

**SMALL TOWN POLICING AND THE COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING
MOVEMENT**

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INTRODUCTION

Community-based Policing, an ideological movement in police culture over the past fifteen years, developed in cities, often large cities, but one of its imperatives according to many advocates and evaluators has been to effect the kind of policing deemed characteristic of small towns. The writings on Community-based Policing (CBP) as a social movement have been focused more on theory (for example, the social construction of CBP) and programmatic (for example, potential advantages, pitfalls, etc.). The accounts of CBP have, virtually exclusively, been focused on policing in these large cities.

Simultaneously with the elevation of Community-Based Policing (CBP) as the benchmark of progressive policing, there arose a counter, critical interpretation claiming variously that CBP had not been implemented or that attempts at implementation actually had little impact on police culture. According to the debunking motif, regardless of the content of the reforms undertaken, CBP was essentially a government-sponsored movement designed to restore the legitimacy of the policing establishment in the wake of the public relations disasters of the 1960s -- inner-city riots and apparent crime waves (Mastrofski 1991; Crank n.d.). CBP survives as part of the official morality for policing, despite the fact that it is largely not implemented and unexamined. We wish to examine the Community-based Policing movement as it has emerged in small towns, concentrating on the ideational level. Our focus is the impact that this social movement has had on small town policing at the level of values, attitudes, and strategies.

In this paper, we intend to explore the ideological construction of the concepts Small Town Policing (STP), police professionalism and Community-based Policing. Although CBP may have originated as a reformed urban model which was claimed to be derived from small town policing, Community-based Policing is now, in turn, being introduced (some would say reintroduced) into small town and rural policing in the absence of any severe legitimation crisis, although not without a certain legitimating (or, we will argue, strategic) function. It is the dynamics of this diffusion we wish to explore. How has the CBP model played out in small towns? How has it been perceived in the police culture there? What has its impact been on small town policing?

Police professionalism emerged in response to perceived deficiencies in the small town model such as excessive parochialism and discriminatory enforcement. In turn, CBP responded to the perceived deficiencies of professionalism. To the extent that there are close affinities between CBP and small town policing, professionalism may be seen as the antithesis of both. It is the dynamics of these different conceptualisations we wish to explore, focusing specifically on the images held by police officers in small towns.

In exploring these themes we especially examine the legitimising and strategic value of CBP ideology in the small town context. We explore how it is perceived and thought about by police officers associated with quite different police organizations and committed to different policing styles (that is, RCMP and Municipal Police) and we explore the impact of the ideological movement on a number of issues such as the

relationships between police and their governing authorities, collaborators and clients, and the movement for amalgamation/ regionalization of services. Throughout this latter exploration we are especially interested in how the CBP ideology might effect the identity of small town policing not only from the vantage point of the individual officer but also at the level of the police culture itself. Does the CBP movement assist in the development of a more genuine small town police culture? Is it good for the small town?

GENUINE AND SPURIOUS CULTURES

Our approach is influenced by social constructionism. We examine the conceptions of Community-based Policing and Small Town Policing as they have developed; how they influence one another at the ideational level and how they impact on officers and on policing. Thus, we look at the interests, pressures, and knowledge that have generated and sustained CBP and its associated myths such as, perhaps, the image of small town policing itself (Crank, n.d.). In this regard, our approach is contextual social constructionism (see Best) in that we think it relevant to examine how these constructions and myths relate to experience and we assume that, to some extent, claims can be assessed.

In assessing these social constructions, we have found it useful to revisit Edward Sapir's 1924 article "Culture, Genuine and Spurious" in which he distinguished between these two types of culture. Sapir made the argument (1964) that there is no necessary correlation between the development of civilisation and the relative genuineness of the culture which forms its spiritual essence. In his view, "The Indian's salmon-spearing is a culturally higher type of activity than that of a telephone girl or mill hand simply because there is normally no sense of spiritual frustration during its prosecution, no feeling of subservience to tyrannous yet largely inchoate demands, because it works naturally with the rest of the Indian's activities instead of standing out as a desert patch of merely economic effort in the whole of life. A genuine culture cannot be defined as a sum of abstractly desirable ends, as a mechanism." Rather, Sapir's image is a sturdy plant growth, fed by the sap at its core, an image which is a metaphor for the group as well as the individual. "A culture that does not built itself out of the central interests and desires of its bearers, that works from the general ends to the individual, is an external culture." The genuine culture is internal, "it works from the individual to ends" (:93).

The main idea here is the notion of "working naturally with the rest of the activities". In more modern terms, an activity may be considered relatively congruent or not in contradiction with other practices. According to Sapir (:90), "the genuine culture is not of necessity either high or low; it is merely inherently "harmonious, balanced, self-satisfactory. It is the expression of a richly varied and yet somehow unified and consistent attitude" toward life. This "harmonious synthesis" builds itself "out of the central interests and desires of its bearers" (:93). Every part of life "economic, social, religious, and aesthetic -- is bound together into a significant whole" (:96). "It is ideally spiritually speaking, a culture in which nothing is spiritually meaningless, in which no important part of the general functioning brings with it a sense of frustration, or

misdirected or unsympathetic effort" (:90). He railed against the deliberate attempts to impose a culture.

In the context of the contemporary small town and small town policing, the notion of spurious may be considered in terms of the degree of fit between ideology and practice. Sapir's distinction directs one to examine the fit of cultural elements in this instance of models of progressive policing with actual sanctioned police activities, and of the myths of community and communitarianism with sanctioned practices of inclusion and exclusion. It compels one to make assessments about appropriate fit, to assess in an overall sense a particular cultural system, in this case, Small Town Policing.

To what extent is there role congruence or incongruence between the demands and needs of the small town and the policing style practised by the local police? Is there a contradiction between the existing social construction of small town policing and actual norms and practices? Would Community-based Policing ideology be more congruent with community norms than a more legalistic, professional model?

Our referent point (not necessarily our thesis) is that Professional-based Policing (PBP) (or COP models of policing) created major contradictions for Small Town Policing while modestly effecting harmony and congruence with respect to the myths of community and the factors of inclusion/exclusion; that is, PBP/COP created a major disjunction between ideal policing and the realities of policing a small town. At the same time, it did modestly effect equal opportunity with respect to the policing service, thereby, in that sense, being relatively more "genuine". PBP/COP was a style which was congruent with community demands for solidarity and privacy, and also with the requirement for an equal opportunity model of policing. In this perspective, CBP may be seen as instrumental in effecting a more genuine type of Small Town Policing in both these respects: where the conception of ideal policing better fits sanctioned Small Town Policing, and where there is a greater and more equitable inclusion of community segments. On the other hand, CBP may effect neither of these scenarios since it may be utilized as a strategic myth to justify intrusive policing as well as exclusion of some community segments, and only specific elements of CBP may be highlighted.

Social actors can respond to situations of contradiction or incongruity in more than one way. Congruency theory suggests, for example in relation to policing, that if not given an opportunity to fight crime, then crime-fighting decreases in desirability for the affected officers. People adjust to incongruency or spuriousness to limit their stress and dissatisfaction. However, if training, images, attitudes, etc. continue to highlight discrepancy, the resolution may be more problematic. Similarly, community members may respond to a shift away from PBP/COP to CBP in more than one way. Expectations may change; community members may expect more extensive policing than is possible or they may become more critical of existing policing practices.

THE COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING MOVEMENT

The literature on Community Based Policing is extensive. CBP is more a philosophy than a specific programme (Clairmont, 1991). CBP has three main features: an expanded role for the police in society, a movement away from the militaristic hierarchy

towards more participatory management, and expanded linkages between the police and the community. These elements entail more decentralised decision-making, job enrichment and autonomy, proactive, problem-solving policing, involvement of the community in police planning and accountability, and the creation of a more expansive constable-generalist role for uniformed officers (Clairmont, 1991: 3. See Keeling and Watson, 1982; Braiden, 1987; Loree, 1988; Koller, 1990; Murphy 1988).

The literature on CBP also includes a social constructionist perspective which is sceptical of both the images of the community upon which CBP rests and the depiction of small town policing practices, defined as the "watchman" style, both of which Crank (n. d.) claims represent legitimating myths. In particular, Crank argues that the CBP ideology has broad social appeal and is capable of including a wide variety of policing strategies. In particular, Crank argues that CBP is capable of adjusting to political swings: both more liberal as well as right-wing policing practices come under the general rubric of CBP. Crank distinguishes between more "liberal" programmes focusing on crime prevention and problem solving (community development), and "conservative" practices (aggressive order maintenance) which emphasize community interests above individual rights and thereby become "a mechanism for the distribution of nonnegotiable coercive force" (Crank n. d.: 346). Within the implicit myth of "community", the enhanced role of the police runs the risk of anti-individual and extra-legal tactics in the name of communitarianism. In urban areas, this risk from the organisation's point of view can be offset by decoupling, or downloading responsibility to the officer, but this devolution is much less possible in a small town milieu.

