PART TWO

Policing
Policing is a demanding profession that requires its members to act quickly and effectively in a diverse range of situations, many of which are stressful, uncertain, and dangerous. Moreover, as society changes, so too must the police. Finding new and improved ways to address crime is a constant challenge for the police and often requires officers to take on unexpected roles. For example, the police in the early 1900s performed many of the tasks of today’s social services agencies, such as operating soup kitchens, helping the unemployed find work, and allowing police stations to be used as night shelters (Palmiotto, 2011).

Developing strong ties with the community continues to be an effective crime prevention strategy for the police. Studies have shown that when the police are more visible in a community, residents feel safer and hold more positive attitudes toward law enforcement (Reisig & Kane, 2014). Establishing stronger ties to the community also improves the willingness of people to report crimes to the police, helping law enforcement agencies to know more about what is happening in their communities.

Indeed, the efforts of one police squad to learn more about the community they patrolled helped to raise awareness and further an investigation into Canada’s worst serial killer, Robert Pickton.

While working in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside—a neighbourhood sometimes referred to as Canada’s “poorest postal code”—police officer Al Arsenault began to take photos of his “beat” and the residents he met while out on patrol. After sharing the photos with his fellow officers, he was asked by Constable Toby Hinton if the pictures could be used in the drug education presentations he was offering in schools. Together with five other officers, Arsenault and Hinton formed the “Odd Squad”—a non-profit organization that produces drug awareness videos with footage taken by officers while on patrol. The organization’s first film, Through a Blue Lens (National Film Board of Canada, 1999), profiled the lives of six Downtown Eastside residents who suffered from substance abuse, homelessness, and poverty. The documentary was shot with a video camera that was purchased using funds donated by each of the officers, and it has since been shown in 22 countries around the world. In fact, the National Film Board of Canada cites Through a Blue Lens as its most successful documentary to date (Cameron, 2007).
The Odd Squad has since produced more than 15 documentaries, and the original equipment it used to gather the footage for *Through a Blue Lens* is now housed in the Vancouver Police Museum. When asked about how the initiative got started, Arsenault notes that the project was a collaborative effort with the neighbourhood residents themselves in response to seeing local young people engaged in drug abuse:

[W]e we got tired of seeing kids coming to the Downtown Eastside and get[ting] hooked on drugs. The addicts would want to kick their ass out of the skids . . . Then we'd [all] stand around talking about it later, “don't you hate seeing kids down here?” “Yeah me too, what can we do, you know?” “Well hey, we're doing these lectures in schools about drug abuse and the conditions down here . . . and I'm sure you can speak to it better than us because you're living this.” (England, 2004, p. 299)

Aside from accomplishing its initial aims of raising awareness about drug addiction among youth, the Odd Squad's efforts also served to facilitate relationships and establish trust between the police and the community. As Darlene Rowley, a resident featured in *Through a Blue Lens*, remarked, “I had just overdosed on cocaine and had been running through the streets of the Downtown Eastside. If it weren't for Al Arsenault and Toby Hinton, I wouldn't be alive today. They saved my life that night” (Smith, 2001). The Odd Squad officers also reported a significant shift in their own perceptions of the community and its residents as a result of the project. At one point in *Through a Blue Lens*, Constable Hollingsworth tells viewers that when he first began his patrols in the neighbourhood, he viewed its residents as “just all addicts, hypes and trash; garbage essentially. Just a waste of society’s monies and taxpayers’ dollars.” His participation in the Odd Squad changed that. “But when you get to know a little bit about these people and their stories you can’t help but have compassion for them. These people have mothers and fathers that love them just like we love our children” (England, 2004, p. 304).

One of the greatest strengths of community policing is the creation of circumstances like these, in which the police and the people they protect can develop empathy for each other. In order to solve crimes, address social problems, and strengthen public safety, police need the public’s cooperation—something studies have shown they are far more likely to get when they are trusted by citizens and show an interest in what citizens have to say (Reisig & Kane, 2014). The Odd Squad is a good example of a police team that was able to garner this cooperation. Journalist Stevie Cameron, while reporting on the Robert Pickton case, noted that amid rising numbers of missing women in Vancouver's poorest neighbourhoods, the police were frequently criticized for not caring enough—but the Odd Squad stood apart. “Not all the police officers I knew were indifferent to the women I worked with,” Cameron wrote. “Al Arsenault and Toby Hinton functioned more like advocates for marginalized women than beat cops” (Cameron, 2007, p. xix). After the body of April Reoch, an Indigenous woman featured in *Through a Blue Lens*, was discovered in a city dumpster, the Odd Squad led more than 200 people through the streets of Vancouver to attend her funeral, at which Constable Arsenault delivered her eulogy. The story was covered by the *Vancouver Sun*, which resulted in increasing public awareness about the more than 60 women missing from the Downtown Eastside. Vancouver’s mayor at the time, Philip Owen, attended the funeral and was prompted into action, offering a $100,000 reward for information leading to Reoch's killer (Vancouver Police Department, 2010).
Information began to pour in, leading police to request a search warrant for Robert Pickton’s farm. At the farm, police discovered human remains that matched the DNA of many of the missing women. Forensic teams were sent out to the farm to excavate and search for further evidence. Their discoveries more aptly resembled a horror film than reality. Severed hands and feet, jaw bones, and skulls were found buried, in freezer buckets, and decomposing in garbage pails. Forensic evidence also suggested that Pickton had used his butchering equipment on the farm to dispose of bodies, grinding them with pork meat, in some cases, for resale, and in other instances, for use as pig feed. The forensic investigation of the Pickton farm took more than two years, encompassed a huge geographical area, concerned itself with the deaths of almost 50 victims, and involved the interviewing of more than 1,000 witnesses, making it the largest forensic inquiry in Canadian history. Pickton was initially charged with 27 counts of first-degree murder, and in December 2007 he was convicted by a jury for 6 counts of second-degree murder. Shortly after, he was sentenced to 25 years in jail with no possibility for parole—the maximum available sentence.

Although the missing women investigation and the arrest of Robert Pickton were the result of many people’s efforts, the community relationships made possible by the Odd Squad cannot be underestimated. As Cameron (2007) noted, April Reoch’s murder might have been left unsolved. “April, too, might have been declared a missing woman, and the man who murdered her likely would not have been brought to justice. But April’s situation was different. She knew Al and Toby” (p. xx).

The chapters in this part will demonstrate that finding ways for the police to know their communities better is not a new idea. As Chapter 3’s discussion of policing history shows, it is in keeping with many of the founding principles of community policing that were outlined by the “father of policing,” Sir Robert Peel. Much like the social services performed by the police at the turn of the 20th century, community-based policing strengthens relationships on both sides of the “thin blue line”—something that benefits everyone. This point was made explicit by Justice Wally Oppal, former attorney general and appellate court judge for British Columbia, who authored the Independent Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia and the Missing Women Commission of Inquiry in 2010 in response to Pickton’s crimes. When asked what the police could do better, he answered: “[T]hey have to adopt more of a community-based policing approach. They have to get outside of their police buildings and their cars and interact more with the public. It is good for the police and it is good for the public” (Parent, 2014, p. 105).

What Do You Think?

1. Although Vancouver’s Odd Squad follows a contemporary approach to policing, in what ways do its community-based policing strategies reflect the principles of policing established by Sir Robert Peel? (See “Sidebar—Sir Robert Peel’s Nine Principles of Policing” in Chapter 3.) In what ways do its community-based policing strategies differ from those principles?
2. Some commentators critiqued the methods used by the Odd Squad to gather video footage because of the extreme vulnerability of the documentary’s participants. What specific kinds of problems do you think these critiques were concerned with? How might these problems be related to the issues the Supreme Court of Canada raised about “Mr. Big” sting operations? (See “Mini Case Study—Nelson Lloyd Hart” in Chapter 4.)

3. Watch *Through a Blue Lens* at the National Film Board of Canada’s website. In the documentary, what specific police strategies (discussed in Chapter 3) did the Odd Squad engage in? What legal powers (e.g., to arrest, to search) did officers exercise?

