



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, tests publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

THE IMPACT OF CIVILIANIZATION ON
POLICE AGENCIES IN CANADA

Thesis presented to the School of Graduate
Studies of the University of Ottawa, Criminology
Department in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Bernhard Pohl
University of Ottawa
January, 1987

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-40735-2



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

This work is dedicated to my wife Joanne, and my son Matthew, without whom this work would have no meaning. The great patience exercised by my wife in assisting and motivating me to complete this thesis has been greatly appreciated.

Special thanks is also given to Dr. Thomas Gabor who also patiently assisted in my efforts to complete this work.

Gratitude is also expressed to the staff of the Canadian Police College in Ottawa, particularly Dr. Donald Loree, for their assistance in the organization and origination of this research.

Great assistance must also be acknowledged from my colleagues and fellow graduate students in the Department of Criminology at the University of Ottawa.

Last, but not least, I wish to acknowledge my family for their continuous support without which I could never have had the opportunity to complete this work.

ABSTRACT

Civilianization can be defined as the practice of employing community citizens in any position classification within a police organization. The present status of the role of police in modern society was prefaced by a brief history of the evolution of social control mechanisms utilized by western societies prior to the establishment of formal police organizations. A comprehensive literature survey of the present development of the practice of civilianization was conducted including an analysis of the perceived benefits and negative consequences arising from civilianization in policing. A limited case study of the Ottawa City Police department was included almost exclusively to provide illustrations and examples of perceived consequences, real or imaginary, of the introduction of civilian police personnel into a historically sworn officer dominated police organization. Recommendations were made to assist police administrators in identifying procedures by which the process of civilianization could best be instituted and maintained in their individual departments. A proposal for a complete reorganization of the police department into a dual organization police agency was discussed in an attempt to provide an opportunity for the maximization for the potential of civilian influence in the maintenance of order and social control in society. Further recommendations were added in the conclusion by which

advancements could be made in the amount of civilian control over the maintenance of order in their communities.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2	Social Control Prior to the Establishment of Formal Police Organizations.....	6
Chapter 3	The Establishment of Formal Police Organizations.....	12
Chapter 4	Present Status of the Police Role.....	25
Chapter 5	The Rise of Civilianization in Police Organizations.....	31
Chapter 6	Civilians as Administrators in Police Agencies.....	58
Chapter 7	Perceived Benefits of Civilianization.....	63
Chapter 8	Perceived Negative Consequences Arising from Civilianization.....	79
Chapter 9	The Ottawa City Police Department as a Case Study.....	91
Chapter 10	Issues to be Faced by Canadian Police Officials in Relation to Civilianization.....	125
Chapter 11	The Dual Organization Police Agency.....	147
Chapter 12	Conclusion and Recommendations.....	160
	Bibliography.....	181

List of Tables

Table # 1	Progression of Civilianization in Canada From 1961 to 1981.....	54
Table # 2	Number of Police Personnel By Type and Province, 1980 to 1982.....	55
Table # 3	Proportion of Civilians and Sworn Departments, 1978.....	56
Table # 4	Distribution of Police Budget by Province, 1978 to 1980.....	67
Table # 5	Cost Per Police Employee in Canada, 1977-78 to 1979-80.....	68
Table # 6	Factors Contributing to an Increase in Operating Expenditures, 1961 to 1981.....	69
Table # 7	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1972.....	92
Table # 8	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1973.....	93
Table # 9	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1974.....	94
Table # 10	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1975.....	95
Table # 11	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1976.....	96
Table # 12	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1977.....	97
Table # 13	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1978.....	98
Table # 14	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1979.....	99
Table # 15	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1980.....	100

Table # 16	Classification of Personnel in Ottawa City Police, 1981.....	101
Table # 17	Increase of Sworn Police Personnel in Ottawa City Police Department 1972 to 1981.....	102
Table # 18	Increase of Civilian Police Personnel in Ottawa City Police Department, 1972 to 1981.....	103
Table # 19	Modular Approach to Contracting for Selected Police Services.....	155

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the advent of the twentieth century, police agencies were almost totally comprised of sworn police officers who performed virtually all job functions inherent in the daily operations of the provision and maintenance of police services. Civilianization has been identified as representing the most widespread change in police organizations occurring in the past thirty to fifty years. In the context of police organizations, civilianization can be defined as the practice of employing community citizens in any position classification within the police department. The personnel practice of civilianization proceeds upon the hypothesis that policing productivity and cost efficiency can be improved by substituting civilians to perform specific job functions which do not necessarily require the talents of specifically trained sworn officers.

Modern democratic societies which have developed formalized police organizations have relinquished the duties and inherent authority to maintain social control and the protection of both public and private property to formalized government bureaucracies labelled as police departments. The sphere of influence delegated to these police agencies has progressively evolved to such a stage where community

citizens have lost virtually all responsibility and retained little input into the maintenance of order in the communities in which they live. The process of civilianization is but one avenue by which community members can regain involvement in the maintenance of social order and control. It is, however, the major step in this process and as such is the main focus of this thesis.

To better understand the ramifications of the civilianization process a number of issues must be examined beginning with a review of patterns of social control methods prior to the establishment of formal police organizations when civilians bore almost the total burden of policing responsibilities.

As patterns of social solidarity drastically changed as a direct result of industrialization, urbanization and intensive social stratification, the perceived need for a separate government bureaucracy to maintain social order and to protect selected social group's private interests led to the formation of formalized police organizations based on the principles as espoused by Sir Robert Peel in London, England in 1829.

