Rethinking Police Governance, Culture & Management

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Christopher Murphy, PhD
Paul McKenna, MA, MLS
Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia

A Summary Review of the Literature

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Preface

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RMCP) is an institution with a proud history, an international reputation and a significant mandate for the delivery of a broad range of policing and related services. The Task Force on Governance and Cultural Change in the RCMP has been given the mandate to examine some problematic aspects of the RCMP governance and organizational culture. It is our hope that this report is a useful contribution to this process.

We provide in this report a summary review of the literature and research on police and RCMP culture, management, governance and the changing police role. From our review of police studies and the limited RCMP literature, we identify some of the critical culture and governance issues that we believe are related to the Task Force's mandate. Given the limited timeframe this review, by necessity, has been selective, interpretive and represents a preliminary examination of a number of complex issues. While our analysis is based on a wide range of relevant police research and program literature it is also informed by our own work and involvement with Canadian policing and the RCMP over many years.

Though critical of some aspects of traditional RCMP management and culture, we have assembled these ideas and information in order to constructively focus on possible new or alternative policy directions and strategies that we think will strengthen the management and governance of RCMP. The challenges faced by the RCMP in managing an organization with its traditions, varied functions, and broad responsibilities are significant, but extremely important. We hope this review will not only contribute to the current examination process but that it will also provide a rationale and groundwork for further exploration.

Christopher Murphy, PhD
Paul McKenna, MA, MLS

CHAPTER 1:

Police Culture: Dimensions, Variations & Implications

1.1 The Police Culture Thesis

The concept of police culture as an explanatory factor in police studies has an extensive literature. Though it has been examined from a variety of disciplinary perspectives such as anthropology, sociology, criminology, and organizational studies, they generally share a central argument which can be summarized as follows:

The role of the public police in modern society is both unique and problematic. The police have a broad, ambitious mandate (crime control and public order) and special legal, but limited, coercive powers to achieve it (Bittner 1970; Manning 1977). Police work as result has a number of distinctive situational, structural, and symbolic qualities such as danger, risk, authority, and conflict. These qualities of the police role in democratic societies often make the police environment uncertain and risky, generating a reactionary and protective occupational and organizational culture. Culture in this sense is understood as a set of social solutions devised by a group of people to understand and respond to a common set of real and perceived problems (Van Maanen 1984). Police culture is variously described in police studies as; "a set of shared values, group attitudes, agreed upon behavioural norms, informal "craft" rules, a set of common understandings and informal guides for action (Durivage 1992; Goldsmith 1991; Greene et al. 1994; Skolnick 1994). Police culture is explained as a functional, even necessary cultural response to the broad, complex and uncertain nature of doing police work; especially managing the discretionary exercise of coercive police powers in uncertain and potentially risky situations. Police culture thus serves as an informal guide to the situational enactment of the police role, providing the informal rules of engagement (Ericson 1982). In short police culture helps officers negotiate their complex uncertain working environments in ways that let them get the job done. Internalized, police culture is also form of governance as it provides group based behavioural guides, interactional rules and proscribed codes of conduct.

Police officers learn the culture or are socialized into its collective values and understandings, though informal groups interaction, both on and off the job. To become a police officer means learning and internalizing the culture and adhering to its core values and rules. Acceptance by one's peers as being trustworthy and reliable often depends on being aware, and accepting, this culture or code and subscribing to its various behavioural and attitudinal tenets.

Though studies of police culture differ somewhat in describing group values, there is general agreement that traditional police culture is described by the following general core values and qualities:

1. *Solidarity* – emphasis on shared responsibility and loyalty to other police officers above all others;
2. *Authoritarianism* – belief in, and willingness to exercise, power over others, believed to be either a function of the job or personality type;
3. *Suspicion* – mistrust of people gained from limited and often negative contact with public; mistrust of people gained from limited and often negative contact with public; a protective response to the uncertainty of the environment and
4. *Conservative* – political and social outlook either caused by the moralistic and negative nature of police work or those who are attracted to police work;
5. *Prejudicial* – tendency to prejudge others based on values, behaviour and work experience – stereotyping gets the job done but can lead to racism sexism, etc.;
6. *Cynicism* – tendency to regard all non police as potential unreliable, unsympathetic and critical of police.
7. *Blue collar* – describes the class background and values of most police officers as blue collar or working class, suggests that police cultural values reflect many of the general values and attitudes of working class males.

While the existence of a police culture with these particular values is understandable, it has also been linked to a number of persistent policing problems. Various studies of police deviance directly identify police culture as a contributing or casual factor. Police culture is said to contribute to, facilitate and justify a number of negative police behaviours. Studies of the excessive use of force, corruption, and racism have implicated police culture in both rationalizing these activities but also providing protection from its discovery and elimination. Police culture can validate or rationalize deviant activities so that police

officers can engage in them without violating cultural codes that normalize bad behaviour and, more importantly, cover them up. The demand for loyalty and solidarity with other police officers serves as a master value that insulates and protects police deviance and makes it difficult to govern officers' behaviour from within but especially from outside the organization. Police culture exhibits a deep-rooted suspicion of non-police outsiders. Outside public or political criticism can make police organizations and their members resistant to external forms of accountability, influence, regulation and governance. Indeed, in many cases internal codes of loyalty, solidarity and suspicion fuel resistance to external attempts to govern and mange police behaviour.

However despite extensive research and analysis on police culture and its negative effects, there are criticisms of this rather simplistic and generic portrayal of traditional police culture that limits its significance as an "accurate" or "complete" description of modern police culture. In summary, these critics (Chan 1997; Kappeler et al. 2006) argue that modern police culture is not as distinctive or universal as it usually portrayed. They argue that modern police officers are better educated and are more diverse (for example, with respect to race and gender) and are, therefore, less uniform in type and attitudes and thus less likely to share and adhere to group norms. Research also shows that there is considerable variation within police organizations and that police officers vary by type of police organization. Each police organization may have its own version of police culture reflecting some general police culture traits but also projects its own cultural variation reflecting its particular institutional history and tradition. Finally, some critics argue that cultural values are only loosely connected to actual behaviour, the difference between "saying and doing", so that the influence of police cultural on police behaviour is exaggerated.

While the notion of traditional police culture needs to be updated and must be seen as more fluid and contextualized organizationally, there remains basic agreement that police culture exists, that it retains in varying degrees a number of shared values, and that some of these shared values have a negative impact on police behaviour and its management.

1.2   Traditional Military Police Organization & Culture

While police culture is a group and individual phenomenon, it is also structured by its organizational location or the kind of police organization within which it operates. Indeed organizational sociologists argue that police culture is a product of both police work and police organization, or the formal organization of police work. In other words, the police organization itself contextualizes the occupational culture of police work. They are interactive and mutually reinforcing phenomena. To understand police culture you need to understand its organizational character.

The traditional version of police culture described in this review has been strongly associated with a traditional kind of police organization, one described as the **military-bureaucratic model of police organization.** It is the residual model of all police organizations and cultures. For most police departments it remains the model that police forces are trying to change and reform. As it remains in varying degrees still descriptive of many police organizations and in particular the RCMP, it requires further analysis.

Police texts and organizational studies describe the conventional and standard model of urban police department as the "military bureaucratic police organization." The qualities that distinguish this model of police organization can be traced historically to Sir Robert Peel, the founder of modern policing. In 1829 Peel declared that the London Metropolitan Police "must be stable and efficient and organized along military lines." Peel's choice of the military bureaucratic model of police organization is not surprising given his own military background, the similarities between civil policing and existing models of military policing, and finally, the absence of alternative organizational models at that time. The military bureaucratic model offered police administrators a number of important advantages, such as organizational stability, a recognized form of administrative control and a measure of personal discipline. Given the considerable problems faced by early police in alleviating public suspicion of police and establishing organizational legitimacy, the military model proved to be an appropriate and relatively effective response to the circumstances of the time. Gradually the crude military model was strengthened by the adoption of bureaucratic forms of organization and management and administration.

Bureaucracy, with its emphasis on formal rules, procedures, formal authority and technical specialization, was not only a means of bringing a measure of administrative professionalism into the management of policing, but also served as an argument for allowing police to regulate their own affairs free of direct political intervention. The bureaucratic police organization promised a new measure of organizational and administrative professionalism which then enabled the police to justify more administrative and operational autonomy. Bureaucratic organization and administration, a narrow emphasis on law enforcement, and the increasing use of police science and technology, combined to give the police an argument to reduce community and political involvement in police activities and claim the autonomy that comes with bureaucratic professionalism. The resulting combination of military and bureaucratic organizational principles created the basic model of conventional police organization with the following organizational characteristics:

- **rank-based authority** structure — authority resides solely in rank assigned; position power;
- highly **centralized** administration and authority structure — all important decisions are made at the top;
- **command and control** management philosophy — reliance on rank based authority, use of formal orders, reward rule following, punishment rule violation;
- **hierarchical decision-making** structure that controls and directs police operations from the top; pyramid-shaped organizational structure; top down management;
- **formalized** -- with a heavy reliance on formal, written communication: rules, procedures, policies, etc.
- **specialization** of many police administrative and operational functions;
- emphasis on **technology and technique** — generally rigid and inflexible organizational structure; resistant to change; and
- **insular and closed** -- organization resistant to outside political or community influence.

In summary, the conventional police organization is a product of its historical military origins and more modern theories of bureaucratic structuring and organization. In response to the persistent problems of the coordination and control of police work, the conventional police organization became a centralized, specialized and formalized organization, emphasizing stability and operational autonomy. The hierarchical and stratified nature of authority and power in police departments encourage traditional approach to the organization and management of police operations. Suspicious of change and protective of its autonomy, many police organizations remain organized in a traditional bureaucratic manner, unchanged by either advances in organizational theory or a changing task environment

1.3   The Development of RCMP Organization & Culture

The RCMP – the "Mounties" are not just a national police force, they are also a national symbol. The organizational and institutional culture and image of the RCMP has been a powerful source of its public image and national mythology (Kelly and Kelly 1973; Dawson 1998). But like all myths and symbols the RCMP image is partly truth, partly fiction and a measure of wishful thinking. While the RCMP's image was designed in part for public consumption it was an also designed for internal consumption. "Mountie" culture has always been a powerful form of internal institutional governance, giving its members a sense of institutional pride, of being a special and distinctive kind of police officer, different and perhaps better than other police. As members of a unique historical and proud police institution one is expected to exhibit disciplined professionalism and absolute loyalty to the organization, adherence to its strict code of conduct and avoidance of behaviour that would bring the force's incorruptible image into disrepute.

While there is considerable scholarship about RCMP history, including its symbolic meaning and importance, there is actually little empirically-based social science scholarship on the RCMP as a police organization, its operations, and its programs, etc. This omission reflects in part the force's historical insularity and suspicion of outside, especially academic, scrutiny and also a lack of interest or curiosity in researching its own activities for internal analysis and reflection. The following is an attempt to draw from the limited academic literature some generalizations about the common and unique characters of the RCMP and its distinctive organizational culture.

1.4 The RCMP & Its Military Bureaucratic Tradition

"Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, realizing the necessity for central government control of the settlement and development of the Canadian West, recognized the important role a special type of police force could play in this complex enterprise. Existing urban police models were clearly unsuitable for the type of policing MacDonald had in mind. The new police organization would have to be mobile, manageable and politically loyal to a central government. These characteristics were crucial as this particular police force would be required to police vast geographic areas, enforce an alien and often unwelcome conception of legal, order, serve as a military force capable of rebuffing possible American invasion, and control potential civil disorders. In 1873, MacDonald created the North West Mounted Police, a military-styled police force closely resembling the Royal Irish Constabulary, a proven "military" styled colonial police model throughout the British Empire. It should be noted that he chose a version of the so-called "brown" police model , an armed, military colonial police model, one quite distinct from the democratic urban "blue" Peel model, one that drew its authority from public consent, cooperation and accountability. The RCMP was there to police the local as an extension of the central government and its officers were only accountable to their commanding officers and not to local public or political authority.

The military model was attractive as it ensured central political accountability and control and the harsh internal military discipline and military-styled training helped maintain a high level of internal commitment and control that still characterizes the RCMP's distinctive policing style. The McDonald Commission (1981) in a lengthy review of the activities of the Security Service provided some additional analysis of the RCMP's unique organizational characteristics. It particularly isolated the RCMP's strong commitment to organizational solidarity and loyalty as a distinctive, organizational tradition.

> *Certainly some of the primary characteristics of the RCMP are those normally associated with a religious order. Force recruits are young; with few exceptions they enter the organization at only the lowest level, gradually work their way up of well-defined rank structure, and pursue a "generalist" career path. Thus there is a significant degree of homogeneity in the membership of the organization. In addition, the recruit training of the Force is designed to be a mentally and physically rigorous experience—it is an "initiation rite", a process which moulds*

the individual in the image of the Force, an experience which develops esprit de corps.

Loyalty to the organization is a norm of the Force. As far as possible the RCMP arranges for the training of its own members in needed disciplines, rather than recruiting professionals, so that their first loyalty is to the organization rather than to their profession. Moreover, joining the Force is meant to be a life-long commitment, at least one which is supposed to be the best part of one's working life. The Force pension scheme for example discourages officers from leaving until they have served 35 years. (1981: 689)

Nevertheless, this tradition of harsh internal discipline, coupled with sophisticated bureaucratic organization, proved to be an effective model for negotiating continuing organizational growth and expanding its policing mandate. Between 1937 and 1981, the RCMP expanded from 1 municipal policing contract to 193. The sheer size and complexity of centrally administering a national police force represented at all three levels of government necessitated the development of a centralized and highly bureaucratic, administrative policing model. Controlling police work in a variety of low visibility settings while also maintaining operational independence from local provincial and municipal political authorities required an organizational strategy which would guarantee standardized operation, effective internal discipline, and strong internal accountability. By incorporating a highly bureaucratic model of organizational structure with its existing military traditions, the RCMP was relatively successful in solving the complex problems of internal control during a period of remarkable organizational growth and expansion."[1]

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[1] From , Murphy, Christopher (1986). *The social and formal organization of small town policing: a comparative analysis of RCMP and municipal police*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Toronto.

Still the central organizational challenge facing the RCMP involves how to control the complex nature of operational police work in highly dispersed and decentralized locations and yet continue to legitimately resist external "local" political influence and control. The RCMP detachment, with its military-styled bureaucracy, emphasized a standardized delivery of police services, provided by a force of internally governed, trained, disciplined police professionals, who enforced the law without fear or favour while remaining above local politics and prejudices. Whether this reflects reality is an empirical question, but it was, and is, a convincing public image, as well as, an important organizational accomplishment that partially explains the RCMP's remarkable success as Canada's the national police force.