Clairmont (1991) argues that, "Successful constructionism appears to depend upon the congruence of three factors, namely interests, pressures and knowledge" (:3). Community Based Policing originated from internal organizational pressure as well as from external pressures in multi-cultural urban centres deriving from a reform movement the objective of which was to provide an alternative to the revealed short-comings of legalistic, big-city policing. In this respect, knowledge mobilises by critiquing the existing model and by "proffering a persuasive alternative thrust" (:4). Ideologically, CBP harkened back to a supposedly earlier and simpler model of policing which had developed spontaneously in rural and small town communities. According to this perspective, CBP was neither new nor innovative; it was simply small town policing writ large. This connection between CBP and small town policing (STP) is made explicit in the perceptions of small town and rural police officers (Weisheit, Wells and Falcone 1994). According to Weisheit, *et al.*, (1994: 566), "rural policing presents an ideal type example of community policing."

The CBP movement, then, also refers directly to the myths of "watchman": and "community". The parallels between Community-based Policing -- at least the liberal version -- and the small town model will become apparent. The police are quick to point out that community-based policing is what they have always done in a small town. The discussion below suggests that there is a justifiable kernel of truth in this claim, although even the urban constable generalist is different from the small town constable because the former will actually do more complex investigative work while the latter will continue to

perform a diverse set of tasks. Furthermore, small organizational size prevents much formal devolution of command and management, and the geography of the small town causes greater visibility therefore diminishing opportunities for widespread use of uncontrolled discretion.

Community based Policing was originally an urban phenomenon. Legalistic policing, particularly in minority urban neighbourhoods in the United States and Britain, was fraught with contradictions which were starkly exposed in the upheavals of the 1960s. The need for greater police accountability to the "community" was a demand which was voiced by representatives of specific ethnic or sub-cultures which had been the target of aggressive, legalistic policing. Military-style pacification had failed; new police tactics were urgently required. Crank (n.d.: 328) argues that urban riots and public mistrust in the United States led to a stage at which "public degradation and revocation of legitimacy occurred ceremonially" with the issuing in 1967 of the Kerner Commission (which identified racism and violent police conduct as central causes of the rioting) and the Crime Commission (which claimed that police professionalism had failed to halt the rise in crime (:328-329).

Subsequently, Crank says, the re-legitimation of the police in the United States rested on an official foundation of financial and ideological support for CBP supplied by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (n.d.). In Canada, the "movement" for Community Based Policing had similar entrepreneurial support through the Department of the Solicitor General. Community-based Policing may have been sparked by protest from below but, in its institutionalisation, it was a top-down "movement". Essentially, CBP is now the official morality in policing despite relatively modest implementation. CBP has been absorbed. Rather than being simply passé, however, it is embedded at the mythical level despite modest implementation and impact. The institutionalisation of CBP is evident in the changed terminology which makes policing more legitimate and acceptable in the eyes of other institutional actors. For example, in towns and cities of all sizes, the "Police Department" has become officially the "Police Service" and the police officer provides "community services" not "operations".

COMMUNITY-BASED AND SMALL TOWN POLICING -- THE LINKAGES

From the point of view of small towns, CBP ideology derived from urban policing and has diffused to rural settings where there are some affinities. Most importantly, since CBP is now the most widely accepted definition of progressive policing, the small town model has a new legitimacy. If in urban areas, CBP means rationalising and institutionalising elements which occur more spontaneously in small towns, once diffused back to small towns, CBP means more than a simple reiteration of the "service" components which had been provided under the older small town model as well as practices made inevitable by the small scale of the community, such as close contact with the policed population and intense community involvement. The introduction of CBP into small towns formalises and rationalises certain spontaneous elements of community policing, for example, by establishing Block Parent or Neighbourhood Watch committees. These formalised organizations can appear to offer a service component which is much

closer to the demands on the police voiced by community residents and elite alike. Consequently, the small town police department's claim to be doing CBP gains considerable currency.

Weisheit *et al.* emphasize three main affinities between CBP and STP: accountability, connection, and problem solving. Police in small towns are less likely to use their powers of arrest, exercise a much wider service mandate, and operate a more generalist policing style (more out of necessity than design). Probably the major assumption of congruence between STP and CBP is a close relationship between the police and the community. This is problematic without considering what is meant by "community" and who may be excluded by and included in such a definition. Weisheit (*at al.*, 1994) claim that CBP and STP tend to hire local citizens (e.g., the hiring of minority officers under CBP initiatives) who live in the community they police (a factor which is less likely to be true of urban CBP) (:556). Consequently, the police "are much closer to the people" (:556). In both CBP and STP this greater knowledge "allows . . . officers greater latitude in disposing of cases informally" using "arrests as a last resort" (:557). The difference, Weisheit *et al.* note, is that these "features of rural policing . . . arise quite naturally and spontaneously and are not the result of formal policies or of specific community policing programs" (:558, emphasised in original). Probably the major assumption of congruence between STP and CBP is a close relationship between the police and the community. This, we have argued, is problematic without examining the potentially negative consequences of close affinity between the two. The general expectations on small town police is that they will be both professional (competent investigators, impartial enforcers) and also be actively involved in the community.

Weisheit *et al.* are aware that CBP has elements of a double-edged sword. The key distinction noted by Weisheit *et al.* is that CBP is "formalised and rationalised" whereas STP is informal and spontaneous (:565). Liberal CBP is the introduction, into legalistic, crime-fighting policing, of an additional component of organizational change and public service. Minimally, it is a dedicated add-on, a public-relations desk with a liaison officer whose job is to co-ordinate civilian crime-prevention, "advisory" groups and police-community relations.

CBP, then, is entirely consistent with and thrives within bureaucratic, legalistic policing. This has a great deal to do with the relatively easy adoption by the RCMP of CBP. Where there is no political accountability to the community, it is possible to construct an advisory group (by hand-picking the membership), supposedly representative of community "sectors", which is distinct from formal political control, so that the force remains accountable to elected officials in only the most perfunctory way.

SMALL TOWN MODEL

There is little written on small towns with reference to policing issues. In Canada, Murphy (1986) contrasted the RCMP style of town policing with a municipal model (MPD). Apostle and Stenning (1989), in their "Public Policing in Nova Scotia", discuss STP in terms of peacekeeping and informality, and they note the great variation in style, effectiveness, types of policing services provided, and so on. They also provide data

substantiating the claim that STP is characterized by tangible political interference, citing evidence from small town Chiefs who claim that local political elites believe they “own” the department and can dictate to the Chief.

Swanson, in his *Small Town and Small Towners*, argues that small towns continue to have a “deep sense of community” (1979: 51) which involves seven attributes: “It stimulates enduring loyalties to a place, create immobility, increases attachment to conventional approaches, enforces a narrow moral code of behaviour, personalises issues and events, generates myths and heroes, and ensures solidarity among the citizens.” Furthermore, “residents take pride in their ability to cope with their conditions” (: 51) and “the value that is most deeply held is that of privacy, and the implicit right not to be bothered or even governed” (:54). To the extent that such a deep sense of community, conceptualised by Swanson in an American context, characterises Canadian small towns, than a non-intrusive, professional and reactive style of policing might be generated spontaneously and, hence, contain an element of genuineness.

According to Murphy, in the early 1980s, 72% of police departments in Canada had fewer than twenty employees and seven million Canadians lived in rural areas or small towns. However, there were very few studies of policing in these areas. What evidence there was (Murphy 1985) that in the pre-professional era the external social and political environment did exert a profound influence on rural and small town police activities. However, as Maureen Cain (1973) observed, “the members of the community defined for him [the police officer] what was trivial and what was important and what was real police work and what was not”.

The small-town chief of police has long been the subject of social satire. The Hollywood perception of small town policing has, similarly, not been very positive, at worst characterising it by a “cracker” image and, at best, by paternalism. During the early decades of the 20th century in the Maritimes, a style of policing small communities arose characterized by a Chief-of-all-trades (see McGahan). It is from this position of relatively limited prestige that contemporary small town policing has developed. The image of rural/small town policing was essentially peace-keeping within a consensual, watchman style; an essentially social, nonintrusive, community-influenced, conciliatory and based on shared values, as opposed to legalistic policing where the style was reactive and the goal was public order maintenance.

As described by Weisheit (*et al.* 1994), small-town policing is characterized by greater concern with crime prevention, “problem-solving and order-maintenance functions”, and the delivery of a wide range of services deriving from “irregular occurrences” (:552). Rural police officers were “viewed as an integral part of the community”, interacted with citizens in a relatively informal way, achieved personal respect from citizens, knew and appreciated “the history and culture” of their community including offenders, and were more responsive to the local community (: 552-554).

Weisheit *et al.* claim that this style of policing small towns corresponded with Wilson's “watchman” typology. Wilson's watchman was an urban beat cop who patrolled an established block of streets on foot, knew community residents (businessmen and trouble-makers), was primarily oriented to peace keeping, and solved most disputes

informally. He was also prone to minor corruption, gave preferential treatment to local elites and dispensed crude street justice to low status peace-breakers.