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**SUGGESTED FURTHER READING**


**REFERENCES**


CHAPTER 3 / LEANNE FITCH

Policing History, Organization, and Operations

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After reading this chapter, students will be able to:

- Describe significant events in the history of policing.
- Describe the current three-tier structure of the Canadian police.
- Understand the importance of police governance and accountability.
- Better appreciate the reality and complexity of policing in the 21st century.
- Describe contemporary community policing and general police operations.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

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Introduction

Writing and research about Canadian policing has been notoriously lacking for decades. Policing literature and police practices from the 18th to 21st centuries have been influenced largely by experiences in European countries and the United States. The objective of this chapter is to provide a uniquely Canadian perspective of policing, albeit a brief one. The ability to do so is credited to the growing contributions by academics and practitioners from across the country and beyond, who have focused their research attention on the distinctively democratic model of policing that exists in Canada, particularly since the 1990s.

This chapter will begin with the origins of policing, which are rooted in Europe, and trace policing’s arrival on the east coast of Canada and its expansion westward, across the country. You will read about the introduction of community policing in the mid-1980s and its evolution to a contemporary community policing model in the 21st century. Readers should come to realize that the thin blue line view of policing and the stereotypical television crime-fighter image represent the antithesis to the democratic principles that make Canadian policing a treasured model worldwide. Democratic principles remain tied to the foundation of public policing envisioned by Sir Robert Peel of London, England in 1829, and are entrenched in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The challenge of modern policing in Canada is to maintain our democratic

contemporary community policing

The police and community working together to identify, prioritize, and solve local crime and disorder issues that impact the quality of life in neighbourhoods and business districts. It embraces the concept of policing through crime prevention, and community safety and well-being from holistic and root cause perspectives.

thin blue line

A symbolic representation of the police as a protective barrier between the general public and its crime and violence.
principles by adhering to Sir Robert Peel’s vision of public service, while being nimble and strategic to effectively meet the standards and expectations for public and officer safety in an increasingly complex world. The changing nature of crime and police responsibilities in this century is well described by the Council of Canadian Academies (2014):

Enabled by information technology and the increasing mobility of people, goods and knowledge, crime is becoming more complex, more “a-spatial” and potentially more harmful. There is a growing mismatch between the increasing threat and reality of a-spatial crimes and the continued organizational emphasis on jurisdiction-based police responses. ... Police services are increasingly responding to social problems for which they have limited training and resources. Demand is being influenced by an older, more diverse, and digitally savvy population; in addition, the policing of people with mental illness or in crisis is increasingly recognized as a country-wide issue. (p. 14)

In short, the fast-paced complexities of our world are creating new pressures for transformational change in policing and require greater collaboration with multiple stakeholders to maintain safe and secure communities.

A Snapshot of the History of Policing

The need for order maintenance and protection of life and property has existed ever since people began to gather in groups and acquire property of their own. The field of Canadian policing has experienced many changes over the centuries and is primarily rooted in practices established long ago in Western Europe.

The origins of policing can be traced back to tribal customs of self-policing where retribution for violating the established norms and values was both an individual and a collective responsibility. The primary aims of self-policing were to protect life, to protect the property that was needed to sustain life, and to ensure survival of the group or tribe. As early as 1000 BCE in China, rulers of the Chou Dynasty were known to codify laws that governed their increasingly complex society. These laws were enforced by military authority, signalling for the first time a shift from a self-policing and tribal policing model to a centralized police authority that relied on legitimate military means to enforce those laws. This system evolved similarly elsewhere as reflected many centuries later by the establishment of Greek *kin police* and the *vigiles* of the Roman Empire, who assisted with order maintenance in their early cities and states around 450 BCE.

In medieval Europe, long before the Industrial Revolution, appointed persons were expected to collect taxes, protect peace, and enforce laws of the land for the monarchy of the day. Noblemen of the country similarly hired men to perform duties on their behalf in order to preserve their wealth and order. The commoners, however, had no such means and therefore relied on one another for protection of persons and property. Villages at that time maintained order through a system known as the *hue and cry*. Simply stated, when a hue and cry was issued that a wrong had been committed, it was incumbent on “every fit and able man” to assist in the pursuit and apprehension of the violator.

By the Middle Ages, as early as 1035, the *frankpledge system* was established to strengthen peacekeeping efforts. Under this system, all men between the ages of 15 and 60 had to enlist in groupings of ten families called *tithings* for keeping peace and order. Citizens would report crimes to their tithing and respond to their hue and cry to assist. The elected tithingman became the spokesperson for the group and the community, and
was also responsible for collecting fines and demanding bail. As villages and populations expanded, the tithing system evolved into networks of ten groups of tithings who were together led by a “hundredman.” The hundreds were later combined to form shires (counties and parishes) and were led by officials referred to as “shire-reeves” (sheriffs). The shire-reeves “were appointed by the King to represent his interests and uphold the authority of the Crown. The shire-reeve was invested with considerable military, civil, and judicial powers and made periodic visits to each hundred to ensure that the system of local policing was operating properly” (Griffiths, Parent, & Whitelaw, 2001, p. 5).

The British watch and ward system was established under the Statute of Westminster in 1285. It “affirmed the principle of local responsibility for policing,” whereby an appointed constable would organize the men of the town to serve on a roster basis for protection and enforcement purposes (Cooper, 1981, p. 38). By the mid-1300s, a justice of the peace was established, and the role of constable was expanded to include serving warrants and taking prisoners into custody. The watch and ward system proved effective for hundreds of years, slowly evolving according to community needs. As time passed, however, and with the “advent of urbanism and a more affluent middle class, a practice developed whereby those who could afford to do so hired others, at minimum rates, to substitute for them on the watch roster … [G]radually, more and more citizens began hiring others until the quality of the watch degenerated, and in many cases, became almost meaningless” (Cooper, 1981, p. 38). This practice, coupled with a growing population and soaring crime rates in England and other countries, signalled the need for policing reform. In 1750 England, a small group of constables and ex-constables called the Bow Street Runners were introduced for the sole purpose of apprehending criminals in a particularly troubled area of London. The concept (initiated by police reformer and magistrate Henry Fielding) expanded, and by the 1800s it included both foot and horse patrol and nine similar organizations established throughout London (Seagrave, 1997, p. 15).

Between 1750 and 1820, the Industrial Revolution was well underway and the population in London doubled, bringing with it a plethora of social ills, crimes, disorder, and public health issues. All of these factors combined to emphasize the need, once again, for policing reform. The first organized police force in English history was established by Sir Robert Peel in London in 1829 when he introduced the Metropolitan Police Act (Weiner, 1976, p. 8). The Act created the police office at Scotland Yard, which began under the supervision of Charles Rowan, a former military man, and Richard Mayne, a barrister of law (Seagrave, 1997, p. 17). The organizational structure adopted for the police force was based on a military format that prevails to this day. Similarly, police structures are still referred to as paramilitary operations. The initial philosophy of policing was based on nine principles that guided the English bobby for generations (Manning, 1977, p. 76). Primarily, Sir Robert Peel claimed that the police were powerless without the approval, cooperation, and support of the public, and that the police themselves were merely citizens empowered by the people. By 1830, the police force had grown from a complement of 100 men to more than 3,000, and by the 1850s “every borough and county in England was required to develop its own police force” (Seagrave, 1997, p. 17).

Peel’s strategy for reform, based on his principles of police–community cooperation and accountability, was a philosophical approach that influenced the trend of policing for many decades afterward.
SIDEBAR

Sir Robert Peel’s Nine Principles of Policing

1. To prevent crime and disorder as an alternative to their repression by military force and by severity of legal punishment.

2. To recognize always that the power of the police to fulfill their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.

3. To recognize always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing cooperation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.

4. To recognize always that the extent to which the cooperation of the public can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.

5. To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy and with regard to justice and injustices of the substance of individual laws; by readily offering individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing; by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour; and by ready offering of sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.

6. To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public cooperation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law to restore order; and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.