1.5   The Modern RCMP: Organizational Reform & Uncertainty

It may be the enduring status of the RCMP's historical image and its high public regard that helps explain why the RCMP, despite being Canada's largest, most expensive and expansive police service, has been relatively slow to change its traditional military model of organization and management. Believing its own mythology as being "the best" and powerful enough politically to ignore external reform pressures, the RCMP was late in joining a major police reform movement that begin in the late seventies and early eighties. This reform movement changed for many police services the long established military model of policing, police organization, management and operations.

The development and popularity of "community-based policing" in the early eighties in the United States, England and Canada was based on a direct and powerful critique of the traditional military bureaucratic model of policing and police organization. A new police service model designed to make public policing more open, accountable, responsive and public required a new police organization and managerial paradigm. Responding to an American-inspired police reform movement, the Federal Solicitor General's research and policy section and the Canadian Police College research section aggressively promoted and supported the development of community-based policing in Canada in the early eighties. A series of national conferences, funded research and development projects, pilot programs, and other change initiatives were designed to transform Canadian police services from military-styled police forces into community-based police services. This transition required a radical rethinking of the traditional police organization and new approaches to the management and delivery of

police services. As a result a number of urban police services such as Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto, Halifax and the Ontario Provincial Police implemented a variety of organizational reforms and community-based policing initiatives with varying degrees of success (McKenna 2000).

By the mid-eighties the RCMP looked in comparison like the historical model it was, a model and style of policing developed from and for another policing era. The force remained proudly committed to its traditional way of doing things and out of touch with the new developments in police management and organization that were changing traditional policing. However this began to change with the appointments of Commissioners Inkster and Murray. The RCMP, from the late eighties and early nineties began various attempts to change and "modernize" their traditional military-styled organizational and management styles and deliver their own brand of community policing. In order to develop this new force-wide program various attempts were made to change or modernize some of the institutional and cultural barriers that were required in order to implement this new policing philosophy. From 1990 to 2000 a number of change initiatives addressing various aspects of the traditional organization and delivery of services were attempted. In addition to various initiatives aimed at introducing and developing community policing, attempts were also made to change the highly centralized decision and policy making process through regionalization, improve internal communications, decrease policy formalization, recruit more diverse police officers, develop new approaches and models for recruit training, introduce a merit-based promotion system, modernize internal discipline through alternative dispute resolution (ADR), encourage strategic planning, use of the Balanced Scorecard, introduce performance measurement and then in the late nineties, a major attempt to coordinate and integrate these various different initiatives, in an ambitious program of organizational alignment..

After years of little innovation and change, the nineties was a dramatic, and somewhat bewildering, era of new programs, priorities and initiatives. While impressive in number and variety, their successful implementation however proved to be difficult and many of these initiatives eventually floundered. Organizational change and new approaches proved difficult to sustain and institutionalize in such a large complex and tradition-bound police institution. Not unlike the proverbial supertanker that takes miles to turn around, the RCMP as an organization proved difficult to change quickly. Understandably this myriad of changes, new programs and shifting priorities caused

considerable internal turmoil, confusion and some resistance. Those committed to more conventional traditional practices saw these reform initiatives as unnecessary and harmful. As Brown (2007) points out the last commissioner was believed to be sympathetic to this internal critique and accordingly adopted a managerial style consistent with a more traditional military command and control style. Under his watch new programs like community policing, restorative justice, and regionalization declined in organizational priority and were replaced by more conventional policing priorities such as intelligence-led policing, organized crime within a more centralized and hierarchical decision and policy making framework.

While some of these reforms and program changes remain in some form or another it is not clear to what extent they changed long-established and deep-rooted cultural and institutional practices. Deukmedjian's recent studies (2003, 2006 and 2007) of RCMP reform and program innovations such as community policing, restorative justice and alternate dispute resolution (ADR) suggests that they have all had a limited institutional lifespan. He suggests this is explained as a result of being part of a rapid series of organizational reforms and programs driven from the policy and political centre, ones that proved difficult to communicate and implement throughout the organization and were victims of sudden shifts and changes in federal and force priorities. While a more thorough assessment of this reform era is required a few general observations can drawn from this account. That change initiatives were a recognition by RCMP's management that the traditional organization, culture and ways of doing things needed to be reformed and modernized; that many of these initiatives drew not on police but rather on public and private sector business models or strategies, and that successful organizational change and reform required a high degree of managerial competence and sophistication.

In summary, perhaps because of its long institutional history and its unique organizational mandate, the RCMP has remained somewhat aloof from many of the changes and influences that confront many modern policing services. Dependent on its past institutional history and its distinctive culture, the RCMP has been careful to preserve its past and proclaim it as their "distinct advantage" over other police services. Though it has recently been more responsive to external policing trends, programs, and technologies, these are incorporated into the existing RCMP model and culture. Change is absorbed into the culture thereby moderating and limiting its impact. New programs or innovations do not appear to effect core traditional values or the

operations of the force. The modern RCMP would now appear to be a confusing mixture of both traditional and modern ideas, philosophies, practices and programs all of which co-exist, or are in conflict, with one another. New ideas, models and practices seem to be subject to rapid change and premature closure sometimes before they have had a chance to prove their worth. Major initiatives such as community policing, restorative justice, shared leadership, and others suddenly give way to new programs and priorities for no apparent reason other than political pressure, personal whim or fad.

1.6   Conclusions

The point of this section of the review has been to describe and explain the distinct nature and characteristics of traditional police culture and also traditional military-styled organization and management. This analysis also describes the development and logic of the historically derived RCMP military policing model and assesses the impact of more recent community policing reforms and developments. We suggest that recent reform efforts have not fundamentally changed the RCMP's conventional, military-styled police organization and culture, though it has made it more open to change and reform. The limited impact of recent organizational reforms underscores the importance of effective modern police leadership and management typically not encouraged or developed by traditional police organization and culture.

CHAPTER 2:

The Expanding Police Mandate

2.1 The Changing Nature of Modern Policing

This chapter draws attention to the expanding and changing nature of modern policing. It puts into context the diminishing significance of traditional police work as the primary focus of modern policing. New policing priorities, and additional responsibilities, have worked to alter the traditional police role and function of the public police in late modern Canada. These influences can be seen as broadening, complicating, and fragmenting the previous dominant but limited role of the public police. The increasing complexity and specialization of traditional police work and the addition of "new "security, public safety, risk management and global networking functions have made the task of both doing and managing police work far more difficult and challenging. A review of the current RCMP mandate suggests that it, perhaps more than any other police force in the world, has a broad and complex policing mandate, one that can no longer adequately be described as conventional police work. The management of this new complicated policing mandate requires new, not traditional, managerial skills, models and approaches.

2.2 The Police and "Policing"

Based on recent research and analysis the Law Commission of Canada's recent policy paper entitled: *In search of security: the future of policing in Canada* (2006) suggests that "policing" and not police is the term that best describes the current nature of police and security environment in Canada. "Policing" describes a range of police activities and functions carried out by variety agencies and organizations that provide some aspect of public and private safety, security and justice. The authors point out that the conventional view that the public police do all, or even most, of the policing required in today's society is simply out of date and not fully in touch with recent police and security developments. Instead, they argue that the provision of public safety, security and justice in modern urban societies is increasingly the responsibility and work of a growing number of public and private agencies, organizations, groups, multinational corporations all

providing some sort of police function. This is especially reflected in the growth, not just in the size, but also in the scope of policing and security activities now preformed by private security companies; activities that may be performed for, with, or instead of, the public police.

Recognition of this new reality has, of course, significant implications for the police and their management. Questions about the role of the public police in this new "pluralized" yet inter-connected policing environment, and the governance of "policing" are raised by this new policing configuration. While some argue that this new policing environment diminishes the power and capacity of the public police, others argue that it creates a new more complex set of challenges and responsibilities that actually may expand and empower the police; but in new ways. However, the relationship of public police to private security and its expanding presence and sophistication is particularly problematic and requires a new police response. In order to maintain their key role in the provision of public safety, and even crime control, the police will have to play a more regulatory and governing role over all modes of policing in their jurisdiction.

Whatever the role police play in this new policing environment, it underscores the increasing complexity and inter-connectedness of the environment in which they must operate. A new police role will require creating and maintaining important relationships and partnerships with various public and private policing agencies. They will also have to participate in national and international policing and security networks. This will require senior police management to work with increasingly sophisticated and potentially powerful public and private agencies and organizations that share common areas of interest and functional responsibility. To protect public interest, the public police will be called upon to provide leadership and direction in a world that increasingly privatizes and commodifies public goods such as public safety and security.

2.3 The Changing Nature of Conventional Police Work

Conventional police work, typically described as, law enforcement, emergency response, and crime control, has become a far more demanding and complex function in recent years. The causes of this change are inherent in the major social, political and technological forces that are changing modern society in general. These changes are transforming the nature of modern police work and also its management. At the risk of oversimplifying the complex nature of this issue, the following is a brief description of the major drivers of change to conventional police work and some of the obvious impacts these forces are having on policing and its management.

2.3.1 Legal and Regulatory Changes

The law has always shaped and directed police work. It serves as both a source of power for police in helping them get the job done, but it also operates to limit, direct and render their powers accountable. In response to growing public mistrust of all government authority and certain high profile cases of police misconduct, there has been increasing public and political demand for more legal regulation and accountability. In an effort to make police work more externally transparent, regulated, and externally governed police have had a series of legal and regulatory rules and procedure imposed on them which have had a mixture of intended, and unintended, consequences. The impact of legal change on police work is clearly illustrated in a recent 30-year analysis (Malm et al. 2005) of legal change and police work within the RCMP. Based upon an analysis of a full 30 years of detailed computerized data, this study found that as a direct result of a series of legislative initiatives and court rulings there had been dramatic increases over that period in the complexity, formalization, police resources and time required to process standard cases such as assaults, break and enter, domestic violence and drinking and driving. The following table summarizes some of the increased time needed to complete all of the steps required, by law and procedure, for three types of conventional police occurrence:

Estimated Time to Complete All Steps for Selected Occurrences (in hours)

Year	1975	1985	1995	2005
Occurrence Type				
Break & Enter	Up to 1 hour	5 to 7 hours	6 to 10 hours	5 to 10 hours
Domestic Assault	Up to 1 hour	1 to 2 hours	3 to 4 hours	10 to 12 hours
Driving Under the Influence	1 hour	2 hours	3 hours	5 hours

Adapted from: Malm, Aili et al. (2005), p. 19.

 By increasing the time and cost of routine police work, especially with respect to case preparation, police services are being forced to rationalize police services in ways that generally compel them to prioritize and diminish the overall range and nature of standard services delivery. In some cases, they may be also choosing to ignore or avoid more formal time-consuming response to regulated police tasks. In addition, new liability concerns and recent court rulings with regard to civil suits will also make police more cautious and risk averse. This operates to further diminish their overall response capacity, thereby limiting their general effectiveness. The management of a diminishing police service in an era of increasing demand becomes even more challenging as police managers try to balance the requirement to meet formal external accountability regimes but also meet demands for police service with limited resources. In the current environment of legal regulation, public accountability and individual rights, there is little reason to suspect that these pressures will diminish or that police resources will expand to negate their effects.

2.3.2   New Technology and Police Change

New communication, information and computer technologies have had a variety of impacts on public policing. New technology one hand has complicated the work environment by providing new opportunities and techniques for crime and criminals. On the other hand, it has also provided new possibilities and response strategies for police to operate within this environment. Some technologies like computer-assisted dispatch (CAD), digital recording and photography, computerized mapping software are already having a significant impact on police work, especially in the areas of crime detection and control.

But perhaps the most promising new technologies are based on the collection and analysis of information. New technologies in the area of analytics offer more efficient ways of planning, directing and managing police efforts and resources. For example, recent advances in computerized crime analysis, mapping and intelligence gathering promise to improve the overall efficiency and effectiveness of police work. However despite an investment in these new technologies and public support for crime analysis, strategic planning and intelligence-led policing there is little compelling evidence that these technologies are being utilized effectively and their promise remains largely rhetorical and undeveloped operationally. The reasons for this are varied but at least part of the answer lies in a police culture of action and not reflection, a lack of planning and analysis and a limited investment in the specialized training and resources requirements involved.

Management implications include the need to revisit the role of civilianization in advancing this capacity. The knowledge, skills and abilities associated with crime analysis are extensive including sound understanding of quantitative and qualitative research methods, computerized modeling approaches, and statistical analysis. This is not typically within the skill repertoire of a typical police officer. Therefore, it is essential that police organizations are able to attract and retain individuals who possess these advanced skills. This implies that the operating police culture will accord a level of respect, acceptance and acknowledgment that such civilian members play a vital role in the effectiveness of the police function.

The growing sophistication and complication of police processes will further require that police senior management will need to be able to, at minimum, be able to converse and comprehend the processes, products and practices of this new category of highly skilled, civilian knowledge worker. Without an ability to conceptualize the work that is being done on behalf of the organization by these knowledge workers, police leaders will not be in a position to re-present or articulate the benefits of this category of police effort to their civilian governing authorities, their funding agencies, or the public.

2.3.3   Changing Public Governance Expectations

"Policing is effected in a variety of ways by public opinion, as well as, the expectations and evaluations of police and their performance. These public expectations help shape the context of the political governance of police. Attitudes to police tend to reflect general social trends regarding deference to authority, and similar authoritative institutions, especially among youth and marginalized populations. Attitudes towards the police, as a corporate entity, also reflect general public suspicion and scrutiny of all political and public institutions, resulting in a climate where political and public oversight of police is demanded. Similarly, media attention focused closely upon the various forms of political power and the public service continues to place police under intense public scrutiny.

Recent public inquiries of federal and provincial policing (e.g., the Arar and Ipperwash cases) suggest that there are ongoing debates with respect to police governance in Canada. The issues involved are legal, political and judicial, and remain largely unresolved. The two main strands of the current debate focus on the nature of police independence (the relationship of police to political power) and the flip side - police governance and accountability.   Other current governance concerns have been expressed regarding the expanding security functions of the RCMP, the ongoing growth of private security, the influence of police unions, and the governance of new international and integrated policing networks.

These trends have various implications for the police. A demanding and critical police environment suggests that police mistakes and errors in judgment will need to be better managed through more effective training and procedures. This will require a culture of police professionalism and an emphasis on better educated, trained and disciplined front -line policing. Maintaining a positive public image is central to continuing public support and will require more police investment in continuous professional development, public relations, and improved public information and communications activities.

2.3.4   Policing Costs and Consequences

Policing is an expensive and expansive public service.   In 2005, Canadians spent 9.3 billion dollars on police services (Statistics Canada 2006). This represents a 4% increase from 2004 (after adjusting for inflation. For nine years in a row the constant dollar spending for policing has increased. Policing costs constitute a major area of government expenditure, especially at the regional and municipal level. The rising cost of policing is driven centrally by the cost of human resources, as policing is labor-intensive and the skills are relatively expensive to acquire.   Police salaries and benefits in Canada in are among the highest in the world, with an average police salary of about $70,000 in 2006.   The cost of police technology, equipment and infrastructure to support police services has also become increasingly expensive. But ultimately, increasing demand for police services, which is in turn are fueled by crime rates and growing public insecurity drives cost increases. There is no reason to predict any future reductions in policing costs. Continuing increases in personnel and technology costs as a result of increased public service expectations, service standardization and integration of police services ensures that the pressure for increased police expenditures will remain strong.