Certain aspects of this watchman model approximate the style characteristic of small town police departments in Nova Scotia in the early 1950s and corresponded to a considerable degree with the nature of these towns. At least relative to urban areas, small towns were characterized by an abundance of primary rather than secondary relationships. Personal relations were more likely to be face-to-face and multi-dimensional. People -- including police officers -- had a diffuse sense of obligations. The essence of small town policing was this close affinity between the police and those citizens on behalf of whom they policed. The fundamental issue that arises here is the optimal social distance between citizens and enforcement officials. An officer with diffuse and widespread friendship networks may be prone to turning a blind eye to even serious criminal matters. Being hired and fired by Town Council, in addition, puts the police officer in the pockets of the political elite, giving rise to preferential treatment for the elite. Furthermore, too narrow an adherence to specific community norms might induce the police officer to enforce rigid standards on unpopular but generally socially harmless deviants.

It might be safe to claim that there was a general agreement among the town elite (small business owners and professionals) as well as the majority of stable and established residents that the primary responsibility of the police chief was to maintain public order. The targets of this public order maintenance were youth, particularly but not exclusively disadvantaged youth, and the lower social classes. Policing helped keep the lower orders in their place and preserved the tranquillity and order of the town on behalf of the majority of the residents. Small town policing, however, could often be highly discriminatory and inequitable. Finally, it must also be emphasised that there is considerable variation in small town policing depending on such variables as policing model (e.g., RCMP vs. MPD), or region (e.g., Valley vs. Cape Breton).

CRIME-ORIENTED, LEGALISTIC POLICING (PBP -- PROFESSIONALISM)

The disadvantages of the small town "watchman" model became increasingly apparent given the changed nature of local communities in the second half of the 20th century. The change in size, diversity and nature of the communities, as well as an increased number of public complaints about disorder and crime, precipitated the adoption of a legalistic policing model in small towns. Police chiefs had been hired on the basis of local politics and were often incompetent to meet the new demands of their job. Local politicians, who ran the police as they did any other town "department", became increasingly dissatisfied with the effectiveness of the police and with the people running the department. Towns were prepared to adopt an alternative policing model, consistent with the wider image of policing which newer residents brought with them and which everyone imported from the national media.

This new conceptualisation was termed "professionalism", although a more precise designation would be crime-oriented, legalistic policing. This "modern" conceptualisation contained elements which compensated for some of the deficiencies of

the small town model, but also included elements which made the new style depart substantially from community needs and concerns.

The RCMP epitomised this crime-oriented professionalism in Canada. Returning to Wilson's typologies, the RCMP provided a "legalistic" style of policing which endorsed maximum social distance between the police and the community rather than intense community involvement, claimed to offer non-discriminatory treatment for all, and focused on crime-fighting and the legalistic laying of formal charges rather than service. The equivalent force in the United States, as Weisheit *et al.* point out, is the State Police (with a jurisdiction similar to the RCMP in Canadian rural policing). Both rural police forces "have relatively little connection to local social networks", are frequently transferred and are "statistically oriented" (:564). This orientation would be challenged subsequently by what became known as Community-based Policing. Rather than being opposed to professionalism in general, Community-based Policing may be compatible with the crime-oriented, legalistic aspects which defined "professionalism".

One question is the extent to which a particular policing style can be said to be congruent with the needs and expectations of the policed community. Kaill's study of urban and rural crime statistics indicated that, with respect to personal offences, there was little difference between rural areas/small towns and cities, while there were greater differences in property crimes, with urban rates consistently higher than rural/small town rates. There was, however, not much difference in public order offences. Victimization studies show that rural citizens are less likely to report offences to the police than urban citizens. Small towns, however, had the highest rates of obstruction, disturbing the peace, trespass, and wilful damage to public property. They also have the highest rates of offences involving municipal by-laws and provincial statutes (principally the Liquor Control Act). According to Murphy (1986), these public order offences are proactive in the sense that the police initiate the citizen contact.

The trade-off for the towns which adopted this legalistic model was, first, a loss of control. The RCMP style of legalistic policing demanded maximum independence from local political control. The second trade-off was service. Where the small town model of policing differed from the urban "watchman", described above, can be demonstrated using another of Wilson's typologies: the service-oriented policing model. According to Wilson, the service style characterized ethnically homogeneous suburbs where neither crime-fighting nor order-maintenance were high priorities. Instead, the police adopted a low-profile enforcement image, a relatively wide service orientation, and a rapid response provision. Affluent suburbanites didn't want to see the police often, but wanted them immediately when they were summoned.

Small town municipal forces, knowing that they are dependent on the good will of the Town Council and, ultimately, of influential citizens, similarly perform a host of service functions, from escorting funerals to making daily inspections of temporarily vacated private property. Minor complaints are handled carefully because such treatment of community residents enhances the public relations image of the department. Legalistic policing, on the other hand, does not provide a service-orientation but, instead, emphasizes competent crime investigation and the equitable processing of charges.

Initially, it was this competent and equitable "professional" image for which many small towns contracted and, in the process, they knowingly sacrificed the service component.

In municipal policing, legalistic norms were grafted onto the earlier watchman/service orientation, which did not disappear (in contrast to the RCMP model of small town policing described above). However, the further professionalism went in the small towns, and it tended to go furthest in the larger as opposed to the smaller centres, the more certain negative consequences of this new style became apparent.

DEFICIENCIES OF LEGALISTIC, CRIME-ORIENTED POLICING

In the past, small town police looked to big city policing style as the cutting edge. At the root of the deficiencies of this new "professionalism" is the extent to which the style is congruent with the expectations and requirements of small town policing. Under the legalistic mandate, there is less interest in community consultation, school liaison, etc., narrowing the policing mandate considerably from the community model derived from Swanson. As Murphy's research on small town police has indicated, officers trained in crime investigation, weapons use, street survival, and hostage negotiation find the routines of walking the beat, rattling doors, chalking tires and directing cross-walk traffic frustrating if not demeaning. The self-definition of offices as basically crime fighters is accompanied by a disdain for the "social work" aspects of a service-oriented department. By legalistic standards, service is not "real police work". Second, modernised equipment meant, above all, the patrol car. As constables began to walk less and drive around more, the social distance between them and both the town elite and the citizens widened. Alienation grew and the officers' job satisfaction declined. This social separation is aggravated in situations where a strong police union buttresses an independent police culture, as the example of Cape Breton communities shows, discussed below.

The problems which characterised many of the small towns during the change from an older watchman style to legalistic, crime-oriented policing resulted, in part, from deficiencies of the watchman model, such as inequitable treatment and incompetent personnel. According to this perspective, problems arose from an incomplete adoption of the professional model. Poor training and supervision, for example, allowed for unjust, discretionary treatment. The solution, then, was greater professionalism. To the extent that equitable, just treatment of all becomes police practice, the policing style meets one of the most important criteria established by most community members. But it can also be argued that the standards of crime-oriented, legalistic policing are somewhat incongruous with the actual experiences of policing a small town. Even though police, to an extent, construct crime, by their daily decisions and classifications of acts, small towns are not seriously crime-ridden. Even in large departments it has been discovered that only a small part of most officer's time is spent on criminal investigation. This discrepancy is magnified greatly in a small town. The experience is inconsistent with the ideology. It may be more consistent with the new standard of modern policing which claims to be community-based.

Does CBP authenticate STP, making it more genuine? CBP has highlighted responsiveness to minorities and issues of social development, hardly what small town

policing was all about. Ironically, the more conservative, order-maintenance oriented style of policing, which still comes under the rubric of CBP, may be more congruent with some of the more objectionable and inequitable practices of police in small towns. Arguably, then, the police need professionalism to avoid the narrow interpretation of the "community". They need to follow the guidelines of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Multiculturalism Act, allowing for a more inclusive definition of community which recognises and accommodates to diversity. Professionalism was supposedly to benefit small town policing, making it less politically driven and giving directions to the police themselves (Murphy 1986). In Nova Scotia, the key developments were police unionisation (beginning in the late 1960s), the 1974 Police Act which established provincial standards and established Police Boards in municipalities formally separated from Town Councils, and the establishment of the Atlantic Police Academy (APA) to train officers professionally. Professional policing, therefore, had an element of genuineness about it to the extent it countered a narrow majority or elite agenda, in which the police were aligned with the myth of the unitarian small town. The main point of our argument, however, is to note the growth of incongruence between the implementation of police professionalism in small towns (from the beat to the patrol car, or the introduction of FATS training for example), and the needs and demands of the citizens. PBP in the small town generated the fundamental problem of spuriousness, of being wedded to a professional model that could cause low self-esteem among officers because of the realities of the demand on small town police, principally the absence of big crime and the multitude of service demands. At the same time, given the diffuseness of the demands on the police, they found it difficult to remain aloof. Murphy (1986) contrasted the older cop who walked the beat in the downtown and possessed a wealth of community knowledge, and younger APA graduates who cruised about in the patrol car and knew very little about the town or the policed population.

Clairmont's research in Cape Breton, where regionalization of policing is occurring, indicates that few people miss the small town model which was practised there. An aloof, PBP model was sustained by a strong police union in the midst of a strong union-culture. In this situation, for example in Dominion -- unionised policing in a union town -- police rejected most CBP-type initiatives, such as school liaison. The view was expressed by Town Councillors in Glace Bay that professionalism had replaced the older community style with an inappropriate alternative. In New Waterford, the police appeared to be largely uninvolved, formally or informally, in community activities. On the Northside (Sydney), large problems had developed between police and youth and also with drug use. In addition, Clairmont found that the political culture was also opposed to certain CBP initiatives, particularly the establishment of grass-roots groups as community consultative committees. Local political elites were concerned that such organizations would become either pressure groups for the police or provide a basis for opposition local politics.

