothing that's new. So that's where I think it came from, we didn't reinvent the wheel. It was being used one hundred years ago, and if we went to a different professional model, and now we've come back full circle and we're coming back around to it. (Key Informant Respondent #11)

Responding To Changes In Society

The writer also identified an emphasis among some respondents on various societal influences that made the RCMP's decision to adopt community-based policing viable. These societal changes or influences can be identified by the following statements:

The philosophy of community policing has become the dominant ideology in the western world for policing. There are a myriad of reasons for this and for the most consistent in many countries, including changing demographics, increased urbanization, a perception of fear of crime, rising crime trends including violence and perhaps more importantly the realization that the Criminal Justice System and our role in perpetuating professional policing was simply ineffective in getting to the root causes of crime and public safety. (Key Informant Respondent #1)

Back in 1990 I was in charge of strategic planning and corporate policy for the RCMP and after we had done the environmental scan, sort of identified those influences that were going to have the most impact on the RCMP in the next decade which was the 90's coming up, it was things like an aging population, a big aboriginal youth population, sort of diversity and multiculturalism. All these sorts of growing social changes that were bound to have an impact on the RCMP...so when we developed the strategic plan we asked ourselves how can the RCMP organize itself to best respond to all these changes taking place in society and the answer was community-based policing. (Key Informant Respondent #3)

Political And Financial Responsibility

It is also apparent that many respondents view a political and a financial motive behind the RCMP's decision to adopt community-based policing. This is evidenced by comments such as:

...there was rising crime, the communities, municipalities, provinces were demanding more of us. We didn't have the resources to continue to do business in the same old way and we needed to get back to the community and involve them in a partnership role to resolve a lot of this. We needed to unload the demands to other parts of society that was better equipped to deal with some of these issues and we couldn't continue in the same way, we were burning out members, the case loads was increasing drastically, they couldn't devote the time to the cases that they had and where was it going to end? It was just going up and up. So we needed to take a different approach on how we did business. (Key Informant Respondent #5)

So I think to answer your question.....I think frankly, lately for the Force it's because they don't have the resources to do the kind of policing that they used to be able to do.....So my theory now is of course community-based policing has become vital to the Force because of resource problems and that the way it's being translated is using and utilizing community resources to enhance the visibility and

effectiveness of the kind of limited resources detachments have. (Key Informant Respondent #7)

In seeking an answer to the overall question of why community-based policing was adopted by the RCMP, the indication at this point is that all things considered, it presented itself as the most viable answer to a lot of problems that the Force was grappling with. Not only did it make sense in light of modern fiscal and political pressures, but bearing in mind the original principles upon which the philosophy was founded, a return to community-based policing made good sense all around. How this philosophy has been implemented in the RCMP since its inception was another matter entirely and one which the next two questions in the interview schedule were designed to address.

“How Has Community-Based Policing Been Implemented In The RCMP?”

At this juncture two questions were asked of respondents relating to the issue of how community-based policing has been implemented. The first question asked in a direct fashion how this has been done, while the second question sought to probe this issue further by asking about obstacles to the implementation process. The writer believes that assessments about current impediments to community-based policing are a good indication of how far the Force has come in this process of implementation. The various themes and categories identified here are as follows:

Increased Accountability And Community Consultation

Throughout the responses to these questions, there was an emphasis on the

importance of educating the community as to the merits and principles of community-based policing. This emphasis has been identified by the writer in terms of an increase in accountability to the public and consultation with the community at large. To a large extent the RCMP has accomplished this by engaging the community in a myriad of programs and strategies in pursuit of the implementation of community-based policing. Through these various programs the message is being sent that community-based policing involves working together with the community in order to solve problems. In this fashion increased accountability and consultation through community-based policing has been taught to members of the community. This emphasis is demonstrated by the nature of the following statements:

Well there's a thousand and one ways, I guess there's not enough time for us to talk about them all. But when you look at organizationally, being first of all open and accountable, open to the communities, as we go back to the early 90's, the detachments opened their doors and welcoming the community in, saying come on in, they were doing presentations to the community on resources, this is what we have, this is what we do.....So we, through community-based policing became more open and transparent, we were willing to talk to communities, our whole involvement with the media shifted drastically and we fostered much better relationships with the media. (Key Informant Respondent #5)

The consultative committees, the CAPRA problem solving model, and part of that, and it's still a struggle, is a better understanding of accountability. Who are we accountable to?.....I think that's also a better way of saying how we are accountable under community-based policing that everybody is accountable up the line, that they're accountable to their local community whether it's a province or a municipality or whom ever, the local, the municipality, however it's organized. (Key Informant Respondent #6)

...I mean it's ranged from crime prevention which was always there but some people considered it to be different, if you go to urban areas like Burnaby and Surrey etc. they created some decentralization of service delivery through storefronts and maybe creating patrol areas that resemble communities and neighbourhoods.....foot patrol in some areas, in some places they've created problem-oriented policing or problem solving groups, others have created neighbourhood watch, neighbourhood patrol programs, there are a variety of ways. (Key Informant Respondent #7)

Education And Training For Members

The other side of the coin regarding the implementation of community-based policing was the in-house communication of the philosophy to members of the Force. This too has been done in a variety of ways and several respondents identified the importance of this education and training process by their statements:

I think it's been implemented more in the hearts and minds, to the extent that it matters. I don't care to read anymore reports about local area initiatives and pilot projects and studies in Burnaby in all manner of things that have taken place over past years.....My sense is that the implementation such that it is has become a hearts and minds thing, it's implanted now. It's been successful in implanting it in the heads of our people and the way they go about their work (Key Informant Respondent #2)

For example, training...training was a big thing, you had to change the way you trained your recruits in order to have them not even think about the community-based policing philosophy. Just that it's part of who they are and what they do and that's what they did...(Key Informant Respondent #12)

Overcoming Resistance To Change

Through a solicitation of respondents' opinions on potential obstacles to the implementation of community-based policing in the RCMP, it was discovered that many

respondents believe there is a certain resistance to change among members of the Force. In describing this resistance, it was resistance at the leadership levels that was noted as a particular weakness in the RCMP's efforts to implement community-based policing:

They're still alive and it's out there, a lot of employees of the Mounted Police have badges in their pockets or not, or there are other members of the organization, they draw their wages from the Canadian public and they still believe or choose to believe that they don't need to subscribe to a particular model of policing, they essentially fashion themselves empowered not to. So if there is any obstacle, allowing for the fact there are these pockets, if not of resistance, then of ambivalence. The biggest obstacle to complete implementation is faint-hearted leadership and that goes right from the unit level up to the Commissioner. (Key Informant Respondent #2)

A reluctance on the part of members to switch their role from strictly enforcement and evidence collecting to one of problem solving.....So there's a reluctance on some of the people to get into that mode, they like going and just being collectors of evidence and putting it through the court system and washing their hands of it. (Key Informant Respondent #9)

There's still many members who have misperceptions of what it is, and then we have resistance. We have the misunderstanding of what it is by those who never bought in and then we have resistance from those that , the "neg-a-holics" if you want to call them, those are big obstacles because if you want people or members or supervisors in positions of authority who don't reflect the changes then it impacts a lot on the working members. (Key Informant Respondent #11)