The increasing cost of public policing has a variety of implications. It will inevitably produce increasing political and public pressure to manage the costs of policing more carefully. More fiscal and operational accountability will require more evidence that police provide value for money. In addition to the use of performance measurement, there will be strong pressures to increase the cost efficiency of policing by managing costly police operations more effectively.

A major challenge will be to "manage policing costs" by limiting police growth, despite public demand. The inevitable outcome will be a reduction in police capacity to respond to broad service requests. Public police will increasingly be forced to further limit the range and quality of police services. This will by done by reducing service responsibilities and transferring or downloading some policing to the community and private sector. Public policing will limit their focus to more serious priority crimes and crisis-based police work. In this situation, communities and business will have to expand the repertoire of non-police responses to some aspects of the police mandate. Community and private sector policing responses will fill some of the service void with various forms of community and self-policing. We have already seen in

Canada a rapid expansion of quasi-police or private police alternatives to police service, as evidence in tiered policing models, the creation of community service officers, and the expansion of private security. Ultimately the most promising avenue for managing policing costs lies in managing the growth of public police and developing where necessary and possible, lower cost policing and security alternatives such as community volunteers, community officers and private security.

2.3.5   Globalization and Changing Crime Patterns

The increasing needs by police to respond to threats or problems that are global in origin, but local in consequence, are in evidence when we look at the following global policing challenges. Organized crime is a growing global phenomenon with international, national and local linkages. Motivated by new opportunities afforded by new technology and increased mobility, organized criminal groups are increasingly a source of local crime, operating within local police jurisdictions. Global mobility and new technologies increase the reach and sophistication of international crime groups who are involved in a variety of crimes (e.g., smuggling goods and people, selling weapons, drugs, etc.) representing a challenge for both national and local police. Improved opportunities have increased both the profit and reward from these activities. There is also growing evidence of linkages between organized crime and terrorism, making this trend even more serious."[2]

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[2] The preceding section has been abstracted from: "The implication of current policing trends for Aboriginal policing and policy." A discussion paper by Christopher Murphy commissioned by the Aboriginal Policing Directorate, Department of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, Ottawa, 2007 (46 pages).

2.3.6   Summary

These various new policing developments have some obvious implications for national and local police and policing policy. More complex, organized and sophisticated crime and security threats require an equally sophisticated and complex police response, one with equivalent resources, mobility, sophistication and motivation. This kind of police response also requires different kinds of police-environment relations: they must be more collaborative, multi-agency, partnership oriented, networked and cross-jurisdictional. It also requires more police investment: in communications, information technologies and intelligence based operations.

2.4   Police and Public Safety

The recent emergence of public safety as a modern public and political concern reflects growing public anxiety about the certainty of previously taken for granted safety and security in stable western societies. Uncertainty about various aspects of modern life has contributed to pervasive sense of insecurity and anxiety about a variety of real and perceived risks. While actual threats to personal and public safety may not have increased dramatically, public awareness of both real and possible threat have increased. A globalized media environment has clearly made us aware of threats both real and imagined that may not be local in origin, but are in consequence. Terrorism, random street violence ("signal crimes"), pandemics, and extremes weather emergencies all constitute growing new threats to public safety

The notion of public safety differs from the conventional limited police mandate of law enforcement and crime control. Public safety is a much broader, more ambitious but ambiguous goal, encompassing a variety of varied police and security-related functions. While recognizing that public safety is also a "shared" responsibility with other government and public agencies the police nevertheless have a central role in its attainment. Public safety requires the police to operate as part of a shared, networked and ideally integrated system of agencies that until recently had limited working relationships. Agencies involved in health, military, fire, and transportation are now potential partners with the public police in the new public safety configuration. Boundaries previously clearly delineated are now by policy and necessity becoming blurred and new inter-agency relationships and joint activities are being developed. It is not surprising that "interoperability" has become the

new catch-word in governments and modern policing now requires working with others agencies to achieve shared goals, unified by the concept of public safety.

As an example one area of growing concern under the rubric of public safety is an increasing requirement for a police role in public emergency and crisis's. Globally linked climate change and disruptions are placing new pressures on domestic and local governments and their police services. In particular this has meant new demands for police to play more vigorous roles in responding to various forms of social crisis, disorder, disasters and threats. Recent natural and man-made examples of disorder and security range from sever climate change and natural disasters such as hurricanes and tsunamis, global pandemics such as SARS and avian flu, disruptive domestic terrorist attacks, high risk industrial nuclear accidents, and disruptive political actions and protests etc. Police are already increasingly involved in emergency and crisis policing as a response to these new increased natural and made threats. This has lead to the allocation of more and more police resources to public order and public safety issues and roles, and especially contingency planning and interagency response.

2.5   Public Policing and National Security

"The addition of security responsibilities to the conventional crime control mandate of the public police after 9/11 policing is a historically significant development. In Canada this was done by granting all public police new security powers and by including the national and local police in a vague, but evolving, role in national security. An examination of the distinctive historical, philosophical, and operational differences between security and public policing suggests that adding security to the public policing function is significant departure from traditional policing in Canada, and a new and potentially problematic role. Thus the conventional contemporary police mandate of crime control through law enforcement, while still broad and flexible, is at least definable and limited in both substance and scope. The criminal law defines what is actionable and limits and proscribes what the police can and can't do. As result, much police activity is reactive, a response to public or victim request and shared socio-legal definitions or norms (Mastrofski 1983). When police act formally, it usually results in a public and legally-framed response or outcome, such as a referral, warning, charge or arrest, and the courts and other public and political governance bodies can review these activities and judge their outcomes.

Thus, much of the conventional public police mandate is socially definable, legally regulated, and publicly accountable.

However, when security is added to the public policing mandate it creates a far more abstract, malleable and flexible policing mandate. Security as a vague and difficult to define objective is open to broad interpretation, manipulation and discretion (Manning 2002; Zedner 2003). Achieving security is uncertain and requires that police shift from a legally limited and reactive crime control mode to a more anticipatory, proactive and preventive security policing mode. Police must re-orient their operations from responding to real events or actions to trying to predict and prevent them from happening or moving from "probable" to "possible" cause. Security policing has been described by the former Director of CSIS, Ward Elcock, as "preventative and information-oriented":

> *At its best, it occurs before violent events occur, in order to equip police and other authorities to deal with them. Information is gathered from people who are not compelled by law to divulge it. Intelligence officers have a much less clearly defined role, which works best in a highly centralized management structure. They are interested in the linkages and associations of people who may never commit a criminal act – people who consort with others who may be a direct threat to interests of the state.* (Quoted in the Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar 2006: 313)

Adding national security to conventional police responsibilities encourages the blurring of security and crime control boundaries. "Security creep" breaks down the boundaries between risk and crime, between terrorism and conventional crime and between probable and possible events. When a policing object is securitized, or transformed from a criminal to a security risk, it becomes more accessible and subject to the special or extra resources and powers afforded security policing. There have been a number of post 9/11 examples of "security creep": the federal government's Privacy Commissioner publicly rebuked the government for seeking plane passenger lists in order to make criminal records grounds for airport detentions, interrogation and exclusion; the Montreal police repeatedly tried to have the Hell's Angels classified as terrorist groups in order to expedite easier security based arrests; the federal government deported a well-known anti-Semitic racist as a national security threat; and a Halifax women was recently threatened

by the RCMP with five years in jail for proposing in a private email to spit on the prime minister.

2.6   Security and the RCMP

An example security creep in policing is illustrated by the RCMP's expanded involvement in national security policing, after 9/11. While, in theory, the RCMP is responsible only for law enforcement aspects of national security, the operational reality appears to be more complex and confused, as law enforcement activities and functions are often related to and overlap with the security intelligence functions of CSIS. The suspicion that the post 9/11 growth and expansion of the RCMP security policing function might be affecting previous distinctions and boundaries between policing and security was made explicit in a number of the submissions to the Arar Commission, and the Commission's first report (2006a). Citing questionable RCMP security decisions, and activities that blurred established legal and political distinctions between public policing and security policing, the Report's very first recommendation addressed this issue. Recommendation No 1 states, "The RCMP should ensure that its activities in matters relating to national security are properly within its mandate as a law enforcement agency." (2006: 312)

However, it is the operational implications of the new security mandate that makes new security-oriented policing powers problematic. Security as a policing objective and broad security-oriented policing powers combine to expand "police discretion" in nature, scope and complexity. The challenge of identifying *potential* or *possible* threats to national security and the pressure to produce pre-emptively successful outcomes greatly increases the possibility and probability of operational mistakes, errors, and abuse. The connection between production pressures, broad discretion, and mistaken outcomes is well-established in conventional police research on wrongful convictions (Martin 2001), and helps explains the "terrorism" arrests of twenty-three men in Toronto in 2003[3]. In addition, the covert nature of domestic terrorism forces police to rely on unusual security-oriented policing strategies such as the use of paid community informants, extensive community surveillance, broad intelligence-gathering, targeted ethnic and religious profiling, and

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[3] In 2003, twenty-three men, all but one of whom was Pakistani, were arrested and charged with a variety of offences under the Terrorism Act. The R.C.M.P. believed they had uncovered an Al-Qaeda sleeper cell. Within two weeks, all allegations of terrorism had been dropped, but most were detained under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (BC-36) and subsequently deported.

a preventative security-policing tactic called "threat disruption". Disruption tactics include strategies such as interdiction, deportation, threatening interviews, or almost anything that would prevent a serious security event from happening. These preventative and largely secretive, policing strategies are seen as more desirable and effective than conventional policing strategies that rely on victim complaint, verifiable evidence, and public arrest and trial. In a conventional policing context, these strategies would be seen as forms of harassment and intimidation and raise a number of serious ethical and legal issues. It was this use of "disruption" tactics in the name of national security that led to the removal of security intelligence functions from the RCMP and the creation of a separate civilian security and intelligence service (the Canadian Security Intelligence Service: CSIS), establishing the principle, if not the practice, of separating security and public policing in Canada.

2.7   Policing Risk and Risky Policing

Risk and security are fundamentally linked social constructs. Security-oriented policing activities are mobilized by real or perceived security risks. Prior to 9/11 some policing scholars, notably Ericson and Haggerty, were already arguing that conventional policing in the late-modern era had become less focused on crime control and more focused on the surveillance and management of risk. In their 1997 book, *Policing the risk society*, the authors contend that Canadian policing had begun to shift its emphasis from preventing and responding to crime, to the policing of broadly defined "risk populations" through various surveillance, information and risk-based strategies, calculations and analysis. While a novel hypothesis in 1997, risk rhetoric and risk logic now increasingly dominate policing discourse and practice. Police routinely claim they do risk assessment, risk management and risk analysis. The risk of terrorism, more than the risk of crime, provides police with a new rationale for the aggressive collection, integration and analysis of security information.

But risk analysis is risky. Security-based risk analysis requires the collection of broad information from a variety of sources and involves a highly *interpreted* and predictive form of analysis. The variety and range of information collected the scope of the analysis, the predictive nature of the exercise and the uncertainty of the outcome produces a high probability of error. When conventional crime-control policing shifts to risk-oriented security policing it goes from responding to and acting on

publicly and legally defined violations and violators, to the more nebulous and discretionary goals of monitoring, managing and anticipating possible security threats or risks. "Better safe than sorry", a security-based risk logic, produces justifiable errors and mistakes. The arrest of "possible" terrorists are made on the basis of "limited" information, "potential" terrorists are targeted for surveillance based on unconfirmed sources, a terrorist "suspect" is handed over to foreign police for interrogation, and suspects with "possible" links to terrorists can be denied entry or citizenship. Ericson suggests these are some of the demonstrated costs of trying to manage the risk of terrorism:

> *While many risk-management regimes have great success in this regard, others come with extraordinary costs in terms of restricting freedom and perpetuating harmful consequences. Terrorism risk management post-9/11 is a case in point, to the extent that it has victimized those who have been wrongly incarcerated, transported, or more subtly excluded, and to the extent that it has victimized everyone through invasion of privacy, restriction of liberty, and compulsory spending on physical security infrastructures at the expense of health, education, and welfare sources of security. The risk management of everything can consume future resources excessively, thereby closing off options for the future.* (2006: 354)

While more research is required to assess the extent, impact and cost of security-based risk logic on public policing, since 9/11 policing risk has become an even more prominent rationale for both routine crime and new national security policing tasks.**"4**

2.8   Integrated Policing

While late-modern policing has been characterized by service rationalization, pluralization, privatization, and fragmentation, scholars (Shearing 2005; Dupont 2004) have also emphasized the development of national and international policing and security networks. In response to the increasingly mobile, global and transnational nature of crime, and now terrorism, policing networks are said to link various forms of public, private and political police into complex collaborative working relationships.

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[4] This section is abstracted from: Murphy, Christopher (2007). "*Securitizing* Canadian policing: a new policing paradigm for the post 9/11 security state?" *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 451-477.

Before 9/11, public policing in Canada was primarily crime-focused and loosely integrated at a national level. Integrated policing and security networks were still in an embryonic stage of development, characterized by conflicting agency mandates, power struggles and jurisdictional turf wars that limited co-operation and collaboration (Sheptyki 1995; 2002). It took plausible terrorist threats to national security to provide the impetus to overcome these traditional technical, legal, bureaucratic and jurisdictional differences. Policing and security integration is one of the central components of Canada's national security policy. In this major policy statement (Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada 2004), the federal government advocates a variety of measures to "fully integrate" diverse government departments, systems, agencies and the private sector into one integrated security system. Policing integration is also identified in the *RCMP's 2005 Strategic Plan*, which cites "the development of an integrated policing model operating at all levels and in all locations, supporting broad information-sharing, joint national security enforcement teams, integrated border teams, and joint intelligence and analysis teams."