7. To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being the only members of public who are paid to give full-time attention to the duties which are incumbent on every citizen, in the interests of community welfare and existence.

8. To recognize always the need for strict adherence to public executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary or avenging individuals or the state, and from authoritatively judging guilt or punishing the guilty.

9. To recognize always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them. (Seagrave, 1997, p. 17)

The History of Policing in Canada

Little is known about early policing activities in Canada, and historians debate where and when the first organized system of policing was established. Some claim that the first police officer appeared on the streets of Quebec in 1651, while others claim that the early settlers of New France introduced organized policing in the late 1700s (Kelly & Kelly, 1976, p. 1).

The earliest recorded forms of policing are captured in various historical accounts. For example, sheriffs were recorded as working in the parish of Fredericton, New Brunswick in 1785 (Forward, 2016, p. 18). The commonly held belief is that formalized policing in British North America began in the east and was modelled after the watch and ward system in England, but little more is known about the development of early municipal police departments. Records also exist indicating that areas settled by the French were
more influenced by traditional French systems and led by captains of the militia, and that other areas, such as the port cities of St. John's, Newfoundland and Halifax, Nova Scotia were influenced by fishing admirals, navy, and militias. In 1826, Kingston, Ontario appointed its first full-time paid constable; and in 1835 the city of Toronto replaced its night watch with six full-time constables. A clear trend toward formalized paid policing was emerging in an effort to manage labour and property issues, drunkenness, crime, disorder, and the apprehension of criminals.

With increasing industrialization, urbanization, and modernization of cities in North America, there emerged a greater need for social control, public order, and crime prevention. By 1848, for example, Fredericton's burgeoning police force saw the establishment of paid special constables allocated throughout town wards to maintain order and peace. During this time, constables primarily dealt with the clash between Catholics and Protestants; illegal sales; trading and consumption of liquor; and riotous behaviour. The Saint John Police Force was established in 1849 and initially operated under the supervision of the police magistrate. In 1856, it was placed under the control of a chief of police (Saint John Police Museum, n.d.).

In Upper Canada, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1859 that “created boards of commissioners of police, consisting of the Mayor, the recorder or county judge and a police magistrate,” practices that came to be followed elsewhere. Also in 1859, “the governments of the provinces of Canada required that each city and incorporated town have a chief of police and at least one and possibly more constables, paid by the municipality” (Higley, 1984, p. 29). When Canada was officially declared a nation in 1867, the British North America Act empowered the federal, provincial, and municipal governments with the responsibilities of criminal law, thus creating a “three tiered system of policing” (Cooper, 1981, p. 40). The first known form of federal policing was the Dominion Police, which was instituted one year after Confederation.

In 1870, the provincial police force of Sûreté du Québec was formed, and in 1871 so too was the Newfoundland Constabulary. Both entities were established to provide policing to populated areas across their regions. By the early 1900s, “all the changing demands of rapidly expanding cities such as spatial complexity, growing crime rates, riotous disorder, [and] ethnic and racial tensions” created a need for a more organized form of policing (Harring, 1991, p. 253). In 1909, the Ontario Provincial Police was established to address growing concerns in railway and mining camps and other security concerns along the border between the United States and Canada. In 1920, the North West Mounted Police merged with the Dominion Police to officially establish a truly federal police organization known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).

After the Second World War, policing entered the professional era with increased emphasis on paramilitary structures and depersonalization of service, as well as technology and mobility. Improved communications systems with radios, telephones, and computers, and the introduction of cars and advanced scientific resources were important forces that reshaped policing. Accordingly, society’s demands for rapid response to calls for police service, increased efficiency, and police accountability were natural expectations of this period (Johnson, 1992, p. 4; Lundman, 1980, p. 61; Norris, 1973, p. 37). The professional era changed the service style and direction of local police organizations by removing the familiar “street-corner beat cop” and replacing him with motorized patrols. Officers of the professional era soon became strangers in the community, viewed only
from a distance, travelling in police cars from street to street and from call to call. “Professional” police officers, it seemed, were preoccupied with law enforcement, report writing, clearance rates, and statistics rather than engaging with the citizens they were sworn to serve and protect (Johnson, 1992, p. 4). In a classic study of policing, Varieties of Police Behavior, Wilson (1969) contended that rapid response to calls for police service, law enforcement, and police omnipresence were the ultimate means the police could apply to reduce the public's fear of criminal victimization and secure police professionalism. The final “ingredient” for professionalism was public and administrative accountability through the use of “uniform crime reports.” These crime statistics became the “report card of a police agency,” with emphasis placed on “capturing stats and data.” The police, it appeared, were losing interest in the humanistic aspect of their job and were gaining a reputation as “one-dimensional crime-fighters” (Braiden, 1985, p. 12). Indeed, the professional era stressed centralized control and optimal use of technology, distancing the police from the people.

During this period, the Canadian model of policing was becoming insular and remote from the community, a critical change that led to the development of a new police subculture. While this transition enhanced esprit de corps within policing circles as police drew into themselves, it pulled them away from the citizenry. Eventually, community influence over police procedures and objectives, as envisioned by Sir Robert Peel, was removed from the hands of the people. Localized policing was no longer “explicitly determined by community decisions” and was largely ungoverned by political authorities (Wilson, 1969, p. 230). From this transition, we saw a change emerge in the thin blue line view of policing, which had once signified the police as a protective barrier between the public and its violence. Instead, for many officers it came to signify an “us versus them” mindset, and the all-powerful phenomenon of police loyalty crept into Canadian policing. This phenomenon led to increasing concerns about corruption in the public policing model, lack of accountability, and inefficiencies in dealing with rising crime rates.

The Current Structure of Canadian Police Organizations

Statistics Canada provides a good explanation of the range of policing responsibilities of Canadian police agencies:

The work performed by police to ensure public safety encompasses a broad spectrum of tasks related to law enforcement, crime prevention and reduction, assistance to victims, maintenance of public order and emergency response. Police workload can be broken down into four general categories: citizen-generated calls for service, officer-initiated enforcement activities, crime prevention and reduction strategies, and administrative duties. (Statistics Canada, 2012a, p. 7)

Public policing in Canada comprises three tiers, reflecting the three tiers of government: federal, provincial, and municipal. The federal government provides national policing through the RCMP, and the RCMP’s services are also contracted out to the territories as well as certain provinces and municipalities across the country. There are only three provincial police agencies: the Ontario Provincial Police, Sûreté du Québec, and the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary. In provinces without a provincial police agency, the RCMP is contracted to serve as the provincial police. Each province is responsible for designating municipal (city) police departments to serve its communities.
First Nations communities are policed through various police services, including the RCMP, tribal and band police services, and contracts with provincial police or municipal agencies. In all, 57 First Nations police services are located across British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba; 11 in Ontario; and 37 in Quebec (“First Nations Police,” n.d.). St. Mary’s First Nation in Fredericton, New Brunswick and Membertou First Nation in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia are the only two communities that rely solely on police services provided through quadripartite (four-party) agreements with the local municipality in which their communities are located.

**Municipal and Provincial Policing**

Municipal (city) police officers constitute the largest number of police officers in Canada. Currently, 154 municipal police organizations exist in Canada (www.canadianpoliceservices.com). The highest concentration occurs in Ontario, which includes 58 city/urban police services and five university police services. The roles and structures of municipal police services are largely influenced by the provincial government and operate under legislation commonly known as the *Police Act*. Municipal police services vary in size, reflecting the needs of their jurisdiction; they can range from small departments of six town police to medium-sized departments of 100 or more, to large metropolitan and regional police services with staff members in the thousands (e.g., Peel Regional Police, Toronto Police Service, and Vancouver Police Department).