Continuing Education And Training

As interpreted by the writer, a related and equally strong emphasis by

respondents was placed on the Force's continued efforts to facilitate the training, and thereby the education, of members on community-based policing. The point here is, with on-going efforts to overcome resistance through further training and education, the goals of implementation can be achieved. This was demonstrated by statements such as:

I believe it is reasonable to believe most employees have been formally or informally educated on what community policing means. The other significant activity was the introduction of the new Depot cadet training program where CAPRA is the operational application of the philosophy. The expectation is that cadets will arrive at their detachments armed with new knowledge and skills...(Key Informant Respondent #1)

And we saw that training was a tremendous deficit and problem for us, it was really ironic that here we were at our end in the field going out and doing training and trying to get our people in the field adapted and we were putting out recruits out of depot who were steeped and trained in the old traditions.....One of the major issues in an organization the size of the RCMP is that you can't get the attention of all of the actors in the system...(Key Informant Respondent #8)

Upon reviewing all of these categories as they have emerged from an analysis of the respondents' statements, it appears that the Force has undertaken efforts to engage both community members and members of the RCMP in its quest to implement community-based policing. It would also appear that the RCMP has not been wholly successful in this enterprise with respect to the internal implementation of the philosophy of community-based policing. While there has been and inarguably still is a degree of resistance to the implementation of community-based policing, it also

appears that these respondents believe in due time and with perseverance this resistance to change can be overcome.

“Does Community-Based Policing Represent A Change For The RCMP?”

In attempting to determine this sample's thoughts and opinions to this overall question, the writer found that the last two questions in the interview schedule related to this issue based on the writer's preceding literature review. These questions solicited responses to whether rural and small town police have always done community-based policing and if the RCMP specifically has always been doing community-based policing. In hindsight the writer believes it may have been more appropriate to ask these respondents directly if they felt community-based policing represented a change in the RCMP. However, this does not take away from the fact that this part of the schedule as structured by the writer does provide at least a partial answer to this overall question.

The answers to these questions have demonstrated that overall there has always been an element of community-based policing present in the efforts of the RCMP over a period of several years prior to the formal adoption of this philosophy. This reflects the fact that respondents recognize RCMPolicing as virtually synonymous with rural and small town policing; a role which the Force has historically undertaken through its efforts to provide policing services to rural and frontier regions of the country. In particular this sample identified the close ties members of the Force have with their local communities as an element of community-based policing that has always existed in the RCMP. However, it was emphasized quite strongly that this in

itself does not constitute a true implementation of community-based policing.

It would therefore be wrong to believe that either rural police generally or the RCMP in particular have always been doing community-based policing. The evidence for this stems from the categories and themes dominant in the responses to these questions. There were only two different categories that were identified at this stage of the interviews as there was a great deal of consistency and little if any variability in response to the writer's questions. The categories and themes that the writer identified are as follows:

Community Involvement Versus Community-Based Policing

There is a difference between merely being involved in the community and being involved in community-based policing efforts through a proactive and problem-solving approach; the respondents placed a strong emphasis in this regard. This quite clearly shows that the RCMP has traditionally been involved in the former enterprise and not the latter. The presence of this category is demonstrated by the following statements:

...I think to a degree they have, but not in a sense that we're talking about in terms of consultation, involvement, accountability. Yeah there's an involvement in a lot of the small town, rural community policing but I've also visited a lot of them within the past 10-12 years in which it hasn't been there at all...I think that the idea that the institutionalization of community-based policing as a philosophy of service delivery means that we now legitimize it across the board. I don't think much of that idea we've always done it. (Key Informant Respondent #4)

...I think that I was always very much involved in the community but you just didn't involve the community to the way that we do today, or the way that we're asking the community today. Show me a detachment fifteen years ago

that involved the community in setting priorities, or brought the community together to identify what the issues were. We thought we knew what the issues were because we got the complaints, but we determined what the issues were based on those complaints. (Key Informant Respondent #5)

I think that rural policing has been always very good at sharing information and telling people what we were doing and I think we were really involved, our members in the community. So I think those aspects of community-based policing we did very well but we did nothing in the sharing of service delivery... So I don't agree that we've always done community-based policing if we go back to the definition of a partnership in the sharing of the delivery of policing service. I don't think we've done that over the years. (Key Informant Respondent #9)

Still Room For Improvement

In dealing with the issue of community-based policing representing a change for the RCMP, the respondents in this sample were quick to point out that community-based policing has not always been done. In addition the writer detected an emphasis on the belief among some respondents that while progress has been made toward the implementation of community-based policing in the RCMP, this progress to date is tempered by the fact that more remains to be done in this regard. Thus, the RCMP have not been practising community-based policing in its truest form and there is still resistance to its full implementation and development:

Many still think it is nothing more than another name for crime prevention, including some very senior people with rank..... Yes we can claim ownership to some of what community policing stands for but not to the extent that this comment is accurate in today's context. More appropriate question may be to learn where the RCMP is on the transformation from professional policing to community policing, have we arrived and is this the best we will ever

see? In my judgement, we have only just begun to change this organization to a point that can claim to be the best in the business and that journey is totally dependent on leadership, from the Commissioner to the newest cadet in Wainwright Detachment. (Key Informant Respondent #1)

I think we probably find there have been some elements of community-based policing the RCMP has been doing. There are probably some people in the RCMP who have always been doing community-based policing and I'd say there are still a great number who aren't doing it now. With community-based policing a lot of people...they never really pick up the concept of what is there. I think a lot of people still resist... (Key Informant Respondent #3)

As previously stated, from a review of the themes and categories that the writer has detected, it is obvious that many feel that the RCMP haven't always been doing community-based policing and there has been a change in the way the Force does things. This change is based on mostly an emphasis on increased consultation with the community under the auspices of the community-based policing philosophy.

Having completed this second stage of the research design, the concern once again focuses on how the analysis of this data has contributed to answering the three key questions at the heart of this thesis. As the preceding analysis has demonstrated the answers to these key questions are apparent.

Chapter Six

ANALYSIS OF IN-PERSON INTERVIEWS

Having completed the two previous stages of the overall research design the writer moved to the third and most important stage. This involved conducting a total of twenty in-person interviews with various members of the RCMP currently stationed in rural detachments in the province of Alberta. The purpose of these interviews was to solicit in a qualitative fashion these members' thoughts, opinions, and beliefs on community-based policing in the RCMP. This was done through the interview schedule previously referred to in Appendix A, which contains all the questions in Appendix B, plus additional questions touching on these and other related issues.

In composing this interview schedule, the writer drew primarily upon the preceding literature review as presented in Chapter Two in order to attempt to fill in some of the gaps noted in the literature. In this respect the purpose of these interviews was to solicit respondents' perceptions of: the community, rural and small town policing, and a variety of other issues on community-based policing, including their understanding of policing as a form of risk management. This last issue was explored by asking questions without a specific reference to community-based policing and risk management, as it was felt that such a line of questioning would have been too abstract to pose to respondents.