Integrated policing reinforces and facilitates the blurring of public and security policing as police and security agencies are part of the same policing network, sharing information, engaging in joint operations and pursuing overlapping policing and security objectives. Integrated policing is not simply a technical, organizational, or communications arrangement; it is a rationale for combining or coordinating different policing and security agencies, each with its own interests, values and practices. It tries to blend them into one compatible policing network. Integration requires that police agencies and security services with quite different political goals, institutional competencies, legal limits and professional standards share information, coordinate activities and act jointly. Established historical, political and legal differences in policy, law, rights and due process protections must often be subordinated by the needs of the network, and the demands of reciprocity and partnership. This problem is clearly illustrated in the Maher Arar case where the RCMP, as part of their international information-sharing obligations, passed on unreliable or incomplete information about Arar, a Canadian citizen, to US border security police. Different risk tolerance, information standards and security practices resulted in Arar being identified as a terrorist suspect by U.S. security, and he was sent to Syria where he was brutally tortured. The Arar case illustrates the potential danger of integrating national policing and intelligence agencies which have different legal values, procedural standards and security mandates. The Arar case also highlights the importance of developing

effective forms of internal, public and political governance for this new type of distributed and de-centered policing operation. Though integrated policing may increase policing and security effectiveness, it also increases the potential for error and abuse. Given the importance of the reliability and integrity of information an integrated, multi-sited policing and security environment raises serious questions about the adequacy of conventional institutional governance and public accountability mechanisms. While the more fragmented, pluralistic, domestic policing environment of pre 9/11 was perhaps less efficient and effective, it was arguably more governable and democratic.

2.9   Summary

This section makes the central point that modern police work has not only become more complex, demanding and problematic but that it has expanded in scope to encompass new areas of responsibility that challenge conventional notions of police work, culture and management. Policing late modern Canada is a multifaceted policing and security enterprise that requires that police play a variety of new roles, engage in varied kinds of activities, work in different relationships and require a range of skills, expertise and experience that are typically not found in a conventional police organization or police career. These radical changes and addition to the modern police mandate have obvious implication for the management and governance of the RCMP.

2.10   Implications for the RCMP

A simplified breakdown of the organizational structure of the RCMP at the deputy commissioner operational level provides some insight into the broad mandate currently residing with the organization:

Commissioner

Senior Executive Committee

Federal Services
Federal &
  International
Operations
Border Integrity
Drugs & Organized
  Crime
Financial Crime
International Policing
  (INTERPOL,
  EUROPOL)
International
  Peacekeeping
International Liaison
Protective Policing

Operations & Integration
Contract Policing
(Provinces, Territories,
  & Municipalities)
Aboriginal Policing
Criminal Intelligence
Strategic Policy &
  Planning

National Police Service
Canadian Firearms
Centre
Canadian Police College
Chief Information Officer
Criminal Intelligence
Service Canada (CISC)
Forensic Laboratory
Information &
Identification Service
National Child
Exploitation
Coordination Centre
Technical Services

Corporate Management & Comptrollership
  Asset Management
  Finance
  Procurement & Contracting
  Office of Comptrollership & Modernization

The impressive variety of policing functions, responsibilities and services and their dispersed local, provincial national and international locations suggest a police service that is remarkable in scope and scale. For example the RCMP provides standard local police survives in 198 communities, in 47 Aboriginal communities, 7 provinces and also provides a host of critical national police services such as organized and white collar crime, criminal intelligence, federal security policing services etc. Internationally the RCMP is involved in international crime and international policing, global criminal intelligence, peacekeeping, international police training and border policing.

To do this the RCMP has approximately 26,000 employees and a budgetary estimate (2007-2008) of over $2,950 million dollars. This makes the RCMP by both public and private standards a large corporate public organization, and one that provides a wide variety of important public safety and security services. These services range from: basic law enforcement, information gathering and analysis, police training, security advice, communication and information dissemination, risk assessment and management, public education, protection services, surveillance, technical support, police coordination and liaison services, conflict resolution and negotiation and emergency and crisis response etc.

The notion that the RCMP is just a police force is clearly an inadequate and outdated description of its operational reality. Leuprecht (2007) in a recent article in *Policy Options* address the difficulties and challenges facing RCMP and the management of its diverse and complex policing functions.

> *Yet there is probably no candidate in the world with the requisite skill set to live up to the tasks of a commissioner as they currently are. This is partly a function of the bifurcated tasks of the RCMP which range from routine traffic policing function to national/federal investigations. Just about all other Western countries have created different organizations to specialize in different policing functions. The call for a review of the RCMP's functions and serious consideration of functional organizational differential is an increasingly commonly-heard refrain.* (2007: 72)

This broad, multi-jurisdictional policing mandate, with varied but often distinct and sometimes conflicting qualities has been the cause of considerable discussion and debate. The RCMP has generally argued that these diverse functions are complimentary and give their service remarkable flexibility and capacity to respond in variety of ways to

different challenges. Others argue that that they simply have too many different and conflicting functions to manage well and that some of these functions interfere with one another in ways that are harmful to the organization and the effective delivery of police services. For example, journalist Paul Palango, in his book on the RCMP; *The Last Guardians* (1998) argues strongly that federal and local policing functions should be separated as the lack of distinction undermines the force's national policing capacity and professional effectiveness. Past Commissioner Robert Symonds has also publicly argued that the RCMP should become a "federal" police service like the FBI and shed its local municipal and provincial policing functions. Indeed the ongoing role and viability of the RCMP in local or provincial policing is a regular issue of debate in some provinces, most recently in British Columbia. Current criticism about the dangers of role overlap and confusion between national security and police functions were initially raised by the McDonald Commission in 1988 and, in 2006, by Justice O'Connor during the Arar Commission where it was suggested that these role conflicts and confusions have still not been resolved. Add to this various criticisms by different auditors general on the force's management of specific national police function and programs such as: DNA testing, the RCMP labs program, overseas training, border and airport security and recruiting and training, and collectively they suggest that the RCMP mandate is at best enormously challenging but at its worst too broad and complex.

Whether these criticisms are valid and changes are necessary or desirable, is an issue for further exploration, what is especially relevant to this essay, is that it underscores the breadth, complexity of the management challenges faced by the RCMP. We would argue that traditional police management models, culture and practices developed to manage policing in a different era are directly challenged by these environmental changes and new kinds of policing work. It is clear that traditional management models based on rank based authority, command and control; centralized decision making and insularity etc. simply cannot meet the diverse knowledge, information, and communication requirement of the varied responsibilities involved in the diverse tasks that now fall under RCMP management. The various activities that are performed under the auspices of the RCMP mandate, at the national and international level require expertise, skills and experience that are typically not required or learned in the course of routine police work and require a range of knowledge, management and leadership qualities that are difficult to locate or develop solely

from within policing. While civilianization has been used to address some of these skill needs and knowledge requirement they are resort being treated as second-class citizens in a "police" culture that still values and privileges police experience over all other.

In light of the new expanding world of policing and police work this traditional view of limiting the management of policing to police officers, is short sighted and inconsistent with management practices outside of policing. You don't need to be a mechanic to run Ford. For an organization as large and complex as the RCMP to respond effectively to the varied challenges of managing its broad mandate it will be necessary to think outside the traditional police management box and create a more appropriate management culture and paradigm.

CHAPTER 3:

Police Governance, Management & Culture

3.1   Issues & Elements of Contemporary Police Governance

Civilian governance of policing is a complex and important topic. A wide range of approaches have been taken to the precise configuration of both governance and oversight regimes (Hann et al. 1985). All of these configurations share an interest in advancing and ensuring some level of accountability to the public.

This chapter will only attempt to place the issue of police governance within a broad framework. By making a fundamental distinction between internal and external governance, it is the intention of this review to provide two levels of analysis that, while complementary, are designed to place an emphasis on the pivotal importance of sound internal governance principles and mechanisms over against any external governance regime.

There is a growing awareness of the reality that policing does not occur in a hermetically sealed world that clearly separates public from private policing activities and interests. Accordingly, governance models must be conscious of this evolving circumstance where public and private policing are interdependent, interrelated and interactive in their roles and responsibilities (*In search of security* 2006)

Typically, police organizations are provided with guidance and direction under the auspices of some form of civilian governance. There is an effort made to provide a link to the larger community in which the police organization operates, as well as, to the political dimension that provides the legislative framework for the provision of policing and related public safety services. By necessity this leads to a significant amount of flexibility and diversity in the specific content of accountability structures, systems and strategies. However, there is an opposite and equally compelling incentive to develop governance approaches that incorporate the homogenizing aspects of policing, law enforcement and public safety which flow from the central role of federal legislation and regulation. This includes the *Canadian Criminal Code*, *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act*, the *Youth Criminal Justice Act*, and other statutes with a cross-Canada influence.

Governance, as accountability, will always be limited in its precise scope. This is, in part, to acknowledge, sustain, and circumscribe the notion of police operational independence. This notion relates to the longstanding view that senior police executives (e.g., chiefs of police) should not be unduly constrained in making autonomous decisions about specific operational and tactical deployment, as well as, the day-to-day administration and management of police department resources. Therefore, while a civilian governing authority (e.g., a police services board, police commission, or committee of council) may have a robust and comprehensive role in terms of the strategic direction of a police service, including the recruitment and retention of a police chief (and other senior executive officers), the overall priorities pursued by the organization and budget approval, there is a variable understanding that operational matters remain the exclusive decision-making domain of the police themselves. There remains a complex and controversial tension between what precisely is included under the ambit of strategic direction and where operational decisions step into the realm of legitimate accountability.

There are several issues associated with the challenge of police corruption and its relationship to the political dimension of police governance and oversight. Avoiding political interference through clearly defined governance models, while maintaining a viable capacity to discourage, deter, detect, discipline and document police abuse of authority or process represents a delicate balance. There is considerable research in support of the value of applying the "nodal" (Shearing 2001) approach to police governance. It is also useful to make a distinction between police governance and police oversight. Police governance is more closely aligned with the approaches taken to the overall guidance and direction of a police service, including the formulation of organizational strategic goals and objectives. Police oversight is commonly associated with the mechanisms and methods established for the handling of complaints against a police service, including those pertaining to policy or individual officer behaviour.

Governance as a form of accountability may fall under several dimensions as outlined below (McKenna 2003):

- Internal & External;
- Political (including constitutional, decentralized, and consultative);
- Managerial (including: commercial, resource, and professional)
- Legal (including judicial, quasi-judicial, and regulatory); and
- Procedural & Consequential **(a more detailed outline is presented in Appendix One, attached)**

Internal governance models and mechanisms must be sufficiently effective and entrenched to allow engagement with any external governance body that is meant to provide the locus for organizational accountability. In order to allow external governance to function with any degree of confidence, economy and consistency, the internal workings of police governance must be both sound and stable. There can be no successful civilian governance of public policing in Canada absent reliable internal governance. This implies that the senior management level of the police department will be educated, enlightened and enabled to function as a central component of the governance enterprise.

Much has been written recently regarding a concept that addresses the "governance of security" as opposed to the unitary governance of police organizations (Wood 2004). This concept attempts to come to terms with the emerging reality that public police organizations are being drawn inexorably into the orbit of other "players" in the policing enterprise. This includes private security and other organizations and agencies (both state and non-state) with a vested interest in transformative approaches to safety and security, broadly defined. Accordingly, public police organizations, including the RCMP, will be challenged to address (at a minimum) and internalize this new reality of governance.

3.2   Internal Police Governance

There is an emphasis in this review on the internal dimension of governance and its importance to police management. The need to establish an internal framework of accountability that will provide an external body with suitable and sufficient management information is critical. Taking into consideration the complexity of the RCMP mandate, as explored in Chapter 2 (above), the onus on the RCMP in this area is considerable. However, by making it possible to generate, collect, analyze and disseminate information acquired through the organization's various components reliably and consistently, the RCMP will truly become an intelligence-led organization. Furthermore, the intelligence that is generated to lead the organization across its several "business" fields will be articulated by RCMP senior management and will, to the fullest extent possible, be accessible to levels of accountability that the organization is responsible to in the pursuit of its mandate.

Internal governance serves to diminish the amount of effort required for external governing authorities to accomplish their goals on behalf of the public interest. By establishing fundamentally sound approaches to internal governance, the RCMP can create circumstances whereby the external controls may be patterned to predictable ends. Also, the hallmark of a robust structure of internal governance, or accountability, is that it places a stamp of excellence and engagement upon senior police executives who must comprehend the substance of this structure in order to be in command of its elements when "called to account" by external governing bodies. Accordingly, the internal governance framework operates throughout the organization to deal with operational, administrative and functional complexity in ways that are streamlined. While such a framework may never be simple, particularly in light of the array of responsibilities assigned to the RCMP, it must always be seen as ancillary to the overall productivity of the organization in meeting its legislated mandate. The priority must always be placed upon providing a competent policing service and in tailoring internal accountability mechanisms in ways that measure management's success in achieving strategic and operational goals and objectives.

3.3 Implications for the RCMP

This review has not dealt extensively with various governance regimes, either internal or external. The specifics of either dimension of governance are beyond the immediate scope of this report. But there is value in exploring the management aspects of governance. By viewing management as the conduit through which all accountability becomes reality, it is important to review the critique of previous models of police management. As a result of this examination it should become apparent where improvements, enhancements and innovations may be introduced to allow the RCMP to move toward approaches that more effectively harness its mandate while maintaining key elements of organizational stability.

By moving carefully and consistently in the direction of what may be termed intelligence-led management, the RCMP will recreate itself in ways that build on its strengths and focus necessary attention on leadership that exemplifies and amplifies continuous organizational learning, shared leadership and other qualities that characterize modern management principles.

3.4 Critique of the Military, Bureaucratic & Professional Models

The evolution of policing has followed certain patterns that can be traced in a summary manner. Beginning with a military model, police organizations deployed themselves in ways that were highly imitative of this source. Therefore, police departments exhibited the following essential characteristics:

- Strict hierarchical/rank structure;
- Command and control;
- Formal discipline;
- High degree of centralization;
- Rigid chain of command;
- Wide spans of control;
- Downward communication

This model, however, proved to be problematic in the rapidly urbanizing environments where it was operating. Accordingly, a movement to professionalize police organizations was embarked upon by several police leaders, including O.W. Wilson and others. While there remained many features that can only be categorized as paramilitary,

police reformers also had a bureaucratic model in mind when they set about making changes in how police departments were structured and functioned. This led to an era of policing that was characterized by the following elements:

- Rapid response to calls for service;
- Random patrol by police personnel;
- Use of radio and other communications technology;
- Deployment of officers in vehicles;
- Use of centralized dispatch systems; and
- Operational independence of police decision-making

During the 1960s and 1970s it became increasingly apparent that this so-called "professional" model of policing was not addressing the fundamental challenges facing society. Police were seen as being removed, remote and unresponsive to the growing public order and community safety issues they were intended to deal with in their operational roles. It appeared that there was a fundamental gap between the police and the various publics they were sworn to serve and protect. Research indicated that the professional model was not meeting the needs of society and another approach was needed to address the underlying issues of crime and disorder. What began as a response to the deficiencies of the professional model of policing is found in the reform known generally as community policing (McKenna 2000).

Community policing has itself been superseded by other approaches which attempt to incorporate much of the innovation introduced by this philosophy of policing. Often referred to as intelligence-led, integrated or strategic, policing, the new modalities of police innovation must be seen in a context that ensures police organizations are able to actively and appropriately engage communities, stakeholders, partners and governing authorities in the prioritization, planning, processing and assessment of police initiatives and activities.