Community-based Policing may have been urban-generated, but it does provide small town policing with possibilities for genuineness in two senses, namely giving a better self-image as practising progressive policing, and providing better relations

between the police and the non-elite constituencies. Again, the main rider on this optimistic view is that CBP may be used to justify aggressive order maintenance which violates minority rights in the name of the majority community.

DATA: OFFICERS' VALUE ORIENTATIONS

In addition to having undertaken extensive ethnographic, historical, and comparative work stretching over several years on policing in the small towns and rural areas of the Annapolis Valley, Nova Scotia, a questionnaire was utilized to assess officers' orientations on a variety of conventional issues. The questionnaire was completed in 1991 by all officers in the Annapolis Valley, that is a total of 53 officers including 29 RCMP members, regular and specialists, from the New Minas detachment and 24 police officers from the municipal police departments (MPDs) of Kentville, Berwick and Middleton. New Minas, an incorporated village about the size of Kentville, is a suburban -- subdivision and shopping mall -- growth area adjacent to several established small towns in the Valley. We were able to obtain a 100% return rate for our sample of police who self-completed a short structured questionnaire that also contained a few open-ended questions.

Figure One provides details on the survey population. It can be seen that this grouping is predominantly male (90%) and mostly of constable rank (75%) but otherwise quite diversified in terms of educational level, age and having family ties in policing. Valley police officers are about evenly divided among those with college vs. high school education and over and under 35 years of age; roughly forty percent have (had) older close relatives with policing experience.

FIGURE ONE
Survey Population Characteristics: (Raw Numbers)

		Overall	RCMP	MPD
Force		53	29	24
Rank	Constable	39	21	18
	Other	14	8	6
Education	High	26	10	16
	College/U	27	19	8
Age	34 and	25	10	15
	35 and	28	19	9
Sex	Male	48	25	23
	Female	5	4	1
Police	Yes	22	11	11
	No	31	18	13
Med. Yrs.		10	15	5.5
Med. Yrs. in		7	5	9.5
Med. # Train.		6	4	7.5

The chief differences between RCMP and MPD officers include the higher educational attainment of RCMP officers and the fact that the latter are more likely to be older and more experienced officers. Since MPDs still place some emphasis on hiring locals and having their officers live within their jurisdiction it is not surprising that the MPD officers have lived for more years in their current community (10 years to 5 years for RCMP). This variation underscores the RCMP policy of having policing done by members from other provinces rather than by locally-born officers, and of relatively frequent transfers (although the number and distance of transfers are both decreasing because of high costs). Surprisingly the MPD officers on average reported taking almost twice as many training courses as their RCMP counterparts; this unexpected finding masks the fact that some RCMP officers have taken a very high number of training courses while on the other hand a large number apparently have taken none.

POLICE ROLE IN SOCIETY

Twelve questions dealt with how officers might envisage the police role in society. Factor analyses of these questions indicated that the questions did not yield readily grouped responses; rather four significant and different factors were found dealing respectively with a community order emphasis, a professionalism approach, a 'solidarity with one's fellow officers' emphasis and a crime fighting emphasis. Since no index could be reliably constructed the items were analysed individually under the above named themes.

There is considerable consensus indicated in the responses pertaining to the police role. Virtually all officers agreed that 'spending time talking to ordinary citizens is good police work', and that 'maintaining peace and order among citizens is just as important as catching criminals'; consistently they disagreed that 'the best way to measure police efficiency is by detection and arrest rates'. On most other items there was significant officer variation but surprisingly little difference between MPD and RCMP officers. Table One details the areas of agreement and variation and indicates areas where the latter is accounted for by force style as compared to officer attribute (1).

There was a modest tendency for RCMP to stress enforcement and crime fighting more than MPD officers did. While 90% of the MPD group disagreed that police should restrict their activities to enforcing the law and fighting crime, 'only' 70% of the RCMP group disagreed. And while 60% of the MPD officers agreed that 'making an arrest is not usually the best way to solve a problem', only 40% of the RCMP held that view. Similarly MPD officers were more likely than their RCMP counterparts (60% to 40%) to disagree with the statement 'enforcing the law in society is the most important job of the police'. Consistently too virtually all MPD respondents agreed that police should be involved in all aspects of community problems not just crime related problems while 'only' 70% of the RCMP agreed with that position. The other area of modest difference between MPD and RCMP officers concerned accountability / solidarity. RCMP police were a little more likely to disagree with the views that 'police are already accountable to their organisation and the Police Act and should not be further accountable to

community organizations' and that 'discipline decisions regarding police officers should not be made by external bodies' (45% to 33%). And while only a minority of all officers disagreed, RCMP officers disagreed the most (30% to 80%) with the view that 'it is important for police officers to stick together and not disagree in front of outsiders'.

The small number of officers in both the MPD and RCMP groupings make it difficult to assess from these data alone the unique impact of force membership but sometimes one suspects that it is minimal. This is particularly the case on matters of accountability and solidarity. The response differences between young and old respondents, between constables and those of higher rank, and occasionally between the better and the less educated, were greater with respect to these statements than the RCMP-MPD differences. This finding in turn suggests that age and rank factors may be more significant with respect to accountability and solidarity than whether one is an RCMP or MPD officer. A good example of this point is the response to the statement dealing with the appropriateness of external involvement such as review boards in police disciplinary decisions. Less than 30% of the constables agreed that it was appropriate compared to over 70% of the higher ranked officers, a percentage gap far greater than the 10% difference between RCMP and MPD overall.

On the other hand the response differences pertaining to enforcement and crime fighting do seem to be related to police force style; whether one is RCMP or MPD matters more for these concerns than whether one is young or old, constable or higher rank. Educational attainment though remained very important and probably accounts for a fair portion of even these RCMP-MPD differences since as noted above the two forces also differ in terms of the proportion of their officers having low (i.e., high school or less) educational attainment; for example almost 70% of the lesser educated officers disagreed that 'enforcing the law in society is the most important job of the police' while only 30% of the better educated officers disagreed, a percentage difference well above the 19% gap overall between RCMP and MPD groupings.

There were some differences that clearly pertained to specific categories of persons rather than force membership. For example there was substantial variation in responses to the statement, 'the highest priority for police is whatever disturbs the community the most' but neither force membership, age or rank accounted for the variation; rather only level of education mattered as the higher educated were more likely to agree with the statement than those officers who were less educated (55% to 30%). Similarly variation in agreement on the desirability of solving minor interpersonal disputes informally with a warning rather than by arrest was not associated with force membership nor with age; rather rank and education level were somewhat important as higher ranked officers and better educated ones were more likely to take neutral positions on this subject than constables and less educated officers.

ATTITUDES ABOUT THE POLICE ORGANIZATION

Officers were asked about a variety of statements (twelve in all) concerning 'possible feelings you might have about the police organization you work for'. The statements pointed to issues such as 'rules and regulations here hamper my ability to

get the job done' and 'this department supports and protects officers from external criticism and pressures'. These items did group readily in factor analysis and constituted a single reliable index of positive organizational orientation. Index scores were modestly skewed towards more positive evaluation; in other words, Valley officers were more likely to render positive evaluations of their organization (2).

Turning to variations in assessments the researchers had speculated much about whether RCMP or MPD officers would have the most positive orientation to their work organization. One could expect greater idiosyncrasy in the MPDs where also there would be fewer resources and less compensation than with the RCMP; at the same time in small MPDs it would be likely that persons would adjust or leave. Table 2 reveals that MPD officers were far more likely to report positive assessments of their organization (i.e., 75% to 20%). The same table also suggests that education, age and rank may affect officers' perceptions here. Less educated officers, younger officers and, less sharply, officers of higher rank were all more likely than their opposites to report more positive evaluations of their organization. Those officers who had or have close relatives in policing were less likely than others to assess positively their own organization. Overall though the major difference was between MPD and RCMP officers rather than by officer attribute; for example among university-educated RCMP respondents the proportion having a high positive assessment of their organization was a virtually identical 15% to 20% among young (i.e., 34 and under years of age) and older officers.

TABLE TWO
Assessing the Police Role

		% High Pos.	% Pol. Work High
Force	RCMP	20	76
	MPD	75	46
Rank	Constable	41	56
	Other	57	78
Education	High Sch.	58	65
	Coll./Univ.	33	59
Age	34 and	56	60
	35 +	36	64
Pol.	Yes	36	n/a
	No	52	n/a

A significant range of variation was found in examining responses to most specific statements. Two statements however generated much consensus; about 85% of all respondents disagreed with the statement "It would take very little for me to leave this organization", and about 90% agreed that "Manpower and other resource shortages seriously limit the effectiveness of our work." It seems then that virtually all Valley police officers regard themselves as committed to their police organization and that all Valley organizations, RCMP and MPD alike, are perceived to be resource-poor by their

members. Much academic writing has suggested that police have to develop informal and sometimes sub rosa strategies to get their job done in the face of proliferate rules and laws (Apostle and Stenning, 1989). However only a small minority of Valley police (i.e., 22%) considered their ability to get the job done to be hampered by rules and regulations -suggesting either no problem to begin with or skill at getting around regulations. At the same time most officers reported that their organization did not especially encourage initiative; for example only roughly 15% of the Valley officers disagreed with the statement "Risk taking and innovation is not rewarded enough in this organization". On issues such as reward for risk-taking, commonality of values between oneself and the organization, and characterization of the organization as friendly and supportive, higher rank officers were more positive than constables were.