The writer also felt that it was prudent to draw upon the strength of previous studies conducted in regard to the subject of community-based policing in Canada. The

questions that were drawn up and ultimately included for these in-person interviews were done at the writer's discretion and in many ways they do not resemble several of the questions from these other surveys. However, the fact remains that these previous studies were an influence on how the interview schedule was ultimately structured.

The surveys that had this influence were those conducted by: Hornick et al. (1991), Oppal (1994), and Murphy and Clairmont (1996). It was felt that by this process this thesis would have a greater chance of having increased validity. Thus, while the questions were designed and developed by the writer based on the strength of the literature review, several of these questions also were designed to touch on previous research and draw upon the strength of these previous studies.

As previously noted the various detachments from which these interview respondents were drawn was limited on the basis of pragmatism and practicality by focusing on those detachments comprising the former St. Paul Sub-division in the province of Alberta. Based on the type of sampling used in this study, namely convenience sampling, respondents were identified for inclusion in the sample on a very informal process in which those members that were readily available were interviewed. In all, the sample of twenty interviews was obtained by visiting a total of five of the detachments originally identified in Chapter Three. The final tally with respect to sampling, obtained the following distribution of interviews:

Detachment "A" -- 4 Interviews
Detachment "B" -- 3 Interviews
Detachment "C" -- 9 Interviews
Detachment "D" -- 3 Interviews
Detachment "E" -- 1 Interview

In conducting these interviews the writer felt it was important to account for the sample characteristics of the respondents. Accounting for the makeup and composition of the sample allowed the writer to account for different variables among the respondents and enabled the writer to develop an overall profile of these members of the RCMP. The writer modelled this stage of the interview schedule on the study conducted by Murphy and Clairmont (1996) and as noted below, it was in this fashion that the characteristics relating to sample composition were accounted for.

The average age of the police officers sampled was 37 years. Of the twenty interview respondents, a total of 15 constables, 3 corporals, and 2 sergeants were interviewed. All of these respondents had completed their policing service in its entirety as members of the RCMP and their average number of years of service in policing was 13 years.

On average these respondents had been stationed at 13 previous postings before arriving at their current detachment and included a variety of locations from all across the country. The average length of time respondents had been at their current posting was 4 years, and the detachments at which these respondents were currently posted ranged in size from three to ten members, with an average detachment membership strength of 7 members.

Based on these characteristics the writer was able to determine that of the twenty respondents in this sample 12 of them had been members of the Force prior to the adoption or formal implementation of community-based policing. This left only 8 members in the sample who had joined the ranks subsequent to the RCMP's

implementation of community-based policing. The writer was pleased with this result as it allowed for a certain degree of stratification within the sample as a whole enabling a potentially wider range of responses to the topics under discussion.

In terms of gender representation, of the twenty respondents, 19 male police officers were interviewed (95%), as opposed to only 1 female member (5%). As noted by Murphy and Clairmont (1996), this comes close to representing the national police average of 91% for men, and 9% for women. Also, based on the sample responses, 65% of those interviewed completed some form of post-secondary education, while the remaining 35% had high school as their highest level of educational achievement. The fact that all of these respondents had attained a high school education is a reflection of the Force's hiring standard which holds a high school diploma as a bare minimum for acceptance as a member of the RCMP.

Respondents were also quizzed in regards to the length of their training at the start of their RCMP career, both in terms of basic training and field training. The vast majority of respondents stated that their basic training consisted of 6 months at the RCMP Depot in Regina, Saskatchewan, so the average length of basic training for this sample was 6 months. Subsequent field training was conducted within the first several months at a member's first posting. The average length of field training for those interviewed was also 6 months.

The vast majority of those interviewed stated that they had received subsequent training courses since completing their basic training. However, few respondents felt that any of these courses were in any way related to community-based policing.

The most interesting intra-sample comparison to be made, was of course between those responses from the 12 members that had been in the RCMP prior to the adoption and implementation of community-based policing, and those responses from the 8 members who joined the Force subsequent to this development. When it came to assessing whether or not these members had ever received training with respect to long-term problem solving techniques, the answers given were dramatically split depending on when the respondents had joined the Force. Those that joined prior to the implementation of community-based policing did not experience a level of training with an emphasis on problem-solving. On the other hand, those members who joined the Force subsequent to the implementation of community-based policing, did have a strong measure of problem-solving incorporated into their training. Most notably this emphasis on problem-solving was in the form of the CAPRA problem-solving model, which is an essential component of the RCMP's current basic training syllabus.

It was found that in conducting the content analysis on the in-person interview transcripts, after accounting for the questions relating to sample characteristics, the open coding process could be applied to only 25 of the 45 questions in the entire interview schedule. This was also because due to practical reasons related to the research design and methodology several of the questions in the schedule were designed to solicit only one word answers from the interview subjects, often in the form of 'yes' or 'no' answers. Thus, the findings from the interview schedule have been analysed according to the various issues the questions represent in the context of community-based policing.

On more than one occasion several questions were designed to address the same issue and were included in the interview schedule on this basis. Based on the strength of the writer's literature review and in keeping with his desire to find answers to the key questions at the heart of this study, these various questions have touched on the following 13 issues related to community-based policing:

- Community-based policing and problem solving.
- Defining community-based policing.
- Defining a community.
- The community role in community-based policing.
- Level of community involvement in community-based policing.
- Members' opinion of community-based policing.
- The origin of community-based policing.
- The reason for adopting community-based policing in the RCMP.
- Community-based policing representing a change in the practices of the RCMP.
- Members' time devoted to community-based policing practices.
- Implementation of community-based policing in the RCMP.
- Community-based policing and rural/small town policing.
- Community-based policing and risk management.

Inter-Sample Comparison

While it is important to analyze all of the responses given with respect to these various issues, and to note the important differences between the pre-community-based policing and post-community-based respondents in this sample, it was of primary importance to conduct the previously mentioned inter-sample comparison. This is of course the contrast between what the telephone respondents and the in-person respondents had to say in regard to the ten selected questions in both interview

schedules. This comparison and contrast was especially illuminating as there was a high degree of similarity with respect to the four larger issues being addressed by these questions. However, there was also a measure of difference between the two samples. These similarities and differences are noted below. The findings for the in-person interviews for the purpose of comparison are presented in the same manner as those previously described for the telephone respondents.

“What Is Community-Based Policing?”

With respect to addressing this issue in this phase of the research design, and as reflected in the findings for the policy-making level of respondents, several categories were identified in the data by the writer. The findings are as follows:

Community Participation In Policing

When responding to the first four questions as found in the telephone interview schedule, the front-line members of the RCMP demonstrated their belief that community-based policing involves largely the involvement and participation of the community in policing efforts. The following statement is an excellent example of this emphasis:

To me community-based policing is having the community, and all the people involved in the policing of their community, involved with the police in deciding how their community is going to be policed. (Front Line Police Respondent #1)

This emphasis and belief in the importance of having the community members involved in the policing enterprise is quite similar to the emphasis placed on a police and

community partnership by the policy-making level of respondents. It is apparent that the interview subjects from both samples believe that the philosophy of community-based policing fundamentally involves the police and the community working together.