While police reform has been substantially redirected as a result of major world events, it remains evident that police organizations have moved substantially away from their military origins with a continuing challenge to transition themselves toward more broadly-based systems of interconnectedness with non-traditional partners and engaging more business-oriented, performance-based systems, structures, and strategies.

Police organizations have been attempting to address some of the reforming trends brought about through business process reengineering, the new public administration (NPM), the Balanced Scorecard and other approaches which have prompted both macro- and micro-level organizational transformations in public, private and non-governmental corporations.

Globalization has been another factor which has precipitated significant change in police organizations. This new global reality has made police interoperability a significant matter of concern and has motivated a substantial amount of collaboration and internationalization of policing. There is considerable effort apparent within the European Union (EU) leading to greater cooperation and coordination of police effort. In North America, the trend is not as high a priority. However, the RCMP is certainly central to the process of engaging beyond our national borders with other police agencies. The RCMP becomes, in many instances, the clearinghouse for our international police liaison efforts.

Across several dimensions, police organizations have been attempting to refine their management, administrative and operational frameworks in order to arrive at approaches that will deliver both effective and efficient policing services. Increasingly, community, neighbourhood, or problem-oriented policing initiatives have been replaced by approaches that place a premium on their intelligence-led, or strategic, capabilities. Taken in context, these newer approaches tend to marginalize the community policing philosophy of maximizing partnerships between the police and the community, as well as, prevention and problem-solving applications that combine community-based and police resources. Intelligence-led, strategic or integrated policing tends to return to a more singular reliance on police expertise and police functional interoperability for successful approaches to crime and social disorder.

However, this trend does not operate in a vacuum. There continue to be external pressures upon police leaders to adapt and adopt more accountable strategies in dealing with public safety issues. This has its roots in the reform momentum that led to the introduction of community policing in the 1960s and 1970s and has been intensified through the effects of postmodern theory and practice in other areas of human enterprise (Murphy 1998). The impacts of this theoretical perspective, according to Murphy, include:

- Restructuring and relocation of policing authority and responsibility;
- Re-conceptualization of public policing; and
- Rationalization and *commodification* of public and private policing services

Coincident with the features noted above, there was a transformation in the operating values that animate society within the postmodern construct. There is a growing pressure upon public police organizations to address the demands, constraints and prerogatives of the "risk society" (Ericson and Haggerty, 1997). Anti-authoritarianism is a significant feature of public attitudes towards governments, in general, and toward the police, in particular. This reality has an important bearing on the manner in which police organizations transition themselves to provide their mandated services to the public.

3.5 Some Problematic Culture Issues for RCMP Management

While it is important to acknowledge the many institutional and operative benefits that have resulted from adherence to a distinctive institutional character and culture, it is also important to acknowledge that many of these qualities that are useful in organizational governance may contribute in various ways to some of the problems that have been significant in recent RCMP incidents. We would suggest that the following institutional and cultural qualities create problematic management and governance problems.

- *Insularity and distinctiveness* – while in part a desirable quality, and necessitated by the unique nature of the work being managed, this tendency to see the world outside of the organization as so different, irrelevant and potentially corrupting that it has a tendency to produce a narrow, limited and protective views of the police task, one suspicious of ideas, people and experiences outside of the unique police realm.

- *Organizational loyalty* – this represents another problematic quality for police governance; while it is understandable and indeed desirable in some circumstances, the tendency to value blind loyalty to the work group or organization and its values reinforce the divide between outsiders and police insiders and subordinate individual values to those of the organization and one's work group. This is particularly problematic for other desirable organizational qualities in employees such as innovation, creativity, ethical sensitivity and lack of dogmatism. For senior managers, while organizational commitment is essential, the traditional notion of loyalty seems to trump desirable qualities such as the recognition that there are other goals, including public service, ethical accountability, stewardship, fairness and equity, among others.

- *Anti-education* – related to its organizational insular and military traditions is the RCMP's suspicion of education, specifically post-secondary education as an essential quality of police management. Though this has been modified recently the force has always regarded the need for educated, university-trained members with deep suspicion. This is evident by the lack of post-secondary educational requirements as a condition for becoming an RCMP member. The presumption that post-secondary

education is unnecessary and possibly harmful is a leftover from an earlier policing era that preferred malleable and unsophisticated young recruits who could then be "socialized" into being compliant and loyal officers.

This anti-education, or anti-intellectual, bias also drives the institutional view that education and independent critical thought or enquiry has little to contribute to the substance of policing or its management. Hence the low regard for research and development; either in-house or contracted by the RCMP. When progressive police services began to expand their reflective, analytical and planning facilities in the mid eighties, the RCMP closed down its research and development branch in 1999 in the Canadian Police College and did not replace this function. In the world of applied police research, the RCMP is virtually non-existent. The RCMP is neither a source of in-house operational research or innovation, nor does it actively participate in police research and development circles. While other police services such as Edmonton, Calgary, Ottawa, the OPP and Toronto all have active research and planning divisions and collaborate extensively, the RCMP is notable by its absence from this realm of corporate activity.

3.6   Policing Change Agenda: Organization & Culture

Other police organizations have not been idle throughout the period of transition experienced during the 1980s and 1990s. Many departments have gone through extensive, and expensive, organizational change processes (Ontario Provincial Police 1995). There has been a significant amount of activity aimed at bringing police organizations to a point where they can function within the new public management (NPM) context, as well as, other guiding processes taken from several disciplines, including management principles, organizational theory, public administration, information technology, among others.

Internationally, police organizations have been working in many ways to improve their management, operational, tactical and strategic efficacy. However, there is no single coherent model that appears to recommend itself as being able to assure the public that their police agencies are functioning in an optimal manner. The transition from professional policing to community policing (and its kindred approaches) has called upon police organizations to be more fully accountable. A great deal of this accountability is expressed through the

development of performance measurements of police activity. It has also been introduced through the introduction, or imposition, of business planning processes for police departments, as is the current case in Ontario, with the enactment of the Adequacy and Effectiveness of Police Services Regulation under the *Police Services Act.*

Making police organizational changes that are fully consistent with modern management theory and practice has been complicated by a number of factors, including the continuing currency of the view that police operations remain the exclusive purview of the police executive, and not that of the civilian governing authority. Accordingly, a gulf remains between the overall strategic objective-setting capacity of police governance and the specific operational priority-setting functionality of police chiefs. This has made fundamental change within police organizations difficult to orchestrate and problematic to precisely measure.

Change in police organizations in Canada must take into consideration both the management dimension, as well as, the more nebulous and persistent, cultural imperatives. To transform police organizations requires a double effort: the restructuring of the organizational processes, products, paradigms and practices, combined with the reordering of the mental models that guide the practical realities that front-line, supervisory, and middle management officers bring to their operational roles and responsibilities. Making this double transition is profoundly difficult and presents a significant challenge for police leaders (Guyot 1979).

Furthermore, when change is compelled by external factors, including public inquiries, commissions, task forces, and inquests, it is undertaken with a degree of urgency that is not always fully conducive to a quality result. The opportunity to develop a reasonable and staged plan of action is not always consistent with such an approach and may weaken the potential for successful design, implementation and evaluation of such organizational change initiatives. Experimentation is not always welcome in the context of major organizational transition and the stakes for such initiatives are high (Goldstein 1993). It is always essential to recognize the pivotal role played by middle managers in any organizational change process and this is immediately relevant within the policing context where middle managers provide a buffer, liaison and intermediary role between front-line officers and senior executives within police organizations (Geller and Swanger 1995).

All effective organizational change in policing must take stock of the power and persistence of the front-line police culture (Goldstein 1998). The strength of this culture (or sub-culture) is rooted in the continuing strength of the image of police officers as "crime-fighters" and the continuing reality of the need for core services that accentuate the command and control components of police work, e.g., law enforcement, emergency response, public order maintenance. Without an approach that can build upon the "working personality" of an individual officer, organizational change will be unsuccessful or unsatisfactory. Ideally, there would be some effort made to transition that personality toward one that incorporates other operational goals and objectives, e.g., crime prevention, assistance to victims, human services, and problem-solving as being of equal importance and relevance.

There has been a substantial interest in applied business approaches to policing in several jurisdictions. In Great Britain, with significant motivation from the Home Office and the Audit Commission, police services were encouraged to introduce carefully defined performance measures which could be reviewed an reported upon by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC). This continues to be a valuable model for police organizations seeking to enhance their levels of accountability across several important dimensions (Reiner 1995).

Other approaches have been utilized in many police organizations with varying results. The success of the COMPSTAT (Computerized Statistics) approach pioneered by William Bratton when he served with the New York Police Department has been emulated by several police departments in North America (Silverman 1999). There has not been an absence of effort, energy or enterprise invested in the process of management change in police departments. Indeed, a "developing dynamic for change in police agencies" has been identified in the police literature (Bryett 1999). This dynamic is driven by some of the following factor:

- Need for cost-efficiency;
- Changing face of crime;
- Society with higher expectations; and
- "evolutionary modernization" making policing more complex

The call for public sector change has been pervasive and clear. Value for money, improved service quality and higher levels of community responsiveness have been hallmarks of this call and are heard in balance with increasing levels of "marketization" of public services, including policing. The attempt to blend public sector values with private imperatives, which is an essential characteristic of the new public management (NPM) has created difficulties for police executives and police governing authorities alike as they navigate within the context of a "post-bureaucratic management culture."

It is realistic to observe that in spite of the substantial effort and ingenuity applied to the process of management change in police organizations, certain fundamental beliefs continue to obtain within the operating police culture (Sparrow, Moore and Kennedy 1990):

- Public police are the only real crime fighters;
- No one else understands the nature of police work;
- Loyalty to your colleagues counts above all else;
- War on crime cannot be won without bending the rules;
- The public is generally unsupportive and unreasonably demanding of police; and
- Patrol work is not valued in the department, while detective and other specialized areas are highly prized.

3.7   Organizational Learning as Leadership

There has been an extensive literature develop around the concepts of organizational learning, continuous learning, knowledge workers, and the learning organization (Argyris 1992; Bennis and Biederman 1997; Davenport and Prusak 1998; Dixon 1999; Pedler, Burgoyne and Boydell 1997; Wieck and Bougon 1986).

The thrust of these contributions is an exhortation to corporations, of all kinds, to take stock of the emerging reality that their future resides less in what their employees immediately know than in the ways they are able to grow knowledge in a continuous process of "action" learning. The speed with which technologies regenerate themselves and the ongoing challenge of "discontinuous" change within all spheres of human endeavor means that organizations may only thrive if their human resources are highly adept at learning how to learn (Nadler et al. 1995). The realm of policing is clearly not immune to this process of constant, transformative change.

The total commitment required to drive this organizational learning process reaches in all directions (Wright 2006). The entire range of human resource processes must be cognizant of the continuous learning imperative and this, by definition, includes senior executive leaders. It is not possible to inculcate members of the organization with continuous learning principles if those principles are not exemplified by senior management (Snetsinger 1993).

3.8   The Promise of Post-Secondary Education in Policing

While the literature on the precise value of post-secondary education to success in policing is not completely conclusive, there are some important observations that can be made in this area of study (Aamodt 2004). For example, Aamodt's meta-analyses of the relevant research conducted in the area of law enforcement selection indicated some of the following findings:

- Education was significantly correlated with academy performance;
- Education was positively related to job performance;
- Education and cognitive ability were negatively related to problem behaviours;
- Education had significant correlations among academy, field training and patrol performance;
- College educated officers missed significantly fewer days of work;
- Increased education requirements would reduce the pool of minority applicants;
- Education was negatively related to dogmatism;
- Education positively related to positive attitudes toward community policing;
- Officers with post-secondary education had fewer suspensions and reprimands;
- Education related significantly to supervisor ratings of performance on some dimensions;
- More highly education officers were more satisfied with their department but less satisfied with their careers;
- Education significantly related to scores on job-knowledge test;
- College educated officers had significantly fewer complaints;
- College educated officers were more likely to be promoted;
- No relationship between education and use of deadly force; and

- Education and cognitive ability predicted on-the-job performance 10 years after hire

It is important to emphasize that most of these studies are based on data gathered in the United States. Additionally, there have been studies that find no significant relationship between education and job performance. The meta-analyses appear to indicate that education does support several positive factors in officer performance and perspective.

Recently, it has been observed that the RCMP is not in step with other federal departments with respect to its educational levels. For example, Leuprecht (2007) notes:

> *In the RCMP, by contrast, graduate degrees among those in uniform are rare, although increasingly common among the senior ranks. Of course, that is partially a function of recruitment and a tight labour market. But it is also a function of an institutional culture that champions "experience" over "education." No position with the RCMP – even among its officer ranks – requires more than "minimum requirement at entry" which means a high-school diploma. That contrasts sharply with just about every other federal department where, by convention, it is now almost impossible to be promoted to the level of director or beyond without having completed graduate work.* (2007: 70)

3.9   Police Executive Education & Development Programs

There is a growing and commendable recognition of the need for increasing sophistication among police executives among police leaders themselves. This recognition also includes some tentative movement to increasing civilianization at the higher levels on the organization chart. However, current programs are not sufficient in most jurisdictions to allow for the development of the vast array of knowledge, skills and abilities that are now required to manage and guide modern police organizations. There is simply not sufficient capacity within these systems to offer a reliable replenishment of a diminishing resource. Furthermore, little appears to have been accomplished by way of either formative or summative evaluation of the police executive learning initiatives currently in place (Mastrofski, 2006).

The debate appears to be unresolved as to whether or not a college degree is an essential requirement for a police officer at the front-line level, or at the senior executive levels (Aamodt 2004). This is an important research question from several perspectives however it remains accessible to common sense that police executives, particularly in comparison to their public service colleagues, should have at least a commensurate level of educational attainment if they are to function within the ongoing milieu of administrative leadership.

One area of management change that has been adopted by many police organizations involves some variation on the concept of organizational learning, double-loop learning, action learning, or continuous learning (McKenna 2000). These concepts have been informing business management practices for some time and have evolved from the clear recognition that public and private corporations are increasingly becoming knowledge-based enterprises. The capacity to harness the intellectual capital within an organization has created a significant interest in making investments in training, education and development programs that will leverage the knowledge which resides within any given organization. The emphasis on quality learning as an ongoing organizational priority is apparent in much of the current writing in public administration, business management, and educational theory. Police organizations are now aware of the magnitude of this challenge and have begun to make efforts to address the substance of this human resource imperative.

Some police academics have raised concerns about the absence in North American police organizations of an 'officer corps' where qualified candidates are identified and schooled for direct entry to the senior ranks, without any intervening tenure in front-line operational policing. This is an approach that the Dutch police have utilized as well as other European jurisdictions (Charman et al. 1999). Japan also used an approach whereby police candidates are recruited into the more prestigious National Police Agency based upon their performance in a National Public Service examination (Parker 2001). Others are opposed to the establishment of what may be seen as the promotion of élite members within police departments (Reiner 1991). Accelerated promotions have been used in Great Britain. However, the norm is for senior officers to have served at every rank level. Dual- or multiple-entry systems do exist, where police candidates will complete training, education and development programs which allow them to be recruited directly into senior positions (e.g., inspector or superintendent) upon graduation (Charman et al. 1999).