The three provincial police forces provide services for core daily functions in areas not served by either the RCMP or municipal police forces. Most often, these areas include rural communities and small towns. Canada’s expansive geography ensures that these police forces face challenges in meeting a wide range of community needs. The Royal Newfoundland Constabulary is distinct from the provincial police in Ontario and Quebec because it is primarily dedicated to providing police services to St. John’s, a thriving urban area, while the RCMP is largely responsible for policing the rest of Newfoundland and Labrador, including various Inuit and First Nations communities. Conversely, in Quebec and Ontario, the RCMP pursue only specific federal statute matters, such as customs and excise, and leave rural and First Nations responsibilities to the provincial police services and/or First Nations police services and various municipal agencies.

Both provincial and municipal police services share similar mandates within their respective areas of responsibility, although their governance and reporting structures may vary. Staffing size, budget, areas of specialization, and capital resource equipment correspond with the size of their jurisdictions and the breadth of their expected duties.

As police organizations stem from a paramilitary foundation, command-and-control systems remain part of their primarily top-down hierarchical structure. Figure 3.1 presents an example of a modern municipal organizational structure for a police service (the Waterloo Regional Police Service). It outlines the hierarchical structure from chief of police to operations and administrative divisions (which include constables and civilian staff). It also illustrates the variety of specialized services offered by that police service.
Such organizational charts also exist for other police agencies, including the RCMP, provincial police services, and First Nations police services.

Some police organizations have attempted to flatten the traditional hierarchical structure of police services to increase line officer autonomy and encourage the use of **problem-oriented policing** skills. This change in police culture allows front-line officers more discretion to build solutions with external partners in keeping with the philosophy of contemporary community policing. While officers have discretionary powers in the traditional response model, the move to encourage police throughout the **rank and file** to have greater autonomy has threatened the sense of security of some supervisors and leaders who have been educated in and shaped by the command-and-control system of a paramilitary hierarchy.

**Federal Policing**

As the federal police service of Canada, the RCMP reports to the minister of Public Safety. The RCMP is led by the top commanding officer (the commissioner) who has the command-and-control position overseeing the force. The RCMP operates in some capacity in all provinces and territories under the authority of the *Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act* (*RCMP Act*) and enforces laws throughout Canada under the authority of Parliament. Through policing agreements, the RCMP provides various police services to the territories and 180 municipalities in all provinces except Ontario and Quebec. The modern organizational structure of the RCMP includes 15 provincial and territorial divisions, including its training depot in Regina, Saskatchewan and its national headquarters in Ottawa. Table 3.1 shows the actual police strength of the RCMP and the composition and hierarchy of its membership as of September 2015.

**TABLE 3.1  Composition of RCMP Membership, as of September 2015**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy commissioners</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant commissioners</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief superintendents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Superintendents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inspectors</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corps sergeants major</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Staff sergeants</td>
<td>812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants</td>
<td>1,923</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corporals</td>
<td>3,377</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constables</td>
<td>11,491</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special constables</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public servants</td>
<td>6,331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28,461</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Royal Canadian Mounted Police (2016).

**problem-oriented policing**  
A proactive policing strategy whereby police focus on the problems that form the basis of crime.

**rank and file**  
A term used in military and paramilitary organizations to denote the general membership of the organization as set apart from the commanders and leaders.
Each division of the RCMP is alphabetically designated (e.g., “B” Division) and managed by a commanding officer at local headquarters. The RCMP provides a range of services from front-line patrol and criminal investigations up to and including national security. Its specialized functions include criminal intelligence services, Internet crime services, explosive disposal services, police dog services, air and marine services, and emergency response teams. It also performs the iconic RCMP Musical Ride for audiences across Canada and around the globe. Additionally, the RCMP oversees the National Police Services (NPS) that are provided within the Canadian justice field to other agencies at the expense of the federal government. Essentially, the RCMP’s role is to ensure that special services are provided and shared by the NPS’s programs, which include the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC), Criminal Intelligence Service Canada (CISC), Forensic Science and Identification Service (FS&IS), the Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System (ViCLAS), the National Sex Offender Registry, and the Canadian Police College (CPC) (Royal Canadian Mounted Police [RCMP], n.d.).

**Other Agencies and Resources**

When discussing the composition of the policing and security landscape in Canada, it is important to note that the responsibility for community safety and well-being does not lie solely with the public police. In addition to the three tiers of public policing, there are two railway police services: Canadian National (CN) Police Service and Canadian Pacific (CP) Police Service. Moreover, Ontario and British Columbia have transit police services. As well, over the past 30 years, the number of private security agencies has increased steadily. According to Statistics Canada, “while security guards differ [from police] in terms of training, accountability, and service to the public, they are also involved in maintaining order, providing assistance, and responding to emergencies” (Hutchins, 2015, p. 16).

It is estimated that private security personnel outnumber public police officers by a ratio of almost 2 to 1 (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC], 2013). Growth in the private security industry continues to outpace growth in the public police. In 1991 the number of private security positions in Canada was estimated at 80,000, but by 2013 this number had risen to approximately 140,000 (CBC, 2013; Hovbrender, 2011; Li, 2008). In 2013, by contrast, the number of public police officers in Canada was 69,250 (Hutchins, 2015, p. 23). See Figure 3.2.

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**SIDEBAR**

**Private Security Personnel**

*Private security personnel* have the same “arrest and detain” powers as an ordinary citizen. While they perform some duties with regard to property protection that are similar to those of the public police, they are often paid by an employer to tend to security needs that are not in the public interest realm, such as controlling property and access to property. Private security personnel are generally paid less than police officers and do not require the same standard of training and education as police officers.
All police services include a component of civilian (non-police) employees who work in administrative and certain operational capacities, depending on the size of the organization. For example, civilian employees assist with clerical functions, records management, front-desk duties, crime analysis, and crime prevention programs. Statistics Canada reported that in 2014 there were “28,409 civilians employed by police services across Canada, representing 29% of total personnel. In other words, police services employed 2.4 police officers for every one civilian employee” (Hutchins, 2015, p. 3). The civilianization of police officer positions maximizes uniform visibility by freeing up officers to return to more public-facing roles. The Vancouver Police Department estimated that reclassifying 19 police positions as civilian positions would save approximately $600,000 per year, or 0.3 percent of operating expenditures (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014, p. 97). Research does caution, however, that staffing non-core police functions with civilians does limit the opportunity for an officer to return to work in a reduced capacity while recovering from an injury or awaiting the results of a lengthy officer misconduct investigation. For this reason, researchers suggest that it is important to separate the discussion of duty to accommodate from civilianization. When we focus on the idea of the right person for the right job, ferret out the requisite skill set required for a particular job, and save temporary assignments for temporary absences, the conversation becomes clearer. Notably, a trend is developing whereby higher paid, highly specialized civilian positions are in some cases surpassing the need for traditional police positions. The practice of civilianization continues to be viewed by some, especially in unionized police environments, as a threat to the status quo of traditional policing, and integrating civilians into the hierarchy of the police’s command-and-control organizational structure remains limited to specific non-core police functions.
SIDEBAR

Civilianization

Civilianization is the process of transferring non-core police functions from police officers to civilian employees. Civilianization allows police officers to focus on front-line duties and responsibilities that require their highly trained skill set and powers of arrest. For example, clerical support staff could take on data-entry work in the exhibit room, a qualified crime analyst could be hired to assist in intelligence-led policing duties, and commissionaires could provide cellblock security.

MINI CASE STUDY

Civilization at the Highest Level

In 2007, the RCMP civilianized its top commanding officer position when the federal government appointed Commissioner William Elliot to lead the force. He was the first commissioner to be in this position without any military or policing background. His commission ended in 2011. Many felt that the attempt to clean up problems in the RCMP by bringing in an “outsider” and civilianizing the position failed.

What Do You Think?

1. Why did the federal government appoint a non-police commissioner? What might have been the government’s rationale?
2. What would be some predictable internal reactions?
3. How would the public react to such an appointment?
4. Why might this experiment have failed?
5. What are the dangers of civilianizing top leadership roles in the RCMP? What are the benefits?