Problem Solving

There was also a strong similarity between the two samples in terms of an emphasis on problem-solving. While respondents emphasized the involvement and participation with the community, it was important that this be done with a view to addressing problems in the community. A characteristic response by the various detachment level members in this regard is:

It's more than us working in a community with ten different laws or whatever we're enforcing, it's sitting down, getting feedback from the people in the community as to what they perceive our role as, getting their buy-in on problem solving.....It's sitting down with the family members after and coming up with a different resolution, whether it's probation or whether it's working with the family or just dealing with it...like it's not just the straight law. (Front Line Police Respondent #7)

Despite these similarities there were also some important differences between the two samples. This was apparent in the identification and emergence of the following two categories which were unique in the in-person sample.

Drawbacks To Community-Based Policing

While overall the detachment members had a positive view of community-based policing in the RCMP some did express the opinion that as a philosophy of policing it does have its potential drawbacks. While the pros far outweigh the perceived cons in this regard, certain members felt that the high level of community consultation tends to

place a definite strain on members' abilities to do everything that the community asks of them. As a prime example of this, one respondent made the following statement:

I think it works. I think it's also very labour intensive to use in the way the Force wants us to use it. It takes a lot of time but I think the intentions of the Force and the people who promote it are very good. If you've got the time to, take the time to do it regularly.....I have these discussions all the time, it's a hard thing to balance out. (Front Line Police Respondent #4)

This type of response was not identified in the interviews obtained at the policy-making level.

Community-Based Policing Is Nothing New

This particular category identified by the writer is also unique to the respondents from the in-person sample. At this stage of the interview, respondents were queried about what they knew and thought about community-based policing. Some respondents identified the Force's present community-based policing philosophy as something which the RCMP has always been doing. It was interesting to see that these respondents identified community-based policing on the basis of what it is not, ie. something new. An example of this is the following statement:

Really, I think that is what has been happening all along, that's what the whole thing was and recently, now the RCMP has been referring to it as CAPRA, but even the old school, find out what the problem was by talking with or being a part of the community and using it for them to solve it or find out the best answers. (Front Line Police Respondent #20)

While not a predominant type of response at this stage in the interview, it is a point of view that was not expressed by any of the telephone respondents.

Meeting The Community's Needs

There was one further similarity noted between these samples. Whereas the telephone respondents identified police accountability and legitimacy as the most important objective of RCMP community-based policing, the in-person respondents made it clear that meeting the community's needs was a paramount concern. An example of this similarity is provided by the following statement in which a respondent identifies the most important objective of community-based policing:

To police the community in a way the community sees fit, I guess. Understanding the problems in the community through the community, through the planning and policing activities and working with the information we receive from them, understanding their problems as they see it. (Front Line Police Respondent #4)

It is obvious that the belief that the police are ultimately accountable to the community, is one which is shared by both those members at the policy-making level and on the front-line of policing.

"Why Did The RCMP Adopt Community-Based Policing?"

The analysis next moves to a consideration of how respondents answered the question relating to the issue of why the Force adopted community-based policing. In reviewing the members' thought and opinions in this regard, a degree of similarity was again noted in comparison to the telephone interview respondents. There was also a degree of difference, particularly with the view that community-based policing is something that the RCMP has always been doing.

Community-Based Policing Has Always Been Done

Here among the detachment level members there was a much stronger belief than among the telephone respondents that the Force has always been doing community-based policing. While there was a measure of variability among these members in the degree to which community-based policing has always been done, this overall belief is in stark contrast to the policy-makers who did not place an emphasis on this same belief. Comments that give rise to the identification of this category are of the following nature:

It's always been there. It just never had a label before... Since I joined it was never called community-based policing, it was just getting in tune with the community and policing to the best of your ability. (Front Line Police Respondent #9)

The concept has always been there, and I don't think that it just sort of got developed. I think the term community-based policing got applied to a way of doing things that has been happening for a long time. (Front Line Police Respondent #12)

While these respondents identified community-based policing as something that the Force has been involved with throughout its history as a police organization, few respondents identified the philosophy historically back to 19th century England as did the members at the policy-making level.

Cost Effectiveness

As with the telephone interviews, the front-line members also identified that a contributing factor in the Force's decision to adopt community-based policing was the need to be responsible in terms of resources and cost-effectiveness. Members clearly

believe that the Force had to change in this way to meet the needs of the society at large. This finding is somewhat similar to the categories in the telephone sample of 'Political and Financial Responsibility'. This is demonstrated by the following types of comments:

In my opinion it's been adopted by the RCMP because during the 80's we suffered severe financial budget crises because of the government. Therefore we had to get innovative and be somewhat effective so they adopted the philosophy of community-based policing to take more advantage of our resources so we could do more with less. (Front Line Police Respondent #10)

Well I think the biggest thing behind it is the cost factor of policing and the fact that we can't do the job by ourselves.....the cost of policing is a high dollar value associated to it and the public doesn't want to spend the money on it. (Front Line Police Respondent #11)

I think the timing of it, what was most important...was the timing...crime rates weren't going down, there wasn't general satisfaction with the policing in Canada. In addition, our financial cutbacks, we needed additional resources and methods for solving crime and increasing our service.....so it fit well with the problems we'd been having in the RCMP and the mood we had, financial cutbacks and that. So I think that's why it's been successful and that's why everybody's moved to it, because it has so many advantages to it. (Front Line Respondent #16)

Natural Evolution Of Policing

The final category for this stage of these interview questions reflects yet another similarity between the two interview samples. A predominant type of response by the members was that the RCMP's adoption of community-based policing reflects an evolution in the way the Force delivers its policing service. In this respect this finding is

similar to the category of 'Responding To Changes In Society' as found in the telephone interviews. This natural evolution of policing was identified by the writer on the basis of the following types of response:

Through some of the problems that we've encountered we realized that what we were doing wasn't working and we had to get on side and had to bring the community into the policing of their community for us to be effective. And I think that was an evolution, it was some people that were not resistant to change that were looking at better ways of doing things, and so it's kind of come about from that. (Front Line Police Respondent #1)

It was just a natural evolution of policing. More people began to see good benefits of community policing. Years ago people would have done things, there would probably be a few things that individuals who would do things a little bit differently, see how it works, got results, and it caught on I guess...I imagine it was progression that over time people would do things differently and it would catch on eventually, it would be built up to what community-based policing is now. (Front Line Police Respondent #5)

The theory or just the fact that...I guess just with policing experience it develops. I mean it's only a natural way to go about policing and enforcing the laws by getting to know your clients, direct and indirect. (Front Line Police Respondents #13)

Thus in addressing the question of why the Force adopted community-based policing, as with the previous question, there are both similarities and differences among both samples of respondents. The most important difference appears to be the belief held by detachment level members that the RCMP has always been doing community-based policing. This finding among these respondents remains constant throughout the comparison of the two samples.

“How Has Community-Based Policing Been Implemented In The RCMP?”

The comparison and contrast continues with an analysis of how the members feel the Force has implemented community-based policing. Once more the trend of certain similarities and differences is apparent in the responses given by respondents.