While there is some international experience with the notion of an 'officer corps' or 'officer cadre' of police candidates, it is a subject that has seen little substantive research evaluating its overall effectiveness. While the single-entry approach has been the dominant model in North American policing, it may be possible to develop a nexus of approaches which allows for accelerated promotional opportunities for qualified candidates (i.e., high-potential applicants), as well as, an 'officer cadre' who are selected on the basis of existing knowledge, skills and abilities (this could include the type of examination administered by the National Personnel Authority in Japan) to attend an officer training program with a curriculum similar to that offered by institutions like the Royal Military College (Canada), the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, and the United States Military Academy at West Point. This should not be seen as a return to the military model of policing. However, it does acknowledge that there are specialized management, administration and leadership competencies that are strongly indicated for senior police executives; many of which have little immediate intellectual or functional connection to front-line policing. Whatever approach is taken to the introduction of an 'officer cadre' it should not be an impediment to regular promotional opportunities and there should be sufficient flexibility to allow formal approaches to reflect what constitutes actual practice in many Canadian police services today. Some combination of regular promotion, accelerated career advancement, lateral entry and 'officer cadre' identification and development could provide valuable approaches to senior police staffing requirements.

In Canada, there has been an increasing emphasis placed on senior police executive development programs that are university-based. One recent example of this approach may be found in the Centre of Excellence in Policing, Fire and Safety Management, sponsored by the Schulich Executive Education Centre (SEEC) within the Schulich School of Business at York University. Another recent experiment in this approach to executive training is the Police Leadership Program offered through the Rotman School of Business, University of Toronto.

N.B.: Appendix Four (see below) provides further details about these, and other relevant, programs designed for senior executive management development.

The relentlessly broadening mandate of police organizations in Canada (and elsewhere) as discussed in Chapter 2 (above) clearly necessitates more sophisticated training, education, development and learning for all officers, including senior police executives. The fundamental value of tackling significant management and cultural change from the top of the organization is apparent from a close reading of various police institutional change initiatives (Chan, 1997). Police academics are increasingly recommending more focused study of the learning needs of police executives (Mastrofski, 2006) and more rigorous research on police leadership. Human resources issues including training, education, development and learning have also been highlighted as critical challenges for Canadian policing and have become an important focus for the work of the recently formed Canadian Police Sector Council.

3.10 Implications for the RCMP

Existing oversight of the RCMP and the governance issues as it pertains to internal/external mechanisms includes the RCMP Complaints Commissioner, as well as, the functional governance provided on a periodic basis through the Auditor General of Canada and budget review processes. Also, the Commissioner of the RCMP may be called to address various parliamentary committees on RCMP policies, procedures and practices.

The specific background of various commissioners of the RCMP reflects a range of different educational, experiential and executive preparation. All share a from the bottom-up promotional career path that saw them trained through Depot and operating in several detachments and divisions of the organization. There is no defined senior management training, education and development plan that is applied to potential RCMP leaders; however, it often occurs that these individuals participate in development programs offered through the Canadian Police College, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Academy, and the former Bramshill College (Great Britain). There are no formal educational prerequisites for senior RCMP officers, including the rank of commissioner. This is not to suggest that many senior RCMP officers are lacking in post-secondary qualifications (Murray 2004).

There is considerable emphasis being placed on the gathering crisis facing police organizations in Canada with respect to recruitment, retention and related human resources planning functions (Police Sector Council 2006). However, the capacity of policing organizations to provide leadership and direction for these important functions is directly related to the quality of senior police executives, and, in the case of the RCMP, its commissioner. The development of police leaders will be an essential component of any future improvements in Canadian policing.

Without the establishment of a solid framework for the competencies required for senior policing executives it will remain uncertain as to whether or not fully competent leaders will be available to assume the responsibility and stewardship of modern policing organizations (Mastrofski 2006). By placing a concentrated focus on the precise range of knowledge, skills and abilities required for senior police leaders it will be possible to ensure that high potential candidates are prepared for leadership roles within the full range of policing organizations. Whether this means the establishment of an 'officer corps' where candidates pursue a learning curriculum that allows for lateral entry into key organizational positions, or promoting approaches that pinpoint precise elements for the strategic learning needs of senior police executives, change is clearly indicated.

The review of the Independent Investigator (Brown 2007) indicated several areas that pertain directly to the issue of police executive development. The discussion of the "tone at the top" is critical to an understanding of all training, education and development programs in police organizations. The ethical dimension as acted upon at the highest level of the organization is pivotal to the functional dynamic in operation throughout the entire police department. The "tone" referred to by the Independent Investigator is the articulation, expression, manifestation and embodiment of the whole organization. In a more than symbolic sense, the Commissioner **is** the RCMP.

There is ample recognition in the Independent Investigator's report for the introduction of a shared leadership style that can function to provide more efficacious management of this complex organization (Brown 2007).

The RCMP has been working toward various service improvement goals as indicated in its *RCMP 2005-2006 Performance Report* (2006). These initiatives, which link continuous improvement methods, citizen-centered service and performance management using the Balanced Scorecard methodology, are positive approaches to enhanced service delivery. Clearly, where such initiatives operate in opposition to a guiding management philosophy that is not conducive to the culture of continuous improvement there will be a lack of progress.

The RCMP's Strategic Policy and Planning Directorate articulated the reality that the organization has embraced a "new model of policing" for the 21st century (RCMP, 2006). Integrated policing seeks to achieve a degree of horizontal alignment involving other agencies within a shared framework to achieve success in today's complex world. The RCMP's task is, of course, complicated by its functional role at all levels of policing, i.e., local, regional, provincial, national, and international. As a strategic hallmark, this is a worthwhile and prudent goal. However, without human resources systems that explicitly engage this strategy at front-line, supervisory, management, and senior executive levels the approach will not achieve the synergy it purports to envisage.

As a subset of the human resources function within the RCMP, there are major implications attached to the ongoing efforts to transform police management and culture. The Canadian and international horizon are populated with instances where police organizations have made significant investments in attempts at realizing a "vision of enabling operational readiness" (RCMP, 2006). However, any definition of enabled operational readiness implies that there are layers of supervision, management and executive leadership that will consistently and competently activate this enabled vision across the organization. The RCMP has recognized the impacting trends of the aging workforce, ongoing retirements, increasing service delivery demands, and competition for qualified labour. Furthermore, the RCMP has sketched achievements and approaches in the following areas:

- *Succession planning* (including the Officer Orientation Development Course, Field Coaching Program, and the proactive identification of potential leaders);

- *Staffing, promotions and classification* (including standardization of classifications in occupational sub-groups and development of new promotional process for non-commissioned officers); and

- *Learning investment management* (including establishment of Learning Investment Management Board to improve training alignment and governance with annual learning/training plan for the RCMP)

These approaches are valuable and viable from an organizational perspective. Again, they rely upon a substantial degree of senior executive leadership support and understanding if they are to be effective in their application throughout the RCMP. To achieve the "common purpose" that is at the heart of the RCMP's integrated policing philosophy, there is an immediate opportunity to set in place succession, staffing, and learning investments at the pinnacle of the organizational structure. The "operationalization" of this philosophy may best begin at the top of the RCMP and continue to serve as a catalyst for transitional learning throughout the organization. By means of an internalization of the accepted characteristics of integrated policing, the RCMP can achieve higher functioning management through (RCMP 2006):

- *Shared strategic priorities* – devoting senior management to the achievement and embodiment of common goals through actions that exemplify substantial accountability;

- *Free flow of intelligence* – dedicating senior management to achieving collaborative approaches to decision-making;

- *Interoperable systems* – defining senior management communications within the organization and across organizational and jurisdictional boundaries;

- *Seamless service delivery* – dedicating senior management to the elimination of fragmentation and unnecessary duplication; and

- *Leverage economies of scale* – defining approaches for maximization of senior management effort, individual and collective.

3.11   Conclusions

All of the above noted approaches are emblematic of the RCMP's own comprehension of the issues and themes that must be addressed in order to achieve higher levels of integration and effectiveness across their policing mandate.

The imperative for change would appear to be largely self-evident. It has been clearly discerned on an international basis, as outlined by Johnston (1998):

> *Modern police forces were established a century ago to deal with matters of law enforcement, crime prevention, and order maintenance – all of these being part of the state's "public" mandate. Late modernity transforms the state, uncoupling it from that traditional mandate. This process occurs partly through the commercial penetration of the state and partly through the growing dominance of neo-liberal modes of thinking. Critically, these developments have a significant impact on the character of policing…It is not that contemporary policing is unconcerned with its traditional, crime-oriented, "public" mandate. Rather, police philosophy, practice, and organization are, increasingly, oriented to the management and minimization of risk.* (1998: 213-214)

CHAPTER 4:

Towards a New Paradigm of Police Management & Culture

4.1 Exploring New Approaches & Models

The central argument being made in this review is that the RCMP, like many police services, has a maintained a traditional "police" based occupational and organizational culture. While they have recently experimented with some managerial and organizational reforms they have done so within the limited perspective of the traditional "police" model of management. This police perspective tends to privilege the values and qualities fashioned from police experience. While this may, in part, be a necessity for managing the uncertainty of police work at the operational level, it is clearly limited as a general senior managerial perspective for an organization that does so many different kinds of policing. The complexity of administering and managing the RCMP's expansive mandate requires more than this traditional management model can offer and, in some cases, may require values and practices that are counter to its core assumptions. In sum we believe that traditional "police" management culture is an inadequate basis for managing the current RCMP mandate and that some of its current problems can be linked to its problematic and limiting qualities

In Chapter 2 we suggest that the RCMP, perhaps more than any other police service in the world, has a broad array of policing and security functions and responsibilities that go well beyond the conventional notions of police work. The breadth and scope of the policing activities required to meet the RCMP's diverse responsibilities creates an enormous management and governance challenge. This complex policing organization requires a range of management skills, core competencies and leadership qualities that are difficult to locate, develop and recruit solely within policing. Adherence to core principles of the military police management model limits the RCMP's institutional response to changing demands and circumstances.

This traditional police paradigm remains wedded to a conventional notion of policing as the primary focus of the organization. The resulting privileging of certain police work qualities such as crime-fighting, investigative skills and other "police" experience-based credentials diminishes the value and organizational need to foster other leadership and management skills. The persistence of the assumption that "police" experience is necessary and desirable above all other experience may be increasingly detrimental to an organization that now requires broad and highly specialized knowledge, skills and experience in order to get the job done. By viewing lateral entry into senior management as unacceptable and requiring progress through the ranks to become a senior manager, or commissioner, greatly limits the potential talent pool available to fill senior management positions.

Consistent with this view is a tendency to ignore, or mistrust, forms of non-police knowledge, analysis and dialogue. Modern management theory and practice is frequently viewed as not being relevant or helpful to the unique circumstances of policing. As a result, unlike the practice in private and many public organizations, very little substantive research and development is conducted within most police organizations, including the RCMP. Internal program assessments are infrequent and of limited scope and auditing too often substitutes for program evaluation. A lack of systematic internal information gathering, performance measurement and program monitoring coupled with a limited critical engagement in the analytical dimensions of one's own operation, mean that dialogue and debate remains limited and largely internal. This approach tends to close off the organization and culture from the free flow of critical ideas, information and insights that routinely circulate throughout other public and private agencies.

Also because advanced education and experience beyond policing is not seen as necessary for uniformed members, even for senior executives, there is little motivation to move toward a more engaged form of reflective dialogue with the broader realm of modern private and public sector management. Though civilians are occasionally brought into the organization for their subject matter expertise or specialized knowledge, they are viewed by the police culture as being different in kind and value and usually subordinate in importance to uniformed managers and executive officers. Though appreciated for their value-added contributions they are often not fully utilized in a management culture that still values rank and police experience over "civilian" qualifications and experience.

Another problem of the traditional police management model, that particularly affects the RCMP, is that it limits their ability to recruit and promote the "best and the brightest" either from within the organization or from outside. This is due to:

- The lack of lateral entry and the requirement of starting, as a constable. More flexible entry options and also upper level officer entry models would enable the RCMP to recruit more highly desirable, and specialized (law, languages, etc.) candidates with rare technical and educational skills.

- The current system of promotion from within is said to be problematic for a number of reasons. However its main failure may be its limited ability to identify and promote potential leaders and managers, and as a result some members with special skills and potential simply leave the force before they can fully contribute to the organization, especially at a senior level.

- The seemingly closed and insular police culture of senior RCMP management may not be attractive to some highly skilled, educated or experienced civilian specialists and managers from the public or private sectors because they believe they would not be valued as equals and their skills would not be utilized effectively in a traditional police organization.

These problematic, culture-based qualities, conditions and practices lead us to believe the development and effectiveness of RCMP senior management will always be limited if it remains tied to the traditional police management model. If the RCMP is seeking to improve their ability to manage their expanding and increasingly demanding policing and security mandate, they will need to either reform some of their existing traditional management practices or rethink the management models and practices they are now using. A new model of corporate management and governance in the RCMP must be able to manage and govern the complex and diverse work that they do but also to successfully negotiate the changing, dynamic and partnered world that they are increasingly dependent upon. This means that senior managers in the RCMP should be at least as sophisticated and capable as the managers of the agencies, corporations, networks, etc. that they must deal with in order to execute their mandate. Though the RCMP brand is still strong and it remains a highly respected Canadian public institution, it is not seen within Canadian policing as a leader in management thinking, innovation, operational creativity, research and

development, in short, modern progressive policing. We believe that it can, should and could be regarded as such.

4.2   Future Direction?

Drawing upon the observations and assertions outlined previously it would seem to us that there are basically three possible strategic approaches that could be taken by the RCMP in addressing its current and future management and cultural challenges:

1. *Maintain the status quo*; , no change just maintenance;
2. *Reform* existing management and culture; and
3. *Rethink* the existing model, and create a new and more appropriate management culture and structure.

4.2.1   Maintenance of the *Status Quo*

This means that the RCMP simply continues doing what they have done in the past, which has, in fact, included some degree of organizational change and modification. However, it may be suggested that there is sufficient evidence to indicate that problems, issues and tensions have been identified both within the organization and external to the RCMP such that this may not be an adequate or responsible approach. Furthermore, the necessity for the formation of the present Task Force on Governance and Culture within the RCMP speaks strongly to an argument for movement away from the *status quo*.