Analyses of responses to specific statements also indicates that RCMP-MPD differences were substantial on eight of the twelve items. The biggest differences, proportionally, were on those items dealing with performance evaluation (only 10% of RCMP respondents considered it to be fairly and competently done compared to 50% of the MPD group), input into management decisions (only 20% of the RCMP disagreed that there was no real input by 'employees' whereas among the MPD group 60% disagreed) and resistance to outside pressure. Surprisingly RCMP officers were much less likely to report organizational protection; only 17% of the RCMP agreed with the statement 'this department supports and protects police officers from external criticism and pressures', while almost 70% of the MPD group did agree; and RCMP officers disagreed less than their MPD counterparts (i.e., 20% to 50%) with the statement "departmental policies often change because of outside pressures by politicians and community groups".

Consistent with the above pattern of organizational disenchantment RCMP respondents were modestly more likely to report close direct supervision (i.e., 60% to 45%), much more likely to agree that 'rules and regulations here hamper my ability to get the job done' (40% to 4%), and less likely (32% to 79%) to agree that 'the present organizational structure is an effective way to organize for the delivery of good police service'. Some of this RCMP-MPD variation can possibly be explained by the higher educational levels among the RCMP since higher educated officers were more than twice as likely as less educated officers to be critical of how their police organization performs, especially in dealing with outside political pressures.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE ROLE

Ten statements were employed to tap officers' views concerning 'the police work you do'. Here we were trying to determine the sources of variation in how officers 'framed' police work, whether for example as high status employment, exciting, difficult etc. Statistical procedures isolated several themes. One theme captured a 'high status' factor wherein officers designated police work as providing good compensation, stable secure employment, garnering respect from most citizens and 'a good way to help people' (3). A second dimension tapped focused on the intrinsic appeal of the work itself wherein officers designated police work as 'exciting most of the time', not so

demanding as to prevent 'a normal life', providing for solidarity with co-workers and enabling one to use 'virtually all your talents and special skills'. A third more minor theme focused on police work as routine and unchallenging.

Not surprisingly in light of the force's reputation and compensation levels -both substantially greater than MPDs- RCMP officers were more likely to have high scores (4) on framing their police work as 'high status employment' (i.e., 76% to 46%). In addition higher ranked officers were more likely than constables to hold that view (78% to 56%). On this theme educational and age differences appeared to have no obvious, direct impact (see Table 2) though there were some interesting possible 'interaction effects', such as the indication that younger university-educated RCMP officers were more than twice as likely as older, university-educated RCMP to perceive police work as high status. There was little difference by police organisation, age, education or rank as regards having the perspective that police work is intrinsically attractive and not particularly onerous; however MPD, higher ranked and less educated officers were modestly more likely to report that viewpoint.

The fact that the above-mentioned index scores varied only modestly by force, rank, education and age clearly suggest that Valley police officers may have a substantial consensus concerning police work. Certainly officers valued the police role. This consensus is borne out when responses to specific statements are examined. Fully 90% of the officers agreed that 'police work is a good way to help people' and that 'police work generates respect from most citizens'. Virtually all officers agreed that 'police work gives you a lot of individual responsibility'. The large majority (about 80%) also considered police work to be "a secure and stable occupation" providing "satisfactory pay and fringe benefits". On each of the remaining items, statements characterising police work as exciting, dangerous, difficult to incorporate into the normal life style etc. there was a majority agreeing but there was also usually significant contrary views. The young, university-educated constables were the most likely to note the onerous aspects of policing such as danger and life style pressures; one such RCMP officer reported "while writing this [response] I have had four hours sleep in two, almost three days, because of court commitment and shift work -this gives you some idea of family??".

WHAT POLICE WORK IS DONE

Conventionally it is posited that RCMP officers are more into crime fighting than peace and order (and bylaw enforcement) activity. This presumably is the case because the RCMP has its own standards for policing which are somewhat removed from local concerns and also because presumably RCMP officers are less subject to policy direction from local police boards. In order to assess these points all Valley officers were asked to indicate how much time they spend in the course of a month on various activities (i.e., 'a lot', 'a fair amount', 'little' or 'none'). Statistical analyses of responses for various possible activities indicated that indeed two distinct underlying dimensions reflecting 'peace and order' and 'crime fighting' respectively could be isolated (5). 'Crime fighting' incorporated activities such as investigative follow-ups, paperwork, dealing with sexual

assault and wife-battering and court appearances. The 'peace and order' dimension included activities such as traffic enforcement, special events such as funerals, foot patrol, non-traffic bylaw enforcement and dealing with neighbour disputes. Two activities, namely school liaison (and other youth work) and discussing policing policies with citizens fell into neither grouping.

Looking first at peace and order activity, Table 3 indicates that there are sharp differences between MPD and RCMP officers; while 83% of the former had high scores here, only 20% of the RCMP members did. Not unexpectedly younger officers had higher scores for peace and order activity than older officers and constables tended to have higher scores than the higher ranked officers. There was no difference by educational level of the officer. High crime fighting scores on the other hand were much more common among the RCMP (i.e., 62% to 20%). It can also be noted that better educated officers were more involved than others in crime fighting activity. There appeared to be few differences in this latter activity by rank or age. In general then survey results do support initial expectations that the style of policing varies by the type of police force.

TABLE THREE
Police Activity

		% High Peace &	% High Crime
Force	RCMP	20	62
	MPD	83	20
Rank	Constable	54	46
	Other	36	36
Educatio	High Sch.	54	31
	Coll./Univ.	44	56
Age	34 and	64	44
	35 +	36	43

Analyses of responses to individual statements places the difference between 'peace and order' and 'crime fighting' styles in context. All officers considered that they spent a 'lot' or 'fair' amount of time on paperwork and most reported that level of time involvement also with respect to investigative follow-ups and court appearances. The RCMP officers differed then largely in reporting 'a lot' rather than 'a fair amount'. The peace and order activities more clearly differentiated MPD and RCMP styles but here too differences were minor on some items such as the amount of patrolling in a squad car or dealing with neighbour disputes. It can be noted that for two activities one might generally associate with peace and order, namely 'school liaison and youth work' and 'discussing policing policies with citizens', it was the RCMP who were slightly more likely to engage in such activities. There were differences to be sure between RCMP and MPD police activity but also a large range of common police work. Finally, not

surprisingly higher rank officers reported doing very little traffic enforcement or patrolling in a squad car.

STRESS AND JOB SATISFACTION

It was unclear whether the variables under examination here, namely police organisation, age, education and rank, would impact differentially upon reported stress. It was expected however that officers having close older relatives with policing experience would report less stress and more intrinsic job satisfaction; presumably they would be more familiar with the police role and have effective coping strategies. All officers were asked to indicate how stressful they personally found each of 16 possible activities ranging from 'relations with my supervisors' to 'court testimony'. Statistical analyses indicated that responses reflected a single underlying dimension and therefore an index was developed and the index scores bifurcated into 'high' and 'low' (6).

The activities for which Valley officers most frequently reported stress, (the percentage of officers reporting stress is in brackets), were 'responding to family disputes' (84%), 'emergency responses' (83%), 'paperwork' (76%), 'criminal contacts' (76%) and expressing more satisfaction. Similarly the less educated report high extrinsic job satisfaction on the average more often than the better educated officers. The major difference however is that higher ranked officers on the average identify extrinsic factors as major factors in their job satisfaction much more than constables do. Older officers also on the average rate extrinsic factors higher than their younger counterparts. Finally it can be noted that officers having older close relatives with policing experience reported more intrinsic job satisfaction but similar levels of extrinsic job satisfaction as those without such associations. Examining individual job satisfaction items is also useful. RCMP officers as indicated much more strongly positively assessed their compensation package (62% to 29%) and were also slightly more positive about their supervision (72% to 58% disagreed that their supervision discouraged them); the latter finding indicates that the more critical assessment of their organisation by RCMP respondents did not extend to their immediate supervision. The greater criticism of the organisation however is reflected in the responses to two other items; RCMP officers were less likely than MPD officers (i.e., 27% to 62%) to disagree with the statements, 'the amount of work I am expected to do makes it difficult for me to do my job well' and 'I often have trouble figuring out whether I am doing well or poorly at this job'.