Increased Community Consultation And Involvement

With the identification of this category it was apparent that there was a shared belief among both samples that community-based policing has in large part been implemented through attempts at improved police consultation and involvement with the community. The following statement is an example of this:

Just getting out there, getting to know your communities more, on a higher level than just a response to emergencies and calls I guess. We're being encouraged by our leaders, here in our case the Sergeant of our detachment to get out there and know the public. Community-based policing entails almost everything be it waving at someone as you drive by them, taking half an hour to play basketball with the kids, D.A.R.E. classes, go up to the old folks home to play a little bit of cards with them, it entails everything. (Front Line Police Respondent #3)

I think it's from the police going to community leaders and community leaders representing people's desires for what they should be doing. The police have responded accordingly and adopted new programs, more focus on enforcement in certain areas and more or less listening to the community rather than making decisions without consultation. (Front Line Police Respondent #14)

Through the establishment of community advisory committees, to create...a bridge to the community as a whole, and the individual detachments. The community advisory committee is seen to serve as an outlet to the community, that the people in the community feel more comfortable addressing concerns to a community advisory

committee member instead of going directly to the RCMP, and then the advisory committee in turn could consult with the RCMP on the concerns of the community. (Front Line Police Respondent #15)

Education And Training Of Members

Another similarity between the samples is where respondents indicated the importance of efforts to educate and train the members of the RCMP in the merits and principles of community-based policing:

I guess the largest way that comes to mind is in the training of new members coming out, because we are trained to always be thinking of community-based policing philosophies, objectives, and CAPRA again. To keep that in our mind with everything that we are involved in just to, you know, think about the partnerships we have in the community, think about who our clients are, think about ways of assessing what we have done, and gathering data and about all the things involved in CAPRA. (Front Line Police Respondent #5)

I think it's been handed down from the higher up. Like say the chain of command, they're implementing, like they're trying to do more community-based policing...where people can work with different individuals like say at the detachment level. And educate the members to get in more of a police-based relationship with individuals. (Front Line Police Respondent #17)

We were instructed through Depot, I know that the recruits coming out today are given courses in community-based policing, what it's all about, problem solving methods, I think there's enough training there...that's all I'm familiar with. (Front Line Police Respondent #18)

Community-Based Policing Has Always Been Done

As noted already, there is a general theme which is pervasive among the in-

person interview sample. This theme is the belief that community-based policing is something that the Force has always done. While it should be noted that not all respondents in this sample hold this exact opinion, the presence of such responses in this sample versus the absence of such responses among the policy-makers is significant. In responding to queries regarding how the RCMP has implemented community-based policing, the following type of response was identified by the writer:

I really don't think it's changed great...like it wasn't implemented...so besides making the more formal things, the CAPRA thing, and trying to find your partnerships, and searching with all these people which now, OK is a formal step, but it used to be...they just did it. (Front Line Police Respondent #19)

We have a lot of things like the educational program with the members going to schools, different groups in societies...taking part in all the community activities, but a lot of that was done before as well. (Front Line Police Respondent #20)

Overcoming Resistance To Change

As with the telephone interview sample, there was a strong belief and emphasis that members of the Force are resistant to change and this is a major hindrance on efforts to implement community-based policing. However, unlike the telephone interviews, where respondents placed an emphasis on those in positions of leadership in the Force, the emphasis here was on the attitude of members of the RCMP regardless of their rank and title:

There are still a lot of people out there, there's still a lot of people that are resistant to change...they perceive community policing as soft police work, and I would say it's the middle-of-the road-member, that they weren't instructed

in community-based policing concepts from the beginning...I think the older or the more service or the more seniority that you have, you realize what we were doing wasn't working...(Front Line Police Respondent #1)

These old dinosaur members that like doing things the old way, old school...just aren't into this pro-active policing. (Front Line Police Respondent #10)

I guess I would say old dogs don't learn new tricks very well. Some of the older members have worked in some of the past systems and different communities where it's very rigid getting them to just buy in is a tough thing. I don't think there's a problem getting the community to buy in, the community will buy into it any day if they can get to know more about their policing. The hardest part with us is internally, is getting all the members to buy into it and say this is going to be a good thing. (Front Line Respondent #11)

One would be older members that don't want to do it as much and don't feel the community should be able to tell them what they should be able to do...And depending upon where they sit on the level of things and how much influence they have. (Front Line Police Respondent #12)

Managing Competing Demands For Time

It was also noted that among the in-person respondents there was a belief that another major obstacle to implementation is a lack of time available for members to meet community-based policing demands. While similar to a previous category within this same sample, this category of response was not found to be evident among those respondents at the policy-making level:

At times, one of the biggest obstacles is time. Time and manpower...community-based policing as I said earlier is something that we do on a very frequent basis or throughout our day, but the programs that are initiated, sometimes are difficult to meet in a small detachment...it makes it difficult if sometimes not impossible to satisfy that commitment...and if

it happens over a period of time it becomes a negative and people will begin to say, well you just don't care. (Front Line Police Respondent #2)

I think that a lot of members, a lot of the detachments that are short staffed, they don't have the time to sit down and meet with people or worry about getting the whole community perspective on something. It's you know, this is how I'm going to deal with it, this is how I'm going to work with it. It think that might be a hindrance. (Front Line Police Respondent #7)

In review of these categories or themes as they have emerged in the data, it is apparent that the inter-sample comparison has so far noted some similarities but also some important differences with respect to the three issues thus far explored in these interviews. These differences, as the writer shall demonstrate, are most pronounced when the next issue is addressed; namely whether or not community-based policing represents a change in the practices of the RCMP.

Does Community-Based Policing Represent A Change For The RCMP?"

At this juncture the differences noted between the findings of the in-person and the telephone interviews continue. The findings indicate that the detachment level members are more inclined to believe that community-based policing has always been done by the RCMP and thus it does not truly represent a change from previous policing practices. The findings from the interviews conducted at the policy-making level indicate that there is a marked difference between mere community involvement, which usually is more common in rural areas, and true community-based policing. This same belief was also reflected by many of the responses in the in-person interviews.

However, more of the members in this sample were of the opinion that community-based policing has always been practised by the RCMP. There were no respondents at the policy-making level that expressed this belief. As a result of the content analysis at this stage of the inter-sample comparison, two distinct categories have been identified.

Community Involvement Versus Community-Based Policing

This category of response was similar to that in the telephone interviews where it was believed that a slight measure of community-based policing was present in small town and rural police efforts but not community-based policing as defined by the Force.