Philosophical and Organizational Change

Since the early 1980s, long-standing police traditions and practices, and the police subculture have been challenged by new ideology. Police forces across North America were prompted to re-evaluate their service styles, pressing police leaders in Canada to decide whether the “police should remain a creature of statute, insular and inward looking, or serve the needs of the community” (Braiden, 1985, p. 3). As you have learned so far in this chapter, policing is ever-evolving and continually influenced by a number of internal and external variables. Policing in Canada has, as with many organizations, evolved in an attempt to accommodate the changing needs and demands of society. As a result, from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s, several organizations introduced and experimented with a service style known as community-based policing (or community policing).

While the concept of community-based policing has become almost synonymous with modern policing, it has been interpreted in different ways. Many have opposing views about whether it represents a return to a fundamental style of policing as advocated by Sir Robert Peel in 1829 or is merely an extension of the former crime prevention and public relations model of the early 1970s.
The term *community-based policing* was used primarily in the 1980s and 1990s to reflect a change in policing philosophy. It focused on the police and the community working together to identify and prioritize law enforcement needs and to solve problems in local crime and disorder. It was a way of partnering to improve the quality of life in neighbourhoods, to be proactive in preventing problems, to reduce fear of crime, and to encourage mutual ownership for community safety.

In 1982, the Metropolitan Toronto Police made organizational changes to facilitate community-based policing by decentralizing districts, introducing community officers, increasing foot patrols, and establishing two experimental mini police stations (Green & Mastrofski, 1988, p. 182). In 1985–86, the Fredericton Police Force implemented its first storefront office in a subsidized housing development in an attempt to bring the police and the community closer together to reduce police calls for service and improve the quality of life for area residents and business owners. In 1985, Halifax changed to a decentralized system of policing and increased community orientation through “zone policing” (Clairmont, 1990), and in 1987 the Victoria Police Department in British Columbia established community police stations in various areas throughout the city, demonstrating cooperative efforts between the police, citizens, and ancillary agencies (Walker et al., 1992).

One of the most researched community-based efforts in Canada in the late 1980s and 1990s involved the Edmonton Police Service. In 1987, Edmonton identified community policing as a departmental objective rooted in the “principle that policing must be based within the community rather than the criminal justice system” (Chacko & Nancoo, 1993, p. 311). Subsequently the Neighbourhood Foot Patrol Program (NFPP) was developed and implemented in 21 areas of the city. The main objectives of the NFPP were to reduce repeat calls for service, improve public satisfaction with the police, increase job satisfaction within the organization, increase reporting of crime, and solve community problems (Chacko & Nancoo, 1993, p. 313). In their evaluation of this program, Hornick, Burrows, Phillips, and Leighton (1991) concluded that foot patrol officers “were viewed as more helpful, polite, able to resolve conflict and understand feelings, and prone to provide follow-up material than motor patrol constables” (p. 69). The Edmonton NFPP is an example of a successful strategic effort in community-based policing. The Edmonton Police Service has invested heavily in in-house evaluations of its NFPP model and has participated in extensive external evaluations and follow-up studies by various academic-based institutions and the Police Executive Research Forum based in Washington, DC (Griffiths et al., 2001, p. 183).

In 1990, the RCMP announced its strategic action plan for the implementation of community-based policing nationwide (Seagrave, 1993, p. 13). This announcement appeared to signal a new way forward. At the time, there was significant pressure for change at the RCMP that required police leaders to rethink traditional ideologies and operational strategies and to re-examine how they would deploy their resources. Police leaders encouraged their officers and the public to “buy in” to a new way of doing business. In keeping with this new philosophy, RCMP managers and members alike were required to let go of customary centralized power and authority both internally and externally. In general, the RCMP was expected to change its insular crime-fighting image, established in the professional era, to one of a community partner, willing to listen to the people in matters of public safety. Community-based policing was viewed as a
significant paradigm shift that emphasized greater police accountability to the public, operational dependence, information sharing, problem solving, and proactive efforts. In 1993, the Solicitor General of Canada described this new model as a dramatic change:

In this model, the public plays an influential part in the development of policy, designs of policing strategies and, when appropriate, participates actively in the implementation of those strategies. The ultimate goal is that this cooperative partnership between the community and the police will achieve peace and security. (Chacko & Nancoo, 1993, p. 8)

While the philosophical change to community policing was real, the traditional hierarchical structures of policing remained a barrier to the full adaptation of associated new practices. When analyzing the complex process and outcomes of a change in policing, it is necessary to understand the internal and external relationship dynamics that influence how the police conceptualize, legitimize, and respond to change. The community, governing bodies, and legislators must also be willing to engage in the process. The community and political response to changing police practices, whether positive or negative, will in some way influence the direction of the police organization and, subsequently, how the rank and file fulfill their roles and attach legitimacy to their work. Fitch (1995) described this relationship as a social system tapestry: a police organization has an interdependent relationship with the external environment (or community) in which it operates, and successful organizational change requires the cooperation and engagement of all of those affected. Policing is truly a reciprocal relationship between citizenry and those assigned to carry out duties in the public’s best interest.

**Police Governance and Accountability**

Based on the fact that police officers are vested with a great deal of authority and power—including the right to use force (including lethal force) and to suspend a person’s fundamental right to freedom—so too are they held to a higher level of account for their actions. The Police Act of each province governs the public expectations of the police. The RCMP Act governs the RCMP’s expectations in a standardized fashion, regardless of the province RCMP officers work in. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Canada’s Criminal Code are additional legislations under which the police operate, specifically around the use of force, search and seizure, and the powers of arrest and detention. Individual police organizations, whether they be municipal, provincial, or federal, also have reams of administrative policies and routine and standing operating procedures. Police officers can be held criminally and civilly accountable for their wrongdoings and are subject to the standards of discipline outlined in their provincial or federal policing legislation. It is the objective adherence to laws and procedures and the application of fair processes, integrity, transparency, and accountability that will uphold the public’s trust and confidence in the public police during the most difficult of times.
Code of Conduct for Municipal and Provincial Police in Ontario

The code of conduct for all Ontario municipal police agencies and the Ontario Provincial Police is detailed in Ontario Regulation 268/10. In summary, it states that a chief of police or other police officer commits misconduct if he or she engages in any of the following:

- discredit
- insubordination
- neglect of duty
- deceit
- breach of confidence
- corrupt practice
- unlawful or unnecessary exercise of authority
- damage to clothing or equipment
- consuming drugs or alcohol in a manner prejudicial to duty

Canadian Policing in the 21st Century

According to Statistics Canada (2016), the actual number of police officers working across the country in 2015 was 68,777 (see Table 3.2). Of this number, 50,790 were working either for municipal (city) or provincial police agencies, and the remaining 17,987 were employed by the RCMP (Mazowita & Greenland, 2016, p. 16). These data indicate a rate of police strength of 192 police officers per 100,000 population, which is a decrease of 0.9 percent from the previous year. In 2014, the police–population ratio in Canada was 14 percent lower than in the United States and many other “peer countries”; in fact, Canada “reported the fourth lowest rate of police strength in 2012,” followed by Denmark, Norway, and Finland (Hutchins, 2015, pp. 6–7).

It is important to distinguish between actual police strength and authorized police strength. Actual police strength is the number of police officers employed at a particular time, whereas authorized police strength is the number of positions that police forces are authorized to fill during a fiscal or calendar year. This distinction is significant for police leaders tasked with delivering police services and fulfilling local policing mandates. The difference between actual police strength and authorized police strength is largely attributable to unfilled vacancies due to long-term sickness, maternity/parental leaves, suspensions, retirements, or resignations. Canada’s authorized police strength for 2014 (the latest data available) was 71,457 positions (Hutchins, 2015).

Operating expenditures for police services in Canada in 2014–15 totalled $13.9 billion (Mazowita & Greenland, 2016). The challenge for police leaders and governments is to determine the most effective and efficient use of both human resources (police and civilian staff) and capital resources (equipment) to optimize public safety. Since the 2008 global financial crisis, public institutions have been increasingly under pressure to find efficiencies in operating and managing their budgets. Police organizations have not been exempt from these pressures, and a considerable amount of research has been directed at the rising cost of public safety and the economics of policing and community safety (see www.publicsafety.gc.ca).