4.2.2   Reform Existing RCMP Management & Culture

This option represents a relatively low-risk option for the organization. A reform response essentially accepts the basic premise and values of the police management model and simply tries to improve or refine it. This approach will avoid substantial effort with respect to large-scale change within the RCMP and provide a platform for refinements and modifications on a limited basis, but also with limited effect. However, in order to be effective, such reform would need to be continuous and flexible. Specifically, a reform enterprise needs to address the rapidly expanding mandate of the RCMP and that the previously accepted traditional paradigm of core police services has evolved. Any reform efforts must comprehend that the context and landscape of police work has changed in substantial ways.

4.2.3   Rethinking and Developing a New Management Model

We believe that the modern policing mandate has evolved rapidly in the last few years but that the culture and practices of senior police management has generally not kept pace. Limited by relying too much on past practice, current circumstances require a rethinking of existing management models and practices. Developing "alternative" management practices and models that are open to new ideas, strategies and skills will help the RCMP to better address the problems identified and respond more effectively to the serious challenges ahead.

4.3   Towards a New RCMP Management Model

A new management model or approach will require a process of exploration, innovation and development. Based on our previous analysis of the shortcomings of the traditional RCMP police management model we offer the following areas or issues for further examination. While we recognize that any one of these elements may not ultimately be useful or necessary, they at least offer some initial possibilities for what should be part of an ongoing process of continual exploration and improvement.

- **Exploration and incorporation of new public and private sector management perspectives, models and strategies**, through education, training, recruitment and research. A great deal has been written with regard to the new public management (NPM) and its potential impact on a variety of public services (Aucoin 1996; Barberis 1998; Doern 1979; Ferlie et al. 1996; Seidle 1996). Equally, there exists a burgeoning literature addressing significant and transformative change coming out of the business schools and faculties which are demonstrating some persuasive authority for police organizations (Bennis and Biederman 1997; Harvard Business Review 1999; Kotter 1996; Robbins and Langton 1999). It will be important for the RCMP to landmark on the key components of these sources of innovation to discern areas that may be applicable and realistic for their organization. The educational value of this exploratory process alone will be of significant merit, in and of itself. However, this effort will inevitably lead to the discovery, or even recovery, of approaches that will benefit the RCMP as a public service that happens to be in the "business" of policing.

- **Create an 'officer cadre' within the RCMP**. This could be accomplished in a manner that allocates significant recognition to high-potential candidates within the department, or may allow for lateral entry from outside the organization. One element that could potentially consolidate the use and application of such an approach would be the formulation of specific and detailed competency profiles for particular senior level positions within the RCMP. This precise definition of the competencies required for successful achievement in identified positions could serve to facilitate the preparation, recruitment, functional assignment and performance evaluation of officers for senior posts within the RCMP. This approach is consistent with a model adopted within the police in England and Wales under their High Potential Development Scheme (**see Appendix #4, attached**). Critics of this approach have noted that such an "officer class" model is not sufficient to the challenges facing modern policing (Reiner 1991). There is an argument made that talented individuals within police departments will proceed through the ranks "by dint of meritocratic success" (Reiner, p.350). However, a hybrid approach could be examined whereby both forms of advancement are in place with a view to ensuring substantial enrichment of senior management levels through accelerated and conventional promotional streams. In fact, it remains an option in many Canadian municipal, regional and provincial police services where talented individual officers have been fast-tracked into senior leadership positions from within their organizations, as well as, from without. Fundamentally, achievement, capability, potential combined with knowledge, skills and abilities commensurate with identified leadership competencies could become the litmus test for senior officer appointment.

- **Undertake an organizational review of the RCMP's varied policing functions.** The RCMP appears to be doing too many different kinds of policing to manage them all well by using the generic quasi-military bureaucratic model of organization and management they have developed. Some of the RCMP's current problems may be linked to the number of varied, complex and specialized policing and security functions they are responsible for. The RCMP mandate indicates they have several, arguably distinct, policing or businesses lines such as: urban policing, rural policing, federal policing, aboriginal policing, security policing, international policing, border policing, etc. These different types of policing require distinctive skills sets, job requirements, career paths, training and educational backgrounds. Unfortunately the limited generic "one size fits all" organizational model the RCMP uses to organize, recruit, train and manage these varied policing functions and activities appears to not be working. It may be worth exploring new ways of organizing and managing these different kinds of police work and treat them more as distinct policing entities, but under the general umbrella of the RCMP. These different policing functions would have their own distinct recruiting, training, specialization, career models. Members would have more specialized police careers and could be advanced within their chosen policing area of expertise, without having to leave in order to be promoted. The result might be a significantly reorganized but potentially more efficient, effective and manageable policing and security organization.

- **Enhanced education requirements** for senior management and development of executive learning in order to increase management capacity and capability. There has been a continuous refrain largely in support of the notion of increasing the level of education required, or at least suggested, for senior police management (Jelley 2006; Johnson et al. 2007; Martin 1995; McKenna 1995; Ontario. Ministry of the Solicitor General. Strategic Planning Committee on Police Training and Education, 1992). This report includes a fairly comprehensive outline of existing programs designed for this purpose (**see Appendix #4, attached**). Dating back to the 1967 U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, there has been an emphasis on the view that police professionalism must be linked to enhanced educational requirements. The focus of this education may be multi-disciplinary, inter-disciplinary, or cross-disciplinary. However, the ultimate learning objectives should somehow contribute to senior management members becoming more capable to lead their increasingly complex organizations.

- **Prioritizing the principles of organizational learning** leading to intelligence-led management. The emphasis on intelligence-led policing clearly places an emphasis on the acquisition, analysis, dissemination and assessment of intelligence. While in the policing context this typically refers to criminal (or security) intelligence, i.e., quality information that will be utilized to make operational decisions relating to investigations and other tactical processes, there is a need to re-emphasize the conventional meaning of the word. This is especially the case at the senior management levels of policing where business intelligence, "emotional" intelligence (Fabio 2006; Matthews 2007), multiple intelligences (Gardner 1995; Gardner 2004) and other forms of intellectual ability will be called for in the future. Organizational learning is the term that has been coined to capture the concept that organizations, or more pointedly, the individuals who combine in their various ways to constitute the organization, must consciously, creatively and continuously subscribe to many ways of learning if their organizations are going to thrive (Argyris 1993; Dixon 1993; Jushka 1998; Watkins and Marsick 1993).

- **Enhanced leadership in research, development and innovation**. The RCMP should be an organization characterized by an ongoing program of research, analysis and innovation. This would mean: an interest in critically examining its own operations and their impact, an organization that measures its performance, an organization that is creative and innovative in its service delivery, that experiments and accumulates knowledge and expertise on its operations, an organization that is open to new ideas, technologies and best practices from other police and security agencies, an organization that is seen as a leader in its field and that encourages critical scholarship and knowledge generation. In short, a leading policing organization that through research and analysis is constantly refining and improving its activities and services. This requires making a real commitment to a both "in house" and external research, analysis and innovation. Given the lack of a police research and development 'centre of gravity' in Canada, the RCMP could play a significant national leadership role in its development. This strategy complements the notion of the RCMP as a progressive and innovative, thinking organization, committed to continuous learning and improvement and an intelligence-led and managed police service.

4.4 Conclusion

The approaches taken to the current crisis within the RCMP can be viewed from many perspectives. It is our view that the RCMP has an opportunity to demonstrate renewed leadership in these challenging circumstances. With a new sense of professional purpose the RCMP could, as part of a new governance regime, strive to rethink and develop the culture and practices of senior management within the force, in ways that would change and update its tradition-bound image. It could create a new senior management culture based on the skills required by its varied and complex policing functions; a diverse management cadre and a new management culture that values diversity, broad experience, specialized skills, strategic and analytic thinking, research and development, collaborative decision making, networked relationship overseen etc. by a mix of well-educated and experienced police officer and civilians operating with collective synergy in a secular management culture.

This proposed vision of a new RCMP senior management culture clearly needs further reflection and many of its assumptions and propositions require far more research and analysis. However we believe, based on the evidence that we have reviewed, that if the RCMP is to flourish in the future and continue not only as an historical symbol but also as a symbol of modern policing excellence, it will have to find new and better ways to manage its varied and challenging activities and responsibilities. This will require developing a police service that places more emphasis on thinking outside the conventional police management box, is more open to outside research-based learning and experience, is capable of attracting the best and the brightest managers and specialists from inside and outside the organization, and has an organizational culture with eclectic values that privileges education, experience and managerial excellence. Given the many serious challenges facing the RCMP now and in the future, we believe that nothing less will do.

CHAPTER 5:

Research Resources

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APPENDIX ONE: DIMENSIONS OF ACCOUNTABILITY

DIMENSION	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
Internal & External		
Internal	Accounting moves from the lowest level(s) to the top of the organization; Overall goals and objectives defined at the top and communicated to the organization; Authority is delegated as necessary with a process for rendering account; Generally not public, but within the management structure	Internal audit mechanisms
External	Includes the process of accounting followed by managers or executives to their governing bodies; Typically public	Business plans submitted for approval to civilian governing authorities
Political		
Constitutional	Usually referred to as ministerial responsibility, it includes accountability of a government to its parliament	Minister of Public Safety Canada or provincial/territorial counterparts
Decentralized	Involves the establishment of local authorities to distance accountability from direct political influence	Police services boards, police commissions and other local or regional civilian governing authorities
Consultative	Supplements representative democracy with direct citizen participation; Groups operating outside the electoral process provide input on public policy issues; Accountability is not clearly defined in these instances	Police representative associations (e.g., the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police); Police/community consultative committees; Special interest groups

Managerial		
Commercial	Government services are financed by user fees as opposed to budget appropriations; Accountability framework for several Crown corporations follows this form	407/ETR highway in Ontario
Resource	Involves the non-market provision of services; Budget control must ensure efficiency and effectiveness; Accountability measures may include: financial management, human resources, and assets management	Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd.
Professional	Involves allocation of resources substantially influenced by professional, self-regulating body; Operating outside of direct democratic control, there is legislated accountability	Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons; Teachers Colleges
Legal		
Judicial	Involves reviews of actions of public servants through judicial review	Federal Court of Canada; Commissions of Inquiry (e.g., Air India Inquiry, Arar Inquiry)
Quasi-judicial	Involves establishment of a body that may be approached for recourse in certain cases; Quasi-judicial body may apply law in an administrative manner; Normally operate at arm's-length from political dimension	RCMP External Review Committee; Ontario Civilian Police Commission; Tax Court of Canada
Regulatory	Involves a high degree of independence; Typically applies a broad mandate set out in law; Agencies are empowered to regulate and make administrative decisions free from direct political interference; Very complex realm of accountability	Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)

Procedural & Consequential		
Procedural	Recognizes that if all the input requirements are met, intended consequences or outputs will be assured; Focus on management procedures, practices and systems; Compliance with rules and regulations	Standing Orders; policy and procedures manuals of individual police services
Consequential	Involves monitoring of outputs to establish if goals have been achieved; Emphasis on results, outcomes and impacts leading to effectiveness accountability	Performance measures established and monitored by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), Great Britain

Adapted from: Leclerc et al. (1996). *Accountability, performance reporting, comprehensive audit: an integrated perspective*. Ottawa : CCAF-FCVI, pp. 57-58.

APPENDIX TWO: RCMP FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE

Operational Region	Components	Additional Information
Federal Services & Central Region	"A" Division (National Capital Region); "O" Division (Ontario); "C" Division (Quebec); Federal & International Operations; and Protective Policing	**Federal & International Operations** includes: Border Integrity; Drugs & Organized Crime; Financial Crime (with Integrated Market Enforcement Teams – IMETs); International Policing (with liaison with INTERPOL & International Peacekeeping) **Protective Policing** includes provision of protective security for: Governor General, family & residences; Prime Minister, family & residences; Federal Cabinet ministers; Supreme Court judges; Visiting heads of state, foreign diplomats in Canada; Internationally protected persons; Persons designated by Public Safety Canada

Operational Region	Components	Additional Information
Operations & Integration	Community, Contract and Aboriginal Policing Services; Criminal Intelligence Directorate; and Strategic Policy & Planning Directorate	**Contract Policing** includes the provision of community policing services in all provinces & territories (except Ontario, Quebec & Newfoundland and Labrador) as well as individual municipal contracts **Aboriginal Policing** includes the provision of policing services to First Nations communities in contract provinces & territories
National Police Services	Canadian Firearms Centre; Canadian Police College; Chief Information Officer; Criminal Intelligence Service Canada; Forensic Laboratory Services; Information & Identification Services; National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre; and Technical Operations	**Canada Firearms Centre** created to provide oversight for the administration of the federal *Firearms Act* and the Canadian Firearms Program **Criminal Intelligence Service Canada (CISC)** includes the coordination of all regional/provincial criminal intelligence services across Canada, as well as, liaison with international criminal intelligence networks; Management and maintenance of the Automated Criminal Intelligence Information System (ACIIS), a national database for criminal information and intelligence; Delivery of strategic intelligence products & services to law enforcement community **Forensic Laboratory Services** works to conduct scientific analyses of evidence at crime scenes, present forensic evidence at trial; Research & develop new forensic methodologies; DNA processing; Ballistic identification services; and Toxicological services under Drug Recognition Expert Program

		Information & Identification Services works to develop and implement a national network of police information systems and technologies for support of criminal identification and investigation; Includes Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC), Forensic Identification Services, and the National Weapons Enforcement Support Team (NWEST) **National Child Exploitation Coordination Centre (NCECC)** responsible for coordination, collaboration and intelligence-gathering related to online sexual exploitation of children; Includes Child Exploitation Tracking System (CETS) and Canadian Image Database for Exploited Children (CIDEC) **Technical Operations** includes implementation of the National Sex Offender Registry; Participation in the Canadian Cryptographic Modernization Program; Provision of Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System (ViCLAS) services to 10 European Countries and 2 American states

| Corporate Management & Comptrollership | Asset Management Finance Procurement & Contracting Office of Comptrollership & Modernization | Responsible for excellence in all areas of financial administration, asset and facility management, including contracting and procurement management;

Audit & Evaluation services supports the governance responsibilities of Senior Executive Committee and provides services across the RCMP;
Audit & Evaluation adheres to Treasury Board policy on audit and evaluation functions, including:
Risk management strategies & practices;
Management control frameworks, systems and practices;
Information for decision-making and reporting

Office of Comptrollership Modernization made permanent in April 2002 to provide RCMP managers with integrated financial and non-financial performance information, appropriate control systems and a framework of shared values, ethics and ethical practices encouraging effective leadership and clear accountability across the organization |

Atlantic Region	"B" Division (Newfoundland & Labrador) "H" Division (Nova Scotia) "J" Division (New Brunswick) "L" Division (Prince Edward Island)	"B" Division is not an entirely provincial police service, with duties shared in several parts of the province by the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary (RNC)
Operational Region	**Components**	**Additional Information**
North West Region	"D" Division (Manitoba) "F" Division (Saskatchewan) "G" Division (Northwest Territories) "V" Division (Nunavut Territory) "K" Division (Alberta) "Depot" Division (Regina, Saskatchewan)	
Pacific Region	"E" Division (British Columbia) "M" Division (Yukon Territory)	

APPENDIX THREE: RCMP CIVILIAN STAFFING CATEGORIES

Approximately 26,000 employees, including regular (i.e., police officers sworn into the service and willing to relocate anywhere in Canada), civilian members (i.e., individuals recruited for their specialized technical skills, also willing to relocate anywhere in Canada), and Public Service employees.