A reflection of this similarity is found in the following comments:

To some degree, yes we've been meeting with people and talking to people, but we didn't necessarily listen to what they had to say. We were still trying to instill our ideas on them, and say "Yes, yes I know what you're saying", but we didn't have a clue as to what they were saying, we didn't understand what they expected from us. PR and what not cannot be confused with community-based policing.....we weren't very far away, but we weren't right on the money either. (Front Line Police Respondent #1)

I think we probably were, just because you're in a small town, and you're involved....but, I don't think that we've let the community in or the town people in as much as we do now with community-based policing.....I think with community-based policing there's more of a feedback from them and it's more of a partnership. (Front Line Police Respondent #7)

I think that we've always lived in the small communities and been a part of the various families through our involvement in sports, coaching, that sort of thing. However, we've never looked at the problem solving way of doing things, we always felt that what we knew was best, and who better to know how to do policing than the police.....we've always been community policemen, but not by definition community-

based. (Front Line Police Respondent #18)

Community-Based Policing Has Always Been Done

The majority of the respondents policing rural detachment areas were of the opinion that community-based policing has always been done within the ranks of the RCMP, especially due to the fact that the Force has a history of policing small town and rural areas. The belief here is that the Force has simply coined a new phrase for a way of policing that is already in existence. This finding differs greatly from the responses of those in the telephone interview sample and is evident by the following type of comment:

There's no doubt in my mind that that's what we do and have done all along.....As I said earlier, all we've done is give it an official name...but I believe we've done it for the entire life of the RCMP. It's something that we've always done and I think it's what we're identified for as members, and that's what our reputation is built on...how we serve the public, and how we deal with them as not only men and women but as members of the Force. (Front Line Police Respondent #2)

Whether it be called community-based policing or something else there has always been an emphasis within the RCMP because we're primarily a rural police force to be involved in communities and that is typical of rural police in Canada. That is, police living in communities will be involved with the community. So I think it's been ongoing, it's just had a different name, a different face...(Front Line Police Respondent #14)

This particular finding is indeed a profound difference in comparison to the policy-making sample. The implications of this difference, along with implications of other findings of this study, are addressed in the following discussion chapter.

Chapter Seven

DISCUSSION

As the title of this thesis indicates, one of the major concerns surrounding this study has been the desire to determine if indeed community-based policing is simply "old wine in new bottles." To find the answer to this question, it was necessary to first answer two specific questions, namely why and how community-based policing has been adopted and implemented in the RCMP.

It has been noted in the Force's Mission Statement that community-based policing "is a partnership between the police and the community, sharing in the delivery of police services.....to prevent or resolve problems that affect the community's safety and quality of life." Through the research efforts of this study, it has been determined that this is what the Force holds to be true, with an emphasis on problem solving. In addition it has been determined that the first two key questions at the heart of this thesis have been answered.

In response to the third and final key question, it is the writer's view that community-based policing most definitely represents a break from the bureaucratic, professional, and traditional model of policing which dominated police practices for most of the twentieth century in North America. The research findings of this thesis undeniably reflect the fact that there has been a change in policing practices, so in the case of the RCMP community-based policing does not simply represent "old wine in new bottles."

However, it is perhaps most important to pay credence to Leighton's (1994) observation that for the RCMP the adoption and implementation of community-based policing did, for the most part, not require a dramatic overhaul of police operations. The reason for this lies in the fact that the majority of the Force's efforts are geared towards the delivery of policing services to rural, small town, and frontier regions of the country. The research in this thesis has demonstrated that due to the heavy community involvement which members of the RCMP across the country engage in as a natural by-product of living and working in such an environment, the RCMP as a whole did not have as far to go, as perhaps other police agencies did, to begin the process of implementing community-based policing as a comprehensive philosophy and model of police work. It must be noted that while there was an identified need for change, the Force has made great strides in this regard to build on its base of community involvement by increasing the level of community participation and consultation with an emphasis on problem solving. However, it cannot be said that the Force has been wholly successful in terms of the implementation process.

Clearly, as evidenced by the writer's analysis of the RCMP policy documentation in the first stage of the research, and the subsequent telephone and in-person interviews, there are some perceived obstacles which have hindered this process. It is apparent that many members of the RCMP who are engaged in rural detachment level policing believe that community-based policing is something that the Force has always done. It would appear that much of this belief is based on the RCMP's proud history of policing rural and frontier regions of Canada. As the research as a whole shows, this

belief may not be substantiated to the degree that the various members would like. After all, as previously indicated there are many programs and strategies which may represent a form of community-based policing, but do not in fact paint the whole picture of what community-based policing truly is. In this respect it can be said that mere police involvement with the community does not represent the RCMP's vision of community-based policing in its entirety. By the same token, it was noted that some front-line members believe that community-based policing is an individual program and that the CAPRA model by itself represents the Force's vision of community-based policing. It is clear that these beliefs are also flawed.

Drawing on the research findings for this thesis it is possible to speculate on how the Force can continue to make inroads on its efforts to implement community-based policing and thereby build upon the success it has already made in this regard. If as one member of the RCMP put it, that "fainthearted leadership" is a definite impediment to progress, then perhaps placing those members who have the foresight to see beyond the ingrained belief that "the RCMP has always done community-based policing" in positions of leadership in the future will go a long way towards improved, and hopefully full and proper implementation.

An important aspect of the research findings has been the comparison made between the key respondent telephone interviews and the in-person interviews. Upon review of the findings it is obvious that there are definite similarities between the answers from the two samples but also some very important differences. In relation to the issue of what community-based policing is, it was found that both samples generally

have the same understanding of the principles and the philosophy of community-based policing.

As far as the issue of why the Force adopted community-based policing is concerned, some strong similarities were noted between the two samples. The shared belief is that community-based policing simply represents a much better way of doing things in the delivery of policing services to the community. The important difference, however, is that among the so-called policy-makers and academics there is no firm belief that community-based policing has always been done by the RCMP.

When the issue of how community-based policing has been implemented in the RCMP was addressed, there were again some strong similarities. However, the detachment level members through their responses expressed the belief that the RCMP has always been doing community-based policing.

Finally with respect to the issue of community-based policing representing a change from previous RCMP practices there was a measure of similarity but also a very important difference between the two samples. The most notable difference is of course where the detachment or so-called front-line members demonstrated a distinct and fundamental belief that community-based policing is nothing new in the ranks of the RCMP; rather it is just a new name for what the Force has always done.

The degree of similarity and the degree of contrast between these two samples is both promising and disappointing. The similarities demonstrate that overall the respondents from both samples have a very positive outlook and belief in the merits of RCMP community-based policing. The contrasts that have been noted are equally

important because they demonstrate that despite this global high regard for community-based policing, there are definite differences in opinion between these two levels in the Force hierarchy. Most important is the view of the policy-makers, that community-based policing has for the most part not always been done by the RCMP, whereas the front-line members are more inclined to believe that this has always been the case.

These research findings must of course be tempered by the parameters set out by the research design. Having conducted an exploratory analysis of RCMP community-based policing by drawing on the experiences of a select number of rural detachments and their members certainly limits the generalizability of the study. If the results of these in-person interviews can at all be reasonably extended to other rural detachment areas and or provinces, as the writer believes, it is interesting to speculate as to the implications this research has for the RCMP's community-based policing efforts as a whole. These findings may account for why the Force has not been completely successful in its efforts to implement community-based policing. If those members on the front-line of policing do feel strongly that community-based policing is nothing new, they may be less inclined to embrace the philosophy in the way that the senior management of the Force would like. This may indeed help account for the various obstacles and impediments as noted by the RCMP in its efforts to implement community-based policing in a comprehensive fashion. Thus, despite the substantial progress that has made to date, it appears that community-based policing has not been fully implemented in the hearts and minds of the RCMP membership. It would also appear that unless this situation is resolved there will continue to be obstacles and

impediments to reaching the desired level of implementation of community-based policing in the ranks of the RCMP.