SMALL TOWN AND COMMUNITY POLICING STYLES

All police officers in the Annapolis Valley appeared to be aware of the new philosophy of policing, community-based policing (CBP), and, like their colleagues elsewhere, often indicated that as they understood the idea it appeared to be something like idealised small town policing. Some MPDs in the area have used CBP concepts and postulates in dealing with their police boards and town councils; apparently they have found that language useful in advancing their concerns. The RCMP as a force has at the national and the regional levels emphasised that it intends to implement the Community-based policing philosophy. In this section we assess officers' responses to

sets of statements dealing first with community-based policing and then with perceived differences between small town and city policing. In addition officers were asked to state in their own words what community based policing meant and what they considered to be the major differences between small town and city policing.

Officers were asked to respond to a number of statements which expressed perspectives on community-based policing. A subset of four items captured a cynical or critical orientation to CBP, namely that it was just a slogan, imposed closer control over officers, confused policing and social work etc. (8). As indicated in Table 4, RCMP officers were more likely to have high 'cynical' scores than the MPD officers but there were no differences by rank or age of the officer. Modest differences by educational level were indicated, the higher educated officers being the more 'critical'; among the RCMP respondents for example it was the younger, better educated officers where the highest levels of cynicism were found. It may also be noted that there were two items in particular where the RCMP officers were significantly more cynical; they were more likely to say CBP is 'more politics complicating police work' (34% to 12%) and that it represents 'a confusion between policing and social work or community work' (43% to 4%). Of course as these percentages indicate the majority of RCMP officers did not share the cynicism.

Other statements relating to CBP did not constitute an obvious larger pattern. Generally Valley officers agreed (i.e., about 90%) that CBP reflected a small town policing style and a policy of more attention to public satisfaction (see Table Five). A majority also agreed that CBP meant more job variety and job autonomy for constables though only a third perceived it as effecting more democratic decision-making in police departments. Few officers saw CBP as entailing less concern with fast response and/or arrest. Indeed roughly 75% believed that CBP could be considered a more effective strategy for obtaining criminal intelligence. On all these items there were few differences between RCMP and MPD officers; one difference of note was that MPD officers were more likely to agree (50% to 25%) with the statement that CBP means 'a higher officer workload'.

Whether RCMP or MPD, officers' written comments about CBP were quite positive. Most officers saw CBP as entailing closer police contact with the community and more emphasis on minor and often non-law enforcement problems there. Some officers specifically defined CBP as centred around high visibility foot patrol. There was a widespread perception that CBP involved getting more input into policing from local leaders and through surveys of the general public. It was often advanced that this, in turn, creates a stronger sense of partnership and would be an aid to police. One senior RCMP NCO observed "police work has primarily been done in a vacuum until recently. Acting in concert with formal and informal groupings can only enhance policing". There was too a common perception that CBP would be effective problem-solving and crime prevention; one young RCMP constable wrote: "though my experience is limited, community based policing means establishing roots in the society at large to find the problems that are affecting this particular society. Then by doing such, providing leadership in solving particular disputes". An equally young MPD officer echoed that

viewpoint: "community based policing is getting to know your community, what they expect they can expect from you. Talking with people and getting to know the problems in the community from their view in order to better deal with them". Another, older MPD officer expressed the same view in the following words "community based policing means to me getting and staying in touch with the community and working together with the community to make it a better place".

While virtually all officers submitted positive written statements about CBP, it is interesting that none referred therein to possible internal organizational changes putatively associated with CBP such as job variety, greater status for the constable or more participatory decision-making in the police organisation. There were also a number of cautionary notes rendered. One MPD officer made the following comment, often expressed in police conversation though uncommon in these written remarks on CBP, namely "there is a fine-line between doing too much community service and police enforcement"; relatedly, another MPD officer wrote "community based policing is a good thing and must be. But sometimes it can go too far. It seems sometimes that there is more money spent on proactive than reactive and it would be nice to see the results of the proactive once in a while". This caution was also reflected in the remarks of an RCMP specialist who wrote: "community based policing gives the community an avenue to have a say in areas that concern them. The information/feedback is only as good as what is done with it at the Police level". There was both agreement and divergence between MPD and RCMP officers when comparing small town and city policing. They shared the view that there is 'closer contact between police and citizens in small towns' and 'more contact between police and their civilian authorities'. Their views were also fairly similar on the issues of job variety for constables in small towns (about half in each grouping perceived more job variety in small town policing) and the greater informal police management style there. MPD and RCMP officers did however disagree sharply on three items. RCMP officers were more likely to agree (40% to 8%) that there is 'more job autonomy and discretion for city police', less political interference in city policing (34% to 12%) and more emphasis on dealing informally with incidents in small towns (90% to 50%). These differences seem consistent with the greater emphasis of RCMP officers on impersonal law enforcement. There was some interesting variation by officer attribute with respect to the conceptualisation of small town policing. High rank officers stressed the informality aspect more than constables did. Also higher educated officers reported that viewpoint.

Turning to the written comments by officers one common theme was that in small town policing there is "more time to investigate minor incidents and to converse with citizens". This latter view, expressed by an RCMP NCO was echoed by an RCMP constable who said "you start an investigation on a theft of \$28 in a small area where in a big area you don't even take that complaint". For some officers this situation is a function of the slower pace of life in small towns and the fact that crimes there "are not so serious as in cities".

Clearly many Valley officers considered that the ties between police and community residents were much more 'primary' (i.e., regular and multidimensional)

and deeper than in the city environment. Several RCMP officers used the expression "more one-on-one contact" in designating the small town difference. Several MPD officers commented on the everyday regularity of the police-citizen interaction; one wrote "In a small town an officer has to deal with the same people every day. Chances of future contact with a person is great and you have to be fair and do your job well. In a large city chances of contact with the same person are nil". The implications of the more 'court testimony' (71%). The first three activities were also the most frequently cited as 'very stressful' while shift work and promotional routines were the fourth and fifth most frequently cited 'very stressful' facets of police work. Least stressful activities according to Valley police (the number in brackets indicate the percent reporting 'rarely or never stressful') were 'relations with fellow employees' (74%), 'traffic enforcement' (74%), 'citizen contact on the job' (47%), 'relations with my supervisors' (47%) and 'public talks' (42%) .

Turning to patterns of variation Table 4 indicates there were virtually no differences by type of police organisation but some suggestive patterns emerge when specific items are examined. RCMP officers were more likely to report stress in relation to promotion routines and department policies while MPD officers were more likely to report stress with respect to giving public talks and responding to family disputes. Constables were more likely to have high stress scores than officers of higher rank, and better educated and younger officers reported more stress than their less educated and older counterparts. Officers having older close relatives with policing experience were also less likely to report high stress. It should be underlined that high stress scores here mean that an officer has reported more regular policing activities and relationships to produce stress for him/her than other officers did. Of course stress could also be defined in terms of any single facet or small set of facets that preoccupy or disable a person.

TABLE FIVE
Stress and Satisfaction

		% High Stress	% High Intr.	% High Extr.
Force	RCMP	50	41	41
	MPD	46	54	50
Rank	Constable	54	46	33
	Other	31	50	79
Education	High Sch.	36	58	54
	Coll./Univ.	59	37	37
Age	34 and Below	56	48	36
	35 +	41	46	54
Pol. Relatives	Yes	38	54	45
	No	58	42	46

Two indexes of job satisfaction were formed from officers' extent of agreement with fourteen statements dealing with specific aspects of their jobs; the indexes were measures of intrinsic job satisfaction (e.g., enthusiastic about the work) and of the importance attached to extrinsic aspects of their jobs (e.g., compensation) respectively (7). There was little difference in intrinsic job satisfaction level by rank or age but the data presented in Table 4 suggest that the less educated and the MPD officers derived more satisfaction from their work than the better educated and the RCMP. Overall score and item analysis indicate that the higher educated officers bring higher expectations to their work.

The situation changes somewhat when external job satisfaction is examined. Again there is modest difference in the scores of MPD and RCMP officers, the former primary relationship for small town policing were deemed to be extensive including "you know basically what you are dealing with", "persons are more likely to help you if they know anything", "you are not just a face in the crowd; people watch you on and off duty", and "in small towns police know everybody but in larger towns or cities police know mostly the bad guys".

Many Valley officers considered that in contrast to city policing small town policing meant a more proactive kind of policing and a less specialised constable role. An RCMP NCO wrote "city policing was based on patrol officers responding and if a serious crime then detectives would follow up. Small town police have to do everything and feel more pride in solving problems in their community". An RCMP specialist made the same point, writing "city policing limits the opportunity for the regular policeman on the beat to become involved in a file of any consequence, thereby limiting the member to polish his skills in investigations etc.". An MPD NCO wrote "in small towns the police are better rounded to do all aspects of police work and are not just dealing with one specific area as in a larger force". Several officers also shared the opinion of an MPD constable who observed "small town policing is more proactive while city policing is more reactive due to the larger population and the absence of the small town feeling where everyone knows everyone else".

The written comments of the Valley officers were quite positive about small town policing. One RCMP NCO went so far as to offer that "in major centres police work in general is lip service to problems. Generally manpower is short and thereby the human element of policing is gone". Several MPD officers (but no RCMP officer) did call attention to one shortfall they perceived in small town policing namely the problem of funding which tends "to restrict smaller towns in training, written statements and the manpower to allow proactive policing". Several RCMP officers considered that community based policing and zone policing could lead to an equivalence of small town policing in larger centres; as one wrote "the basic policing procedures are the same providing the large cities are broken into small areas which are actually like small towns". Interestingly no MPD officer advanced that idea of possible equivalence and while some, perhaps even many, may actually hold that view, their written comments were more in line with those of a young RCMP constable who wrote of a qualitative difference namely "city policing encounters a larger base of values and beliefs and

opinions in which to respond. Community problems are harder to recognise and evaluate than in small towns".