The following table summarizes the wide range of functional skills and abilities required by the RCMP's civilian members:

RCMP Civilian Member Skill Areas

Scientific/Professional	Technical	Administrative
• Toxicology • Chemistry • Biology (DNA) • Law • Fingerprint	• Air Services • Instrument Technology • Document Examination • Counterfeit Analysis • Firearms Technology • Information Technology • Telecommunications • Electronics & Mechanical Technology • Electronic & Mechanical Engineering	• Investigative Analysis • Criminal Intelligence Analysis • Strategic Services

Source: http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/recruiting/civ_e.htm (accessed 31/10/2007)

The table above demonstrates that the RCMP's commitment to highly skilled and extensively educated civilian employees is substantial. This reality places a particularly important on the organization to ensure that its senior executive members are well positioned to provide leadership to this important layer within the department. With civilians having carriage of this comprehensive range of vital organizational responsibilities, it is imperative that the RCMP provide suitable, sustainable and substantial leadership for all of its employees.

APPENDIX FOUR: POLICE EXECUTIVE EDUCATION & DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The following provides a brief synopsis of several police executive education and development programs, opportunities and initiatives drawn from an international sample. While not exhaustive, this listing is representative of current trends in this important area of police leadership.

A4.1 CANADA

A4.1.1 Canadian Police College

The Canadian Police College in Ottawa has a mandate to provide a range of training and learning opportunities for police services across Canada. It is dedicated to supporting integrated policing through the development of police leadership and management competencies as required for a range of administrative and operational functions. As part of this commitment, the College offers executive development programs through its Police Executive Centre. The Police Executive Centre offers a focus on programs for maintaining specialized knowledge, skills and abilities. For example:

- *Senior Police Administration Course (SPAC)* – a course designed for middle managers in order to facilitate their competence at this level of leadership. Built upon adult education theory and practice, this program includes group problem-solving approaches and practical examples drawn from recent police experience;

- *Executive Development in Policing (EDP)* – a course which combines onsite and online components in an effort to increase participant competency in the leadership of a dynamic and modern police service. Theoretical models are examined in an effort to make linkages with actual police organizational experience and police executives are frequently exposed to colleagues from other countries as well as across Canada;

- *Workshops* – a variety of special topics provide the focus for individual workshops sponsored by the Centre including: strategic business planning, organized crime, critical thinking

skills, policing and politics, police labour relations, globalization and human rights, among others.

**4.1.2   Canadian Association of Chiefs of
             Police, Institute of Strategic International Studies**

In 2004, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP) approved the development of the Institute for Strategic International Studies (ISIS) as a unique police executive learning initiative. In 2003, the CACP's International Best Practices Research Project team was deployed under the auspices of three separate study teams to examine the following issues in detail:

- Transnational organized crime counter-terrorism;
- Diversity practices and emerging crime trends; and
- Multi-jurisdictional policing and technology-based crime prevention

The study teams completed their efforts and prepared a report for the CACP which led to the formulation of the ISIS model of leadership learning. Insightfully, the ISIS group has comprehended that there exists a "new reality for police leadership in Canada."

In 2006, seventeen senior police officers from several Canadian police agencies took part in the ISIS program and were divided into four study team. It is anticipated that the ISIS program will be offered again in 2008. However, specific details about the specific content of this executive development opportunity are not currently available.[5]

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[5] **N.B.:** Four RCMP commissioned officers took part in the 2003 Project Team, and six RCMP officers   were enrolled in the 2006 ISIS program.

A4.1.3   Canadian Police Sector Council

The Canadian Police Sector Council (PSC) was established through funding from Human Resources and Development Canada (HRDC) to provide a national focus for sector research and coordination in the area of public policing. It is the result of considerable collaboration between the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP) and the Canadian Police Association (CPA). The PSC has placed an immediate emphasis on the need for urgent improvements in strategic human resources management practices. This was first diagnosed through a study (2000) prepared by PricewaterhouseCoopers entitled: *Strategic Human Resource Analysis of Public Policing in Canada*. This report made several recommendations with a focus on the need for improvements in the HR field to attract, recruit, train, orient and coach the next generation of police officers.

PSC is guided by a Board of Directors and is working toward the improvement of human resources practices, policies, and programs across Canada. In March 2006, the PSC published a follow-up document entitled: *Policing environment 2005: update of the 2000 sector study and implications for HR planning and management today and into the future*. While not geared to senior police executive development issues, this report presents many recommendations that will further challenge and call to account Canadian police executives as they endeavor to provide quality leadership for their members, as well as, conscientious stewardship for the public whose trust they seek to sustain.

A4.1.4   **Centre of Excellence in Policing, Fire and Safety Management, Schulich Executive Education Centre, York University**

This centre has recently been established as part of the Schulich Executive Education Centre (SEEC) and is intended to provide courses, workshops, seminars and research for the three sectors identified: policing, fire services and safety. The centre is offering a Masters Certificate, beginning in 2008, which is designed to provide participants with access to subject matter experts in ten modules of learning for senior executive candidates. This program of executive leadership development incorporates the following modules:

- Contemporary Policing, Fire Services, Safety and Security: Theory and Practice;

- Fundamentals of Strategic Management;

- Business Planning and Financial Management;

- Community Engagement and Mobilization;

- Quality Assurance and Best Practices;

- Political Acumen and Its Application;

- Risk Management, Ethics and Integrity;

- Leadership and Organizational Renewal;

- Cultural Competence in a Dynamic World; and

- Communicating Corporate Commitment and Collaborative Concern

A4.1.5   Police Leadership Program, Rotman School of Business, University of Toronto

This is a partnership between the Rotman School of Business and the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police. It provides a specialized curriculum for the development of senior police leaders and has been in operation since 2003. The curriculum for this program is largely delivered by members of the business school faculty.

A4.2 GREAT BRITAIN

A4.2.1   Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) has been tasked with providing careful examination of police services in England and Wales for nearly one hundred and fifty years in order to improve their efficiency. Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary are appointed by the Crown upon recommendation of the Home Secretary and report directly to Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary, the principal policing adviser to the Home Secretary. The Chief Inspector is independent of the Home Office and of the Police Service.

HMIC carries out a series of inspections in order to meet it mandate, including:

- Baseline assessments;
- Basic command unit inspections;
- Best value review inspections;
- Inspection protocols;
- Joint area inspections;
- Thematic inspections; and
- Specialist inspections

Through the efforts of the Home Office, HMIC and the Audit Commission, advances have been made in identifying potential "high-fliers" in the police service for future leadership positions. Various approaches to "fast-tracking" have been applied, adapted and advanced which have resulted in some degree of success (Charman, Savage and Cope, 1999). Under the heading of "schemes" these initiatives have functioned to streamline and accelerate the promotional process for such individuals. Among such schemes are the following:

- ✓ Graduate Entry Scheme (GES);
- ✓ Bramshill Scholarship;
- ✓ Special Course;
- ✓ Accelerated Promotion Scheme; and
- ✓ High Potential Development (see more details under the National Policing Improvement Agency, below)

A4.2.2 National Policing Improvement Agency

Formerly known as Bramshill College, this senior police executive development facility has been absorbed into an entity known as the National Policing Improvement Agency (NPIA) created in April 2007. The NPIA is tasked with providing an array of services to police services across Great Britain, including the design, delivery and evaluation of national development programs for police officers at all levels from police constable to senior ranks.

The NPIA offers courses dealing with a comprehensive range of police topics dealing with management, operational and other topical areas. Including in these courses are several aimed at advancing, enhancing, and consolidating leadership within the police service. NPIA has developed a Police Leadership Qualities Framework (PLQF) that sets out specific components of leadership as it pertains to style, values, ethics, standards and competencies. Accordingly, there are five levels across which fundamental police leadership operates, as follows:

1. Leading by example
2. Leading others
3. Leading teams
4. Leading units
5. Leading organizations

Additionally, the PLQF identifies three core leadership qualities that provide greater clarity and vision for the type of leadership anticipated in the police service:

- Personal integrity
- Personal awareness
- Passion for achievement

In support of this leadership development, NPIA offers several courses that were designed for ongoing professional enhancement:

- Senior Leadership Development Program (Executive Level module);
- Strategic Command course (to prepare selected UK police officers for the highest ranks in the country; statutory requirement for membership in the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO);
- Chief Officers Development Program
- International Strategic Leadership Program

Another interesting innovation introduced by the NPIA relates to their introduction of a **High Potential Development Scheme** (currently under review). This initiative was designed to identify and support individuals of exceptional talent with potential to be future leaders of the police service.

The NPIA, through its Legal Services Department, publishes a very useful, monthly periodical, *Digest* which summarizes on a regular basis many changes, innovations, and issues impacting upon police organizations throughout Britain. This document is of significant relevance to Canadian policing in so far as there is a shared common law tradition as well as models of police administration and operation that coincide in substantial details.

A4.2.3   University of Cambridge, Institute of Continuing Education

Within the Institute of Continuing Education, University of Cambridge a diploma/master's degree in Applied Criminology and Police Management is being offered to existing and future police leaders. Originally the result of a partnership between the Institute of Criminology and the National Police Leadership Centre (Centrex), this educational program is guided by concepts of professional development, collaborative learning, critical thinking and reflective practice. The program places an emphasis on four core subject areas:

- Applying research to police strategy;
- Policing in contemporary society;
- Crime analysis and criminology; and
- Victims and crime reduction

At the diploma level, participants are required to prepare three essays, for the Master's degree candidates must produce one additional essay, a research methods assignment and a substantial thesis. The program is one year in duration for the diploma, with a further year required to complete the requirements for the Master's level.

A4.3 EUROPEAN UNION

A4.3.1   European Police College

The European Police College (CEPOL) was established in 2005 as a European Union (EU) agency (Council Decision 2005/681/JHA). Its mission is to bring together senior police personnel across Europe in order to develop a network to promote cross-border cooperation in addressing crime, public security, social order issues through training activities and research.

CEPOL has a governing board that is comprised of representatives from the EU member states. Typically, these are the directors of the national police training colleges in those jurisdictions.   Currently, there are several committees established by the governing board dealing with:

- Annual program;
- Budget and administration;
- Training and research; and
- Strategy

A CEPOL Secretariat is maintained at Bramshill (Great Britain) with approximately twenty-five staff members conducting the day-to-day business of this agency.

A4.4 UNITED STATES

A4.4.1   Police Executive Research Forum

The Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) was created in 1976 as a national organization that would engage in debate, research and collaboration aimed at challenging traditional police practices. It is comprised of police executives from the largest city, county and state law enforcement agencies. PERF is primarily funded by government grants and contracts, as well as, through partnerships with private foundations and other organizations. PERF has a substantial record in the review of organizational change and provides substantial research support to the police community.

PERF is frequently approached to provide assistance to cities in times of crisis, conflict and change. Accordingly, it has developed considerable expertise in the provision of management services and consulting tailored to the law enforcement profession. With experience in the conduct of organizational reviews, PERF has been engaged by several large American cities to undertake extensive management studies in order to offer strategic solutions.

A4.4.2   Senior Management Institute for Policing

Senior Management Institute for Policing (SMIP) is a police executive development program sponsored by PERF and administered out of Boston University. Participants are introduced to a series of sessions dealing with the most current management concepts and practices taught by faculty who have both practical and academic credentials in areas related to policing and public safety. These include the following:

- *Malcolm K. Sparrow* – professor of the practice of public management and faculty chair of the executive program on strategic management of regulatory and enforcement agencies at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government;

- *Mark H. Moore* -- founder of the Kennedy School's committee on executive programs and Hauser professor of nonprofit organizations and director of the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations;

- *Herman B. Leonard* – professor of public management at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, he teaches leadership, organizational strategy, crisis management and financial management;

- *Brian S. Mandell* – senior lecturer in public policy and director of the Kennedy School's Negotiation project, he teaches the theory and practice of negotiation, emphasizing consensus building in domestic and international policy disputes; and

- *Edwin Delattre* – dean emeritus and professor of education at Boston University's School of Education, he is resident scholar in applied ethics and is the author of *Character and Cops* considered the definitive work on police ethics.

A4.4.3   John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University offered programs that were highly regarded in American police executive circles. These programs were designed to provide program participants with exposure to respected faculty in the area of government and administration. They continue to offer extremely high quality educational opportunities for senior government administrators. Many of the faculty members now active within the SMIP program sponsored by PERF (see above) are cross-appointed scholars within the John F. Kennedy School of Government and offer substantial subject matter expertise.

A4.4.4   Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) National Academy, Quantico, Virginia provides important leadership development training to American and international police executives. The FBI maintains a Leadership and Management Science Unit which includes the following elements:

National Executive Institute (NEI) – this is an executive training program designed to benefit chief executive officers in American municipal, county, and state law enforcement agencies. There are non-American participants in this program and it consists of three one-week sessions conducted over several months. Police leaders consider this to be a prestigious program. The NEI program began in 1976 and more

than 500 executives have graduated from the program and as a result are eligible to become NEI Associates (NEIA). There is a continuing association of graduates particularly through an annual training conference. This NEIA conference was held in Toronto in 2006 and was hosted by the Toronto Police Service.

Also, the FBI, since 1981, has sponsored a series of two-week seminars known as Law Enforcement Executive Development Seminar (LEEDS). These programs are designed for chief executive officers within mid-sized law enforcement agencies and typically focus on the following topical areas:

- Leadership;
- Strategic planning;
- Legal issues;
- Labour relations;
- Media relations;
- Social issues; and
- Police programs

In addition to the LEEDS program, the FBI has created a series of Regional Command Colleges that seek to serve the executive learning needs of smaller police agencies throughout the United States. There are currently approximately sixteen command colleges modeled upon the LEEDS curriculum. Graduates of LEEDS and the Regional Command Colleges have an opportunity to take out membership in the Law Enforcement Executive Development Association (LEEDA) and thereby have an option of pursuing continuous learning through annual training conferences.

A4.4.5 **RAND Center on Quality Policing**

The American think-tank group, RAND, has established a Center on Quality Policing within its Infrastructure, Safety and Environment Center (ISE). This center was created to acknowledge the importance of police services for local governments in combination with the increasing demands being placed on those services. With policing being the single most expensive service provided by local governments, the center seeks to assist in using these resources to their best advantage.

In 2006 the Center on Quality Policing was launched to undertake studies and research that will enhance police agency efficiency and effectiveness around four key themes:

1. Best practices;
2. Performance measurement;
3. Use of technology; and
4. Force planning