It must also be noted that despite the findings, this study should in no way be interpreted as a criticism of the daily operational efforts of the front-line members of the Force. Although there is some confusion over the issue of what community-based policing is and what it means to these members, there is no question that they consistently strive to deliver a professional and high level of policing to their respective communities. It is the writer's firm belief that with perseverance and time the Force will ultimately be successful in implementing the community-based policing philosophy fully and completely. Once this occurs it will be incumbent on the RCMP membership as a whole to ensure that this process remains alive, and that the Force does not regress or slip back to a style of police service delivery symptomatic of the professional model of policing. It is clear from this thesis that the RCMP and the public at large cannot afford the cost should this happen.

While there are potential drawbacks and a certain amount of growing pains associated with any new development or change in an organization like the RCMP, there is definite room for optimism that the progress made to date to implement community-based policing will not be stymied or falter. These efforts will no doubt continue and the obstacles and impediments to this process will likely be overcome with time.

A final issue to be addressed in this thesis is the relevance of previous research which has approached the study of community-based policing from a neo-liberal

governance risk-management perspective. Although the research carried out for this thesis has been inductive in nature and not aimed at either substantiating or discrediting previous studies which have viewed community policing as a new form of governance and risk management, the findings of the study do provide some indirect support for the claims of governmentality researchers. For example, both the document analysis and interview data have provided evidence of the important extent to which the success of community-based policing is believed to depend on nurturing partnerships with individual citizens that are aimed at encouraging them to become more responsible for crime control in their communities. This type of evidence provides at least indirect support for the view that, whether knowingly or unknowingly, in recent years the RCMP has moved in the direction of adopting neo-liberal governance and risk-management thinking as part of its approach to community-based policing. Whether or not this move will bring about a better type of policing in the future remains to be seen, but it is clear at the present time that the potential benefits of community-based policing far outweigh the perceived costs.

Chapter Eight

CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It is obvious that community-based policing has had a significant impact on the current operational strategies of the police in Canada generally and of the RCMP in particular. What was less certain at the outset of this study was how truly successful the Force has been in implementing this seemingly "new" policing approach throughout the entire organization. After all, it has been observed that one of the main issues facing Canadian police executives today is how to implement community-based policing in a systematic way and on a department-wide basis (Leighton, 1994).

The literature based research for this thesis has touched on some of the major issues in the field of community-based policing. One of the most important of these is the apparent lack of research that has been done on this topic. In particular it was noted that a genuine concern of many academics and police practitioners is the lack of research that has been conducted on community-based policing in Canada. As such, it is felt that the findings of this thesis may prove to be a valuable sociological contribution to this area of study.

A review of the various definitions and interpretations of community-based policing has demonstrated that consensus on a proper working definition of the term may never be reached. At the same time it is important to recognize that a widely accepted view of community-based policing is that of a philosophy, the basic premises of which are a willingness by the police to work in partnership with the community, with

an emphasis on problem-solving, and a recognized need for restructuring within police agencies to allow for the meeting of organizational goals and objectives. The research efforts of this thesis have served to substantiate this definition.

The literature review on rural and small town policing demonstrates that there is a strong belief in academic and police circles that the police who work in rural areas have always been providing community-based policing services. It has also been argued that, as with other police forces engaged in rural and small town policing, the RCMP has always been doing this type of police work. As a result, it was hoped that through this thesis, in seeking to capture the thoughts and perceptions of members of the RCMP, the degree of truth in this statement could be determined. The interview findings of the various front-line police respondents in this study are evidence that this belief is a common one among RCMP members at the rural detachment level in Alberta. This examination of members' opinions has indeed been enlightening as community-based policing has formed an important and integral part of the Force's approach to policing in our post-modern society.

As previously mentioned there are three important questions which this thesis has sought to answer. While some partial answers to these questions had already been identified through the literature review, it can be said that more complete answers have been afforded by the research design and efforts of this thesis. The three-part qualitative methodology of private document analysis, telephone surveys, and in-person interviews, with an emphasis on this latter stage of data gathering has produced a rich quality of data. The subsequent analysis of this data has resulted in some

interesting findings.

The data analysis has found that the motive behind the Force's adoption of community-based policing was a fundamental recognition that this model of policing was best suited for addressing the current and future challenges facing the RCMP. It has also shown that through a myriad of various initiatives designed to capitalize on the good work already being done by its members, the RCMP has sought to enhance its police-community partnerships across the country. In addition, these initiatives have served to convey an understanding and appreciation of the RCMP's community-based policing philosophy among its members, to enable them to better serve their respective communities. This formal change in policy and implementation of community-based policing, can be seen as a distinct change in terms of RCMP thinking and practice.

While this thesis has found that community-based policing does represent a change from previous RCMP Policing practices, it is easy to see why several front-line members hold the misperception that community-based policing is what the Force has always done. It is this misperception and lack of understanding about the principles of the community-based policing philosophy that demonstrate the need for a continued and determined effort aimed at overcoming the obstacles and impediments to change in the RCMP.

In addition this data has been analyzed with a view to conducting an examination of community-based policing within the theoretical context of neo-Foucaultian governmentality and risk management thinking. As previously noted, this theoretical framework provides a useful lens through which the community-based

policing efforts of the RCMP can be analyzed. Based on the findings of this thesis alone it cannot be said that there is conclusive proof that the motive and purpose behind the Force's adoption of community-based policing is the need and desire to enhance the police's ability to govern others. However, as previously indicated, there is indirect evidence to indicate that the RCMP has made a move toward a community-based policing model that is consistent with neo-liberal and risk management thinking.

In light of these findings it is important to consider their implications from a policy-making point of view. Drawing on the results of this thesis, it is obvious that a great deal of effort has been made to bring about change throughout the RCMP with the ultimate goal of ensuring community satisfaction with the level and type of policing service provided. Unfortunately the research findings indicate that more remains to be done in this regard. It is apparent that future and on-going community-based policing efforts must continue and should perhaps be sensitive to the results of this thesis. It is the writer's belief that these efforts must be geared towards a recognition of future research in the field of community-based policing. Bearing in mind that very little research appears to be done in the area of Canadian community-based policing, it is imperative that future research interests in this field include further exploratory and evaluative studies. It is important that this research include studies that are conducted by the very police agencies and organizations that are attempting to embrace the philosophy of community-based policing.

As previously noted, the findings of this thesis must inevitably be tempered by the parameters of the research design. For this reason future exploratory studies of

community-based policing in rural Alberta could attempt to expand on these parameters by including a broader sample of RCMP respondents in the province of Alberta, or perhaps a sample of respondents from other provinces where the Force is responsible for policing small towns and rural areas.

In the final analysis, it is apparent there is much that remains to be done in the realm of research in community-based policing in general and RCMP community-based policing in particular. It has been stated that the ideal of community-based policing has not yet been fully implemented as an overall philosophy by any police force, and that such implementation will not be easy to achieve (Moore, 1994; Bayley and Shearing, 1996). It is also quite obvious that this sort of implementation is a goal of most police forces that subscribe to the philosophy of community-based policing. In this respect the RCMP is no different, and as Himelfarb (1997) has observed: "Perhaps most important, the RCMP is coming to recognize that change is now part of our lives and we can shape it for the good of the community and for the future of the RCMP." The degree to which this can be properly facilitated to ensure the success of community-based policing, depends largely on future research efforts in this area, and the willingness and determination of the RCMP membership as a whole in this endeavour.