The core police functions in any police organization remain focused on emergency response, crime prevention, incident response, order maintenance, preserving the peace, investigation, crime and harm reduction, traffic investigations, and traffic enforcement.
In order to meet expectations, officers are required to be level headed, intelligent, ethical, skilled, competent decision-makers, and physically and mentally fit. These characteristics need to be balanced with compassion, adaptability, and resilience in order for officers to survive in the policing world of the 21st century.

In the words of the Council of Canadian Academies, “Canada’s traditional model dominated by generalist patrol officers may be increasingly ill-suited to deal with the challenges of evolving crime, the complexity of the justice system, the diversity of Canadian society, and the landscape of a safety and security web” (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014, p. 97).

Police leaders are realizing that the generalist police concept of the “jack-of-all-trades” officer is insufficient in the 21st century. We also know from past experience that the insular crime-fighter model has its limitations. While the police cannot be all things to all people all of the time, as a 24/7 public service the police have become, by default, the resource to call, day or night, in a variety of troubling circumstances. Our changing public safety landscape requires the officers of today to be extra-vigilant, educated, adaptable, skilled, and competent as they attend to everything from barking dog complaints to national security and terrorism threats. The police must continue to abide by the principles of community policing and, at the same time, negotiate a few contemporary twists.

### TABLE 3.2 Police Officers, by Province and Territory, 2011–2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>69,424</td>
<td>69,505</td>
<td>69,250</td>
<td>68,806</td>
<td>68,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland and Labrador</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>1,914</td>
<td>1,934</td>
<td>1,895</td>
<td>1,884</td>
<td>1,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>1,377</td>
<td>1,364</td>
<td>1,344</td>
<td>1,290</td>
<td>1,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>15,802</td>
<td>15,977</td>
<td>16,002</td>
<td>16,194</td>
<td>16,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
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<td>26,359</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
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<td>2,706</td>
<td>2,691</td>
<td>2,646</td>
<td>2,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
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<td>2,298</td>
<td>2,306</td>
<td>2,294</td>
<td>2,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>6,696</td>
<td>6,787</td>
<td>6,899</td>
<td>6,990</td>
<td>7,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
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<td>8,856</td>
<td>8,672</td>
<td>8,678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon</td>
<td>122</td>
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<td>132</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>130</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunavut</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Headquarters and Training Academy</td>
<td>1,769</td>
<td>1,681</td>
<td>1,297</td>
<td>1,111</td>
<td>1,130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Canada (2016).
Generalists

A generalist is a front-line officer who is expected to have a wide range of community resources, skills, and connections to prevent, respond to, and intervene in a variety of calls for service. The generalist will often supply police specialists with timely information in an effort to help solve more complex matters that require specifically trained skill sets. An example might be a knowledgeable generalist working in a neighbourhood who points crime analysts, detectives, and forensic identification officers in the direction of a local prime individual known for break-and-enters in a specific area.

Due to the changing nature of crime and the complexity of policing requirements, there has been a steady move toward embracing the notion of a safety and security web (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014, pp. 36–37). The web comprises non-police organizations that interact with one another and the police to address matters of safety and security. The police, their community partners, and strategic stakeholders are realizing that they need to work together to proactively understand emerging risks based on intelligence-led policing and predictive analysis (analyzing data by statistical software and techniques to predict future crime trends). In this sense, contemporary community policing is a way of doing business to address a broad range of 21st-century issues, from vandalism to terrorism. It can be effectively used to quell seniors’ fear of crime, to intervene and prevent youth radicalization, or to disrupt the cycle of violence in intimate partner relationships. In 2016, during the opening remarks at the World Safety Organization conference, the keynote speaker aptly noted that we must “act early, act on time, and act together.” This sentiment is reflected in police work being done across Canada that is based on collaborative efforts, information sharing, prevention, and timely intervention.

Figure 3.3 highlights four key strategic areas that can and should collaborate when complex issues (e.g., cybercrimes and calls for service involving mental health issues) arise in the community. As an example of a potential resource-saving strategy, formal agreements between police services and other agencies are increasingly being used to provide people in crisis situations with faster assistance from the necessary health services (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014, p. 104). Properly trained mental health workers can provide timely assessment and de-escalation techniques and advise police on appropriate and successful response and interventions.
SIDEBAR

Safety and Security Web

The safety and security web is a source of specialized knowledge, skills and resources that can assist police in responding to internal and external trends and challenges in policing. The changing nature of threats requires police to work with a range of actors: for example, national and international security institutions, in the case of terrorism threats and transit authorities and other first responders in the case of environmental threats. (Council of Canadian Academies, 2014, p. 141)
Contemporary Community Policing

Contemporary community policing involves various methods of policing. It is not about the delivery of several unrelated programs or initiatives; instead, it is about how each element interacts with and weaves among others, addressing a variety of public safety and social disorder issues. In 2013, Philadelphia Police Commissioner Charles Ramsey was quoted as saying that we need to move from the thin blue line mentality to a “thin blue thread” mentality, using the metaphor of a fabric that comprises many threads working together. In Ramsey’s words, “the profession of policing is still based on the principles of Sir Robert Peel, and yet our profession changes and reflects the values, social structure, technology advancements, and political demands of the times” (Wyllie, 2013). Here you can see a recurring theme noted earlier in this chapter (Fitch, 1995), where we argued that the social system tapestry of policing is fundamental to successful policing. We simply cannot abandon the critical importance of the interdependency of human and capital resources in our effort to preserve the peace and maintain social order.

SIDEBAR

The Thin Blue Thread

Philadelphia Police Commissioner Charles Ramsey said something really quite interesting: he challenged the metaphor of the thin blue line separating good and evil—separating law-abiding citizens from the dangerous and violent criminals who intend to do harm. He stated: “The problem with being a line is that you’re separate and apart from those two things. You’re really not a part of either side. I like to think—and as I’ve gotten older and more mature in this job, I’ve come to see—a more accurate metaphor, in my opinion. It is one in which the police are seen as a thread woven thorough the communities we serve—a thread that helps hold those communities together, creating a tapestry that reinforces the very fabric of democracy” (Wyllie, 2013).

Community Policing Models and Strategies

Commonly used methods in contemporary community policing include problem-solving models and programs (such as those focused on priority and prolific offenders), crime mapping and data analysis, intelligence-led policing, crime prevention through environmental design, and crime prevention through social development. Contemporary community policing places significant emphasis on prevention, intervention, and crime and harm reduction, but this emphasis is not to be mistaken for a “soft-on-crime approach,” as enforcement and investigation remain integral to effective policing. In community policing, technology has become a double-edged sword: while technology provides the police with tools to fight crime, collect and track intelligence, and share information, it also provides criminals with ways of committing crime that continually present new challenges for police.

The SARA Model

One notable community policing problem-solving model is SARA (Scanning—Analysis—Response—Assessment), which was developed by Eck and Spelman in 1987.
to “operationalize problem-oriented policing” (Hudy as cited in O’Regan & Reid, 2013, p. 72). The SARA model has been used by numerous North American agencies since the mid-1990s. Based on this model, police begin by “Scanning” to determine whether a problem really exists. Next, they engage in “Analysis” to learn everything possible about the problem (what is happening, when, where, and how). Then, they apply a customized “Response” to the problem. Last, police undertake an “Assessment,” evaluating the effectiveness of their response by looking at the process they followed and reviewing whether the problem was solved or mitigated.

The CAPRA Model
In the mid-1990s, the RCMP developed a community policing problem-solving model called CAPRA. It took conventional models like SARA one step further by incorporating all of the critical elements of modern policing, including both community-oriented and problem-oriented elements. CAPRA combines the traditional skills of acquiring and analyzing information (Acquiring and Analyzing Information) and responding professionally to a public safety issue (Response) with the new requirements of client service (Clients—Direct & Indirect), public accountability (Partnerships), and continuous learning (Assessment). Each component of the model asks police to answer key questions to ensure that the process is fully addressed, as the following sections show. The model is typically presented as a series of concentric circles (see Figure 3.4), reinforcing the idea that police need to continuously seek additional information, adapt, redefine, respond, assess, adapt responses, and reassess. Also, the circular design focuses on the need to keep clients and partnerships in mind at all times. CAPRA is more than just a problem-solving model in that it provides an operational framework from which to provide policing services.