COMPARISON: SMALL TOWN AND CITY POLICING

Comparing small town and city policing, there was general consensus among the RCMP and MPD officers on the notion that, in a small town, there was closer contact between the police and citizens as well as between the police and their governing authorities. They also tended to agree that small town police management operated in a more informal style compared to city policing.

There were three areas of disagreement related to the force style (RCMP vs. MPD). The RCMP was more inclined than the municipal police to say that there was less political interference in city than small town policing; that city police had more job autonomy and exercised greater discretion; and that there was more emphasis on the informal handling of complaints in a small town. These are exactly the characteristics of small town policing which one would expect from a PBP/COP perspective. Officer comments reinforce these observations in terms of productivity, the different depths and frequency of citizen contacts, the focus on minor offences in small towns, and so on.

When we turn to the officers' perceptions of CBP, we find a general consensus that CBP is equivalent to small town policing and means greater attention to public concerns and satisfaction. A clear majority (75%) say that CBP increases constable autonomy, but fewer (63%) argue that it increases job variety, and only a minority (34%) see CBP in terms of increasing opportunities for democratic decision-making in the organisation. Generally, most police do not see CBP as a threat to PBP/COP, but argue that better community contacts increases opportunities for criminal intelligence; that is, they adapt CBP to their primary crime-fighting image, thereby making the two elements conceptually more congruent. Variation in the evaluation of CBP is partly accounted for by age and education as well as force style: The younger, better educated RCMP officers are the most cynical about CBP. There is also a great deal of uncertainty about what CBP means, both philosophically and in terms of every-day police practices. With respect to the open-ended questions, the RCMP tend to emphasize that CBP entails a deeper, primary contact with the community, greater opportunities for community input, more proactive policing, and more time spent in non-law-enforcement activities. The MPDs also emphasize more in-depth contact, openness and wider contacts, as well as increased involvement in community problems.

The main areas of congruence that are perceived between CBP and STP, then, are the more in-depth contact between police and citizens, especially of a non-law-enforcement type (reflecting the more liberal, community development style of CBP), a focus on things other than offences, and informal management style. On the other hand, PBP/COP is still relevant within CBP. As we have argued above, not only competent investigations but also equity, an equal opportunity model of policing, are elements of progressive policing. Furthermore, particularly RCMP officers point to the problem of continuing political interference in small towns (a factor which relates to the RCMP style of detached policing).

It was also noted above that variations in job satisfaction and evaluation of their policing organisation differs by force. To some extent, this variation may be an indication of the impact of spuriousness. Factors of job stress and organizational dissatisfaction tend to be higher among the RCMP than the MPDs. The RCMP officers seem most committed to a policing style which seems more incongruent in the small town -- the RCMP epitomises aloofness and legalistic policing -- yet, in their perceptions, they see small town policing as characterized by informality, openness, public contact, etc. It appears to be the younger RCMP officers in particular who express this contradiction most clearly. In this case, it could be argued that older officers have accommodated somewhat to this role incongruence. Not being given the opportunity to fight crime results in a decrease, over time, of the desirability of crime fighting and its replacement with a greater community service role.

This discrepancy, for some RCMP officers, between their COP image and their perception of the nature of STP is less frequent among MPDs who, presumably, have the same orientation (through professional training) and experience the same role incongruence. The difference can be explained in several ways. One is the strength of the RCMP ideology and culture. Through frequent transfers, RCMP officers do not see themselves as wedded necessarily to any given locale and their aspirations for specialised work, even dedicated crime-fighting, do not have to be tempered with a sense of permanent small town employment. Much of the RCMP members' dissatisfaction can be located in concerns about transfer and promotion policies in the force, issues which occupy much of officers' informal communication. While RCMP officers, on average, had spent a median of 15 years with their policing organisation (a figure which masks the extent to which the detachment is divided between older, experienced officers and more recent recruits), only 5 of these policing years had been spent in their present community. MPD officers, on the other hand, had spent almost 10 years in their community. For those who remained police officers, accommodating to the environment would seem a necessity, a fact reflected in lower levels of job dissatisfaction and higher levels of acceptance of their existing organisation.

Having said this, it remains the case that police officers in urban centres (such as Halifax or Halton Regional) have more criticisms of and express more open hostility to CBP than either the MPDs or RCMP officers in the Valley. For the MPDs, CBP legitimises their daily work. The RCMP response is more complicated. Many officers have accepted the new official initiative or have learned to adapt to bureaucratic demands by partial compliance and avoidance. In particular, the bureaucratic nature of the RCMP means that CBP is an add-on feature with a dedicated staff-person who bears the brunt of PR and community-relations work. For the officer on detachment duty, it has minimal impact on daily activities. And, as noted above, CBP ideology can be adapted to PBP by stressing the opportunities for criminal intelligence.

DISCUSSION

The survey results have indicated that there is much consensus among Valley police officers regarding the police role in society. The variation that does exist appears

partly related to force style (i.e., RCMP emphasize law enforcement more) and partly a function of rank and education differences among officers. Valley officers report a commitment to their policing organisation and few indicate significant problems with rules and regulations hampering their task performance. Responses indicate too that RCMP officers are more critical vis-à-vis their organisation especially in relation to performance evaluation, promotion policy and input into organizational decision-making. Less educated officers, those of higher than constable rank and younger officers render the most positive assessments of their policing organisation. RCMP officers are more likely than their MPD counterparts to frame their police work as 'high status employment'. Officers of higher than constable rank are more likely to have that viewpoint than constables are. Most significantly though there is a wide and deep consensus among all Valley officers that their police role is a valued work role. Younger, university-educated officers are more likely than other officers to note the onerous aspects of the police role.

Survey results point to the appropriateness of differentiating two basic dimensions of policing, namely crime fighting and peace and order maintenance. In terms of the level of time spent in the various policing activities that can be subsumed under these two broad categories, there is much commonality between RCMP and MPD officers. The differences that do exist follow an expected pattern, with the RCMP doing more crime fighting and the MPD officers spending more time in peace and order maintenance activities. Much of the difference by force membership is centred around modest quantitative differences and formal versus informal police practices. Officers' responses indicate that 'responding to family disputes', 'emergency responses' and 'paperwork' are the most stressful police activities. There appears to be no overall difference in reported stress between RCMP and MPD officers though the former do report more stress in regards to promotion routines and organizational policy while the latter report more stress with respect to handling public talks and family disputes. Constables report more stress than officers of higher rank do and the better educated officers report more stress than the less educated ones. Officers who have had close-older relatives in policing report less stress than those without such possible mentors. There are also only modest differences by force membership with respect to either intrinsic or extrinsic job satisfaction and these modest differences may well be themselves artefacts of educational and other differences between the RCMP and the MPD groupings. The less educated officers appear to be more satisfied than their college-level peers with either aspect of their job while the higher rank officers are especially satisfied with the extrinsic aspects.

Valley officers identify CBP as small town policing where much attention is paid to public satisfaction. They see CBP as emphasising community contact, crime prevention and problem-solving; it is rare for an officer to refer to CBP in terms of its 'industrial democracy' facets such as job variety, job autonomy and participatory decision-making. While a minority of RCMP officers, especially those who are university-educated, are rather cynical about CBP, most officers perceive it in positive

terms and certainly not as a threat to conventional policing strategy (e.g., arrests, use of informants).

MPD and RCMP officers alike consider that small town policing provides for more contact with the public and with policing authorities than city policing does. One area of difference among them is that RCMP officers believe that there is more job autonomy for constables and less political interference for policing in larger urban areas; this evaluation is consistent with the generally greater emphasis by RCMP officers on impersonal law enforcement. Another pattern is for higher ranked and better educated officers to emphasize more than their counterparts the informality of small town policing. In their written comments officers frequently also reported that because of the pace of life and less serious nature of the crime, small town policing is more proactive than city policing and also more time can be spent on minor matters. Their comments frequently alluded to the more primary nature of the police-public relationships in the small towns. Generally the officers saw community policing as small town policing and several commented on the difficulty of effecting CBP in an urban context where there is more heterogeneity of social values and where the descriptive concept 'community' is more problematic.

In sum this modest survey has indicated that there is substantial similarity between MPD and RCMP officers in the Annapolis Valley in terms of how they conceptualize the police role in society, in their perception of that role as a highly valued one, in their experiences of stress and intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction, and in their overall views on community-based policing and small town policing. The major area of difference between RCMP and MPD officers is in their orientations to their policing organisation. There are also significant differences as to the types of policing activity in which they engage and in specific attitudes concerning both small town policing and community-based policing. While this research has been limited to one area and a few policing organizations the picture that has emerged of small MPDs may be generalizable -their police forces may well tend to exhibit solidarity, to be cohesive units with their chiefs and to have a working class cast. It is undoubtedly the case that in larger MPDs this solidarity and cohesiveness becomes fragmented as a result of specialisation, unionisation and other social forces. The picture of the RCMP officers as proud of their work and envisaging the RCMP organisation as providing high status employment but at the same time experiencing significant disenchantment also does not appear to be specific to the grouping discussed here. It may well be that the disgruntlement is the price of recent change in that what previously may have compensated for the negatives of being in a large bureaucratic organisation, such as pride of special status, no longer does so as the RCMP accommodates to local pressures and interest groups and becomes more like other policing units.