APPENDIX A

In order to facilitate the proposed qualitative research, and as previously indicated, the writer chose to conduct in-person partially structured interviews. For this purpose the following interview schedule was utilized as the data collection technique. The extent to which these interviews are scheduled, rests in the questions being asked in a particular sequence, and in the fact that the questions are specifically worded. In contrast to a highly scheduled interview, for several questions there are no predetermined response categories for respondents to choose from, as these would have restricted their answers. Indeed, it was a calculated decision to ask open-ended questions in these interviews for the writer believed it was important to not restrict the form of information given by the respondents in any way (Gorden, 1980; Patton, 1980).

Sample Characteristics

What is your age?

What is your gender?

What is the highest level of education you have attained?

What is your current rank in the RCMP?

How many years have you been posted at this detachment?

How many members are normally posted at this detachment?

How many years of service do you have in police work?

How many years of service do you have with the RCMP?

How many previous postings have you had with the RCMP?

Background/Training In Community-based Policing

How long was your basic training for the RCMP?

What did you do in your basic training to learn about community-based policing?

How long was your field training for the RCMP?

What did you do in your field training to implement community-based policing practices? (If "negative" ...Why do you say that?)

Since your basic training have you taken additional training courses?
(‘Yes’ or ‘No’)

How many of these courses have been related in some way to community-based policing?
(What were these courses?)

In your training did you ever learn about a long-term problem-solving approach to policing?

Police Officer’s Perceptions of Community-Based Policing

Do you feel that a problem-solving approach to policing has always been used by the RCMP?

How would you define community-based policing?

How would you define a community?

In your opinion, what is the proper role of the community in community-based policing?

In your opinion, how involved is the community in policing?

What is your opinion of community-based policing?
(Why do you feel that way?)

In your opinion, where did community-based policing come from?

In your opinion, why has community-based policing been adopted by the RCMP?

Has the RCMP's adoption of community-based policing changed the way policing has been done? (How so?) (If "no"...Why do you say that?)

Please answer 'yes' or 'no' to the following statements:

- 'Community-based policing has provided the RCMP with greater public acceptance'
- 'Community-based policing has meant greater police accountability for the RCMP'
- 'Community-based policing has resulted in a more efficient use of police services'
- 'Community-based policing has resulted in an increase in police effectiveness'
- 'Community-based policing has resulted in an increase in job satisfaction'
- 'Community-based policing is a new idea'

Based on your understanding of community-based policing, how much of your time on shift is spent on community-based policing duties?

(None/Little, Moderate, A Lot)

Based on your understanding of community-based policing, how much of your time on shift is spent on non community-based policing duties?

(None/Little, Moderate, A Lot)

Based on your understanding of community-based policing, do you feel it is important for there to be structural change in the police organization?

('Yes' or 'No')

Based on your understanding of community-based policing, do you feel it is important for there to be a police partnership with the community?

('Yes' or 'No')

In your opinion, what is the most important objective of community-based policing?

What do you think of the comment that 'The RCMP have always been doing community-based policing'? (If "positive"...How so?)

Is the community more involved in policing now than it was prior to the RCMP's adoption of community-based policing?

Police Officer's Perceptions of the Implementation of Community-Based Policing

In what ways, if any, has community-based policing been implemented in the RCMP?

In what ways, if any, has community-based policing been implemented at this detachment?

Do you feel these initiatives are tailored to the needs of this particular community? ('Yes' or 'No')

Do you feel that you are allowed to be creative in your approach to policing? (If "yes"...why is this so?)

What obstacles do you perceive, if any, to the implementation of community-based policing?

Police Officer's Perceptions of Rural & Small Town Policing

In your opinion what is the difference between rural and small town policing, and urban policing?

What would you say is the most important role for the police in a rural and small town setting?

How has the adoption of community-based policing in the RCMP forced rural and small town detachments to transform their operational strategies, if at all?

What do you think of the comment that 'Rural and small town police have always been doing community-based policing'?

Police Officer's Perceptions of Policing as Risk Management

In your opinion, does policing involve identifying potential risks to the community? ('Yes' or 'No')

In your opinion, does policing involve making the community aware of potential risks? ('Yes' or 'No')

In your opinion, what constitutes a potential risk to the community that you serve?

APPENDIX B

The following interview schedule has been modified from the in-person interview schedule as noted in Appendix A and is comprised of a total of ten questions. These interviews also differ by virtue of the fact that they were conducted on a much smaller sample of respondents, and included members of the RCMP employed at either the administrative or the policy-making level, as opposed to members working at the rural detachment level.

'Policy-Making Level' Perceptions of Community-Based Policing

How would you define community-based policing?

In your opinion, what is the proper role of the community in community-based policing?

What is your opinion of community-based policing? (Why do you feel that way?)

In your opinion, what is the most important objective of community-based policing?

In your opinion, where did community-based policing come from?

In your opinion, why has community-based policing been adopted by the RCMP?

In what ways, if any, has community-based policing been implemented in the RCMP?

What obstacles do you perceive, if any, to the implementation of community-based policing?

What do you think of the comment that 'Rural and small town police have always been doing community-based policing'?

What do you think of the comment that 'The RCMP have always been doing community-based policing'?

APPENDIX C

LETTER OF CONSENT

Murray Wayne DYCK
1833-1A Street Crescent
Wainwright, AB
T9W 1N4
(780) 842-5506

Dear Sir or Madam,

This interview is being conducted in order to gauge the thoughts and opinions of members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on the issue of community-based policing in rural Alberta.

The adoption of the community-based policing model by the RCMP is a relatively recent development. As a result the researcher feels it is important to identify at a grassroots level the reason(s) behind this development. It is hoped that by interviewing members of the Force, who are engaged in the delivery of police services at the rural detachment level, the researcher will achieve a better understanding of why and how community-based policing has been implemented.

It must also be noted that these interviews are being conducted as part of a larger study which is being done in order to fulfill the requirements of the researcher's Master's degree in Sociology. The interview itself consists of several open-ended questions on the issue of community-based policing and is expected to take approximately 25-30 minutes to complete. This interview will be conducted with the use of a tape recorder, and all the responses you provide as well as your identity as a respondent, will be kept strictly confidential. The results of the study and the final report will be made available to yourself and other individual respondents if so desired.

Furthermore, please note that participation in this study is completely voluntary. As a result you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to refrain from answering any questions you so choose without fear of prejudice or consequence.

This study has been approved by the Department of Sociology Research Ethics Review Committee at the University of Manitoba and the Faculty of Arts Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects. Any questions or concerns regarding this project may be directed to either the researcher, or the Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Manitoba (1-204-474-9260), for referral to the Research Ethics Review Committee.

I, _____, acknowledge that I fully understand the purpose of this interview and that the researcher is soliciting my thoughts and opinions on the issue of community-based policing. I further acknowledge that I do hereby consent to my participation in this study as an interview respondent with the understanding that all information provided by myself will remain confidential.

(Respondent Signature)

(Date)

(Researcher Signature)

(Date)

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