FIGURE 3.4 CAPRA Model
Clients

Who are my direct clients in this situation?
What are their needs, demands, and expectations?
Who are my indirect clients in this situation?
What are their needs, demands, and expectations?

Clients are the people police interact with when delivering their services as well as the people who receive these services. They are at the centre of the model because all policing is done in response to clients' needs, demands, and expectations. As well, problems are defined in light of clients' needs.

As a result, police are required to understand their clients' perspectives and respond to the needs of all those they interact with. Even suspects and prisoners are considered to be clients, since police have a professional obligation to treat them with respect for human dignity and, when necessary, to protect their well-being. Clients are involved, as appropriate, in generating and selecting response options, developing action plans to implement the selected options, and assessing the service provided.

There are two types of clients:

1. Direct clients: Those whom police interact with at various points in their service delivery or investigations. Examples of direct clients are complainants, victims, witnesses, suspects, and prisoners.
2. Indirect clients: Those not directly involved in an incident or its investigation, but who have an interest in its outcome either because of the way it was handled or because of the association of the incident to similar incidents. Examples of indirect clients are the public, other government agencies or departments, and interest groups.

A client component is not found in any other policing model. CAPRA is unique because it teaches police that the public interest is best understood and served by learning about and working with direct clients and the community, appreciating their needs and interests.

Acquiring and Analyzing Information

What do I already know that will help me to deal with this situation?
What do I need to know that will help me to deal with this situation?

Acquiring and analyzing information is essential to continuously assessing risk during an incident, gathering critical evidence, solving a crime, apprehending a suspect, and presenting a thorough case to ensure the fair outcome of a situation, whether through the judicial system or alternative means. When engaged in preventive problem solving, the more information police have and the better the analysis in consideration of clients' perspectives, the more likely police are to define the problem appropriately, based on the clients' needs, and to arrive at a mutually agreed on response or solution to the problem. Information is acquired from various sources, such as clients and partners, and through research. Research can be as simple as conducting computer checks on a suspect or as complex as crime mapping and geographical profiling.
Part Two  Policing

Partnerships
Who can help me to deal with this situation?

Partners are anyone within the organization (e.g., Police Dog Services, Forensic Identification Section), other government departments or agencies (e.g., Emergency Medical Services, Child and Family Services), or the community (e.g., church pastor, scientist) who can assist police in providing better-quality and more timely service. Establishing and maintaining partnerships on an ongoing basis provides several benefits:

1. It develops the trust needed to know that partners will be available when required.
2. It ensures that police are aware of all existing potential partners so that the best information or assistance is available to clients as soon as possible.
3. It builds contingency plans so that when assistance is required, it is immediately available.
4. It ensures clients receive assistance and follow-up through volunteers when police have to attend to other priorities.

Response
What is my primary responsibility?
What is the public interest, and how is it best served in this situation and in this set of circumstances?
Which client(s) should get priority at various stages of an incident?

Four types of responses are available to police:

1. Service: Assisting the public and referring them to appropriate partners.
2. Protection (public and police safety): Protecting the public, victims, and those affected by their victimization in partnership with community agencies and experts.
3. Enforcement and alternatives: Laying charges and proceeding through the judicial system so that offenders are held accountable is, at times, in the public’s best interest. At other times, non-enforcement measures (such as restorative justice) are appropriate.
4. Prevention (situational/community): Preventing incidents (offences or problems) from occurring or escalating through intervention, proactive problem-solving, and education.

Police must determine what their primary responsibility is in terms of how the public interest is best served in a particular situation, keeping in mind two things: that elements from more than one of these responses may need to be implemented in order to address all the needs and interests of the client, and that the ideal response can change over the course of an investigation or incident.
Assessment

How could my partners and I have handled that better?

What should we do differently next time?

Did we consult victims and other community members who were affected by the problem?

Did we examine any trends?

Are there any lessons learned that could be shared?

Police must assess their performance in order to continuously improve the quality of their service. They must also monitor incidents and detect patterns in partnership with their clients to solve problems and prevent similar situations from occurring.

The CAPRA model is an operational application of the RCMP’s vision and mission. It combines the RCMP’s commitment to communities and clients, problem solving in partnership, and continuous learning. The CAPRA model helped to define the competencies necessary for effective community policing. It is taught as part of the recruit training course standard with the RCMP and has been adopted in some form or another by many police agencies and academies across the country. The CAPRA model demonstrates the way in which police officers are expected to treat those with whom they come into contact and how best to assess and address their needs.
CAREER PROFILE

Christine Hudy

Christine Hudy manages the Training Program Support and Evaluation (TPSE) for the RCMP in Regina. She designs and develops the curriculum for the Cadet Training Program.

How did you first become interested in criminal justice and policing?
While working at the University of Regina, I had the opportunity to teach a workshop to a class composed entirely of RCMP officers and civilian employees. As we chatted about criminal justice, policing, and training, I became fascinated by those disciplines and the innovative instructional design approaches being used to develop the Cadet Training Program. I joined the RCMP six months after that workshop!

How did you reach your current position?
I developed a passion for adult education, distance education, instructional design, and educational technology by working at Parkland Regional College and the University of Regina in Saskatchewan early in my career. This experience brought me to the RCMP Academy in Regina, where I became the first instructional designer hired in TPSE. I have now been given the opportunity to manage TPSE, which has evolved into a unit of 15 staff who design and develop curriculum for the RCMP’s full scope of induction training.

Describe a typical day for you. What are some of your most important duties?
What I love about my job is that there is no such thing as a typical day. This is the nature of policing and police training. I have two duties I consider most important. First, I provide guidance and support to the teams in TPSE. Second, I often liaise with the other stakeholders on base impacted by the ongoing changes to training. I constantly remind myself of the great responsibility we have to ensure our police officers receive the best training possible so they can provide safe and effective policing service.

What are the most challenging and most rewarding aspects of your job?
Like most other professions, policing undergoes constant and rapid change. Keeping training up to date is challenging and requires us to respond quickly. Nonetheless, it is a tremendous honour to be part of an organization with the history and reputation that the RCMP has, and I am very proud to play a role in “creating” Mounties who go out across our great country and serve the Canadian public.

What are some of the most important skills cadets learn at the training academy?
The most important skill cadets learn is critical thinking. Policing is an increasingly complex and demanding profession, and no two calls are the same. We not only teach cadets the knowledge and skills they will need as police officers, but also teach them the processes for dealing with policing situations. Ultimately, we want our police officers to critically examine every situation so they can make ethical decisions and take appropriate action.

What are some of the unique challenges of being a national police force? How does this impact how cadets are trained?
Being a national police force means that our officers must be prepared to work in diverse settings. We have outlined a set of common competencies that define the standards of performance and behaviour required for a general duty police officer, regardless of where he or she will be working. After cadets graduate from the RCMP Academy, they enter the next phase of training, the Field Coaching Program, at their first detachment. During this six-month period, they build on the knowledge and skills acquired in the Cadet Training Program while performing policing duties under the mentorship of an experienced officer.
Recruitment and Changing Standards
An important focus for police leaders looking to optimize public safety dollars is to seek new ways to recruit, train, and deploy employees. Police candidates who do not possess core values such as integrity, compassion, professionalism, and respect, and who are inadequately trained, are more likely to make poor decisions that will result in Police Act complaints or criminal allegations. The cost of poor or inadequate recruiting and training practices are extremely high, ranging from Charter violations, use-of-force lawsuits, discretable conduct charges, corruption, unlawful arrests, and illegal detention, to name a few. For example, an officer who does not fully understand his or her lawful powers of arrest, and search and seizure may unintentionally violate the rights that provide for a citizen's freedom from unlawful detention and search. The overall damage to the reputation of one's organization and loss of public trust and confidence in the policing profession erodes the ability of the police to do their job effectively.