PROFESSIONAL POLICING AND CBP

It is relatively easy for an alienating, repressive and socially distant police style to develop in larger towns or in smaller towns if the police are protected, for example, by a strong union and subculture. While such a style may be protected by powerful forces,

this crime-fighting image is difficult to maintain in a small town simply because it is small. Even if the officer is not a local product, he or she becomes known to the community just as effectively as police officers themselves come to know the handful of perpetual town trouble-makers. The dynamics of living in and being an active participant in the small community they police make working in a small town fundamentally different from urban policing. The problem of unequal enforcement, of double standards, adhere to the very nature of small town policing and are not merely a matter of poor training or supervision.

In addition, the crime-fighter/enforcer image is not likely to be popular among citizens or among the political elite of the small town. On the one hand, certain standards of professionalism are the sine qua non of policing. The police must be impartial, competent investigators, capable of handling crime and order problems efficiently. Certainly, the widespread acceptance of police "professionalism" is an important ideology which police can use to maintain or expand their share of social resources. It is used successfully to justify an expansion in the size of the force, in-service training junkets, and the purchase of up-to-date equipment, such as car replacements every two years.

On the other hand, the more socially responsive police departments in small towns emphasize the service components of their work -- beat patrol, cross-walk duty, property checks, the personal investigation of minor complaints. These are politically and socially popular and have the distinction of squaring better with the actual demands on the police in small towns, as opposed to fighting crime. It is here that the actual practice of small town policing, particularly the service dimension and the dense and diffuse nature of police-citizen interaction, overlaps with the more recent ideological image of policing: community-based policing.

CBP AS A STRATEGIC FUNCTION

Corresponding with the more critical literature on Community-based Policing, it could be argued that CBP has a legitimating function in small towns. Police certainly have some problem of legitimacy in large urban centres in Canada, particularly Montreal and Toronto. There are local problems as well -- black rural communities in Nova Scotia or aboriginal communities where policing from outside the community has lost its legitimacy. In the small towns in the Maritimes, to the extent there has been a general crisis of legitimation, it derives from the perceived deficiencies of crime-oriented, legalistic policing. As was pointed out above, CBP in Canada is largely a federal government initiative, a constructed social movement which, however, has succeeded becoming the accepted morality. In this situation and given the affinity between CBP and STP, the philosophy of CBP becomes not so much a legitimating myth as an ideology which can serve a strategic function. Small town Police Chiefs have successfully been able to maintain or increase the resources allocated to them by political elites on the basis of claims that they would deliver CBP.

REGIONALIZATION

In the 1990s, the survival of small MPDs is a much-debated question. Provincial police services are implementing regional policing in many areas, for example, Metro Halifax and industrial Cape Breton. In the Valley, police organizations are voluntarily negotiating the establishment of shared resources, perhaps a prelude to regionalization. The idea of regionalization has a long history in Nova Scotia, extending back to both the Graham Commission (1974) and the Green Commission (1981).

Ironically, as the small town model of community policing disappears, regionalization is introduced as a model which can combine the best of professional policing with CBP. As noted above, in Cape Breton there was certainly a clear perception that the professional model of STP was some distance from a community policing style and that there were opportunities for CBP in the new regional force. A similar perception surfaced in New Brunswick where town councillors advocated regionalization of policing on the grounds that it would mean CBP, a stance which outraged some officers who claimed that STP was, in fact, CBP. In this sense, CBP is used strategically to undercut opposition to regionalisation. Opponents of regionalisation claim that it would mean the end of the close, informal ties of police officer and community. The larger, regional police force would lose the close community connections which are essential to the provision of effective policing service. The kinds of CBP programmes which a regional force would be compelled to adopt as a result can not compensate for the loss of community identification (Apostle and Stenning, 1989: 15). CBP in regional forces would be rationalised and formalised, similar to the RCMP model, a dedicated add-on service component which reinforces an aloof, legalistically-oriented policing style and accompanying police culture. As such, CBP may provide a necessary counter-weight to PBP while maintaining an appropriate degree of social distance between police enforcement and the citizenship. CBP may be a necessary antidote to the short-comings of PBP.

It must be reiterated, however, that CBP may not be “genuine” in the sense of equity. CBP can take diverse forms. Given the argument that community residents want and expect privacy and that small town citizens adopt a relatively narrow range of norms and values, as mentioned by Swanson, a more intrusive and aggressive style of enforcement could still be justified under the CBP rubric. Such a style, we believe, would certainly be flawed and not genuine in the sense that it would not respond to the needs and demands of an inclusive and necessarily differentiated community.

There is also the issue of the kind of policing citizens actually want. Grinc (1994) argues that, while CBP initiatives are popular with citizens, most community residents fail to get involved in such programmes. They want to maintain their distance from the police and do not want to get personally involved in social control in their communities. If the police feel role strain in enforcing public order on neighbours and citizens, ordinary residents would likely experience even a greater degree of discomfort in playing a police role.

An alternative to CBP is a minimalist police role. From an organizational perspective, this image helps us understand the relevance of CBP ideology as a offering a strategic function for maintaining or expanding police resources. We have argued

that CBP has this function in a small town. The question remains, however, whether this is beneficial from the point of view of the community. Arguably, given scarce resources and the proclivity of small town managers to be concerned about the bottom line of every item in their budget, an expanded police mandate means a reduction in resources for other, perhaps competing community services. Are the police the best agency to be involved in, for example, community development or problem solving, or should these efforts be undertaken by other social agencies with a clearer service mandate? Funding the police at a higher level may mean decreased and inferior service for the population.

Many small towns and rural areas, however, do not have these resources and penny-counting town officials are not predisposed to expanding the number and type of services available. Policing, however, is regarded as a fundamental necessity. Furthermore, it is often the only agency available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. While CBP may not be the ideal option for community service, in a tight-fisted political environment it may be the only available choice.

FOOTNOTES:

1) The consensus items in Table One were agreed to by virtually all officers. The variation related to force style' category indicates those statements where RCMP officers consistently were more likely to emphasize the crime fighting or law enforcement option as specified in the text. It should be noted that here we are referring to variation which overlays a large amount of consensus. The 'variation by officer attribute' category indicates those statements where differences in educational achievement and rank level account for variation in agreement or disagreement.

2) Only twelve of the fourteen questionnaire items under this theme were utilized. Factor analysis indicated the existence of a single common and powerful underlying theme for the twelve items. The eigenvalue for the factor was well over 6.3 and the factor accounted for about 45% of the total item variance. The alpha reliability coefficient was .90 indicating much [too much perhaps] consensus. The index scores were rather skewed (i.e.,skewness = .53) towards more positive evaluations of the police organizations.

3) This four item dimension was the most important factor indicated by the factor analysis where it had an eigenvalue of 3.0 and an alpha reliability coefficient of .70. The second dimension also based on four items and focused around the intrinsic value of the work had a lower eigenvalue but was otherwise quite similar. All index scores were divided into high and low scores (near the median or wherever there was a 'natural break' in the index scores) for analytic purposes.

4) The index for this theme (and for the second one) yielded positively biased scores (i.e.,skewness = 1.0) indicating that most officers saw their work as high status employment, but nevertheless as in the case of other derived variables the scores were divided into 'high' and 'low'. Given the small number of cases the different scores by rank were not statistically significant.

5) Factor analyses yielded two factors with eigenvalues of 3.6 and 2.5 respectively accounting for 47% of the total variance. The peace and order index had an alpha reliability of .81 while the crime fighting index had a weak alpha of .60. The crime fighting index scores were normally distributed (i.e., skewness = .13) while the peace and order index scores were not (i.e., skewness = .59); these differences indicate that while there was much variation among officers as to crime fighting activity, virtually all did a substantial amount of peace and order activity.

6) Factors analyses indicated that fourteen of the sixteen items constituted one strong underlying dimension with an eigenvalue of 6.0 and yielded an index with an alpha reliability coefficient of .88. The two items that did not fit in with the rest were 'relations with fellow employees' and 'promotion routines'.

7) Factor analyses of fourteen statements pertaining to job satisfaction identified two factors, one dealing with intrinsic job satisfaction and the other dealing with externalities such as compensation, solidarity, respect and scheduling. The former which incorporated nine questions had an alpha reliability coefficient of .81 while the extrinsic satisfaction index had an alpha of only .60. The index scores were normally distributed in both cases (i.e., skewness = .30)

8) This subset was isolated in factor analysis and its alpha reliability coefficient was an acceptable .65. The index scores were skewed towards low 'cynical' scores (i.e., skewness = .57). Other statements relating to CBP were more positively slanted but they did not coalesce into acceptable factors or indexes.