Prior to the 1970s, provincial and municipal police recruit training was sporadic; officers were hired based on physical strength and general character and went to work without standardized training and, in some cases, with minimal education. As public expectations for professional service rose, so too did the demand for better recruitment processes, qualifications, and training. Police recruitment standards are essentially consistent across Canada. At a minimum, the applicant is required to have a high school diploma, have a clean criminal background, have Canadian citizenship or landed immigrant status, be at least 19 years of age, be physically and mentally fit, be of good character with good references, and have an active driver's licence. Some agencies and academies require that the applicant have completed a one- to two-year police foundation course prior to acceptance. Over the last 30 years, police recruits increasingly have some university courses, a college diploma, and/or undergraduate and graduate degrees prior to applying for recruitment. The selection process typically includes physical and aptitude testing, written examinations, psychological testing, and, in all provinces except New Brunswick and Ontario, a polygraph examination as part of ethics and integrity testing. Recruit training varies across the country, with some recruits graduating from the Ontario Police College, École nationale de police du Québec, or the Atlantic Police Academy. Some larger municipal agencies (e.g., Calgary Police Service) have their own recruit training programs. The RCMP provides its recruits with basic training at the “Depot” Division in Regina.

Once a recruit has been accepted into a training program, he or she will undertake a combination of courses that focus on academic learning, and functional and technical skill development. Field experience is gained through an on-the-job training period where the recruit is paired with a coach officer. Functional, technical, and core competency training cover topics such as report writing, criminal law, use-of-force techniques, firearms and driver training, physical fitness, communication, community policing, investigation, de-escalation techniques, role-playing, and court testimony. Training includes a blend of classroom learning, hands-on, e-learning, and repetitive practice. Adherence to lawful order, chain of command, team building, and peer support are often intertwined in the learning environment and reinforced through traditional paramilitary exercises such as drills, parade marching in formation, and group discipline. Once a recruit is a successful graduate of basic training from an accredited police institution and begins employment, he or she is typically paired with a training officer or coach officer for a period of time.

coach officer
An experienced officer who works with a new constable, also called a field training officer.
Policing

The foundational recruit training is the beginning of a career-long journey of continuous learning that is required in modern policing. In-service training opportunities are provided throughout an officer’s career to ensure that he or she maintains core policing skills in areas such as firearms proficiency, first aid, use-of-force and de-escalation techniques, case law, and cultural competency. Specialized courses (e.g., forensic identification, cybercrime, accident reconstruction, explosive disposal, police service dog handling, polygraph, and incident command) are also available through police academies, the Canadian Police College, the RCMP, universities, and colleges.

Policing and Mental Health Challenges

Since the late 20th century, the area of mental health has produced new challenges for both front-line and administrative policing. In the 1980s, a trend to de-institutionalize people with severe mental illness created an influx of police calls involving mental health issues in communities across the country. De-institutionalization alone was not problematic, but the lack of housing and support services available to successfully integrate this vulnerable population into local communities created enormous challenges. What followed were a number of high-conflict and high-profile incidents between police and people with varying degrees of mental illness. Unfortunately, police were largely untrained and unprepared to deal with these complex issues. Efforts have since been made, and continue to be made, to improve the outcomes of these interactions through community partnership, training, and collaboration. In fact, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police has partnered with the Mental Health Commission of Canada in a strategic effort to improve a nationwide community policing response and intervention approach aimed at reducing conflict and tragedy in these often challenging calls for service involving this vulnerable segment of our population.

Over the past ten to 15 years, society has more openly acknowledged that mental illness can affect anyone. This understanding has impacted policing with respect to employee wellness and compensation cases. The incidence of reported post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) has increased in policing, which is a clear departure from the old culture where police officers were expected to “suck it up” and not buckle from the weight of witnessed trauma compounded over time and through exposure to significantly abnormal events. From an administrative perspective, the issues associated with mental illness have brought police agencies under intense external scrutiny for mishandled calls for service, and they have caused internal staffing challenges in terms of accommodating those suffering from workplace-related illness.

What Do You Think?

In all but two provinces (Ontario and New Brunswick), a polygraph examination is part of the recruitment process. Also, in Ontario and New Brunswick, officers cannot be suspended without pay during a conduct complaint and criminal investigation.

1. What challenges might this pose for police chiefs and their organizations in Ontario and New Brunswick?

2. What implications might this have on the recruitment and retention of honest officers in Ontario and New Brunswick?

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Technology

Technological advances produce both new opportunities and challenges in policing. While rapidly changing technology has provided the police with new tools, so too have these advantages been made available to others to use for criminal purposes. Just as modernized transportation had an impact on the speed at which criminals could physically travel from one policing jurisdiction to another, so too has information technology changed the dynamic of policing and created new frontiers for crime. The rapid mobilization of criminals between jurisdictions that was experienced with the advent of trains, cars, and planes from the late 18th to 20th centuries pales in comparison to the rapid mobilization of criminals online. No longer does a person need to be on the scene to commit a crime, and yet they can inflict damage with the stroke of a key or a voice-activated device. Information technology has created a new “a-spatial” dimension in the reality of everyday policing. Traditional crimes such as fraud, sexual exploitation, threats, harassment, youth radicalization, and terrorism, for example, are amplified and made more complex through the use of technology. Consequently, a shift toward a “pan-government” approach to policing is taking place in recognition of the long reach of cybercrime and the complexity of cybersecurity. Freed from geographical boundaries, police agencies are facing unparalleled challenges for which they remain all too commonly ill-prepared to prevent, intervene, or respond effectively. Aggravating this reality is the lack of robust and current legislation in Canada related to cyber-related crime.

Over and above the technological implications related to crime and criminal investigation, consider the impact of both traditional and social media on the public’s perception of policing: because police officer’s actions are so easily recorded and shared, policing attitudes and officer behaviour are undeniable. As noted earlier in this chapter, the issue of governance and accountability are critically important to maintaining the public’s trust and confidence in the police. Various forms of media provide the public with minute-by-minute accounts of events as they unfold. On one hand, this provides for greater transparency and accountability of policing, and on the other it has created opportunities for individuals to intentionally or unintentionally perpetuate misinformation. The implications of technology in and on policing are the subject of great interest and controversy, covering a broad array of issues.

Conclusion

As you have read in this chapter, policing has a long history and tradition of professional practice. The policing strategies discussed in this chapter are built on this foundation. It is critical going forward that governments, community leaders, and police organizations conduct meaningful internal and external evaluations and gap analyses to identify critical risk areas that Canadian police agencies are unable to effectively address alone. The changing nature of crime underscores the reality that modern policing is about far more than just the number of officers and calls for service. Frank conversations and explorations of civilianization, specialization, training, safety and security webs, and human resource management continue to evolve.

What Do You Think?

1. If you were an officer, what would you consider to be the dangers and advantages of policing in the age of social media?
2. As an officer, would you post about your personal life online (e.g., have a Facebook page)? Why or why not?
3. Are police organizational policies on the use of social media important?
4. How can social media be used lawfully for investigations?
5. What role do social media play in contemporary community policing?
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Sir Robert Peel covered a number of areas in his nine principles. In the context of today’s policing environment, are there any other principles you would add?

2. Police agencies always have continued public support and approval as a goal. What challenges do you see in the early stages of this century that pose a threat to achieving this goal?

3. An increasing number of police operations depend on covert (or secretive), coercive, and deceptive techniques. These techniques can range from using unmarked police cars to catch speeding drivers to having undercover operatives pose as heroin drug dealers. When are such practices justifiable? Is there a time when they are not? (For a detailed example, jump ahead to Chapter 4’s discussion of “Mr. Big” operations.)

NOTES

1. This brief chapter of policing is not written from an average perspective. The author is a veteran police officer of 32 years’ service in the profession and is currently serving as a chief of police. The views presented are her own and not reflective of her police organization or her employer.

2. The section on the CAPRA model is adapted from Chapter 3 of the first edition of this text, by Christine Hudy, with permission.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READINGS


REFERENCES