The spectrum of responsibilities delegated to these

early forerunners of modern police departments was limited to four primary categories including controlling perceived rising levels of crime, quelling public riots, limiting public intoxication and suppressing those individuals labelled as belonging to the "dangerous classes".

From these early beginnings, police agencies have had their role and responsibilities and subsequently their budgets and resources, greatly expanded to their present state. The particular causes for this extensive expansion of the police role will be examined, as well as, a perfunctory analysis of its present scope. Contrary to police officer's self perceptions, only a minority of a sworn police officer's time is devoted to actual law enforcement duties.

The development of the process of civilianization in police organizations, focusing primarily in the countries of Canada, the United States and England, will then be documented including a large number of examples of police departments which have civilianized specific job positions within their jurisdictions. This examination will also include numerous examples of administrative posts which have been civilianized.

The practice of civilianizing specific posts has raised a controversy over its impact on the police organization. A review of the perceived positive and negative consequences of civilianization has been included.

Through the cooperation of the Ottawa City Police Department a limited case study was conducted. This case study involved a comprehensive review of the Annual Reports from 1972 through 1981 in the area of Classification of Personnel, as well as, the completion of informal interviews with sworn police officers, civilian police personnel, police association members and police administrators.

Based on the review of the literature concerning civilianization and the limited case study conducted a number of issues and recommendations to be addressed by police officials and administrators has been included. This is an attempt to assist police administrators in identifying procedures by which the process of civilianization can best be instituted and maintained in their individual departments.

Recognizing that the practice of civilianization is the major, but only one of the processes by which community citizens can once again become significantly involved in the responsibility of social control and order a discussion of

the possibility of a dual organization police agency under civilian control has also been included in this thesis.

A dual organization police agency would be composed of a community service branch and a law enforcement branch, both administered by civilian officials, and would maximize the potential for civilian influence and control.

It is hoped that this research thesis will be of value to those individuals who control the separate police agencies as they attempt to oversee the provision of police services in this country.

CHAPTER 2

ROLE OF POLICE PAST AND PRESENTSocial Control Prior to the Establishment of Formal Police Organizations

The emergence of public police forces is a relatively recent phenomenon in the world. Durkheim's (1964) concepts of mechanical and organic societies are useful ones to context the development of the role of public policing in industrialized societies. Changes in patterns of social solidarity are closely related to changes in societies attempts to maintain social control over its individual members. In more primitive, mechanically solidary society there exists a kind of "collective conscience", a shared set of common values and life style which allows these societies to engage in informal or community policing techniques. Each individual in this type of society is almost totally dependent upon the good will and acceptance of the family and tribe for his security and support. In occasions where an individual has offended his or another family, it becomes the responsibility of the parties directly involved to somehow resolve the problem. Only in cases where the safety of the community as a whole becomes threatened does the community take responsibility to control the individual's deviant behaviour.

Only as societies have become organically solidary with

urbanization and specialization, have alternatives to informal policing needed to be considered. Systems of mutual citizen responsibility for crime control become progressively uncontrollable and unacceptable as the size of communities increases markedly.

Probably the earliest forerunners of formal police organizations were the Pretorian Guards as established by the early Roman kings. Brandstatter and Hyman (1971:23) describe the Pretorian Guards as being the finest and tallest soldiers in the armies of the king. They were given the responsibility of enforcing the king's laws as well as to act as bodyguards for selected individuals. The early Greeks also established a similar body of soldiers who were know as Comes Stabuli. The Latin term Comes Stabuli meant "Head Man of the Stable" and is actually the origin of the word, "constable".

Jayewardene (1981:1) made note of the similar circumstances in northern Europe dating back to tribal times. The chief man of a tribe would form a group of bodyguards or house-carls to protect himself and his household from harm. Bordua and Reiss (1967:277) note that: "Increasing social differentiation, heterogeneity, and stratification of the population led to lowered concensus on major values and the necessity to develop formal controls if a heterogeneous community was to

have at least a minimum of order."

Both of the previously mentioned forerunners to formal policing organizations could be considered military, or at least paramilitary in origin. The origins of the public police do not lie exclusively in military organizations. Lee (1971:13-24) in his descriptions of the history of police in England offers several examples of informal policing systems. In medieval England, the frankpledge system was developed. It existed for a period of approximately 800 years until the early part of the nineteenth century. Under the frankpledge systems, groups of ten families were joined together into tythings which were responsible for each other's actions. These tything members mutually pledged good behavior and were jointly responsible to apprehend violators of the law. If a tything member committed an offence, it was the responsibility of the other tything members to report that offence to the Shire Reeve who was responsible for the maintenance of law and order within the boundaries of the Shire. Once the offence was reported, it was also the responsibility of the other tything members to apprehend the offender and ensure his presence at a trial. If they failed to apprehend the offender within a specified period of time, the tything members had a mutual responsibility to compensate the victims of that offence.

The Statute of Winchester, which was enacted in England in 1285, called for the creation of a watch and ward system to supplement and expand the responsibilities of the tything groups in the area of social control. Jayewardene (1982:5) described the watch and ward system as a special body where tything group members were obligated on a rotating basis to arrest strangers and watch for fires. As Jayewardene stated, this marks the period when "the responsibility of policing, thus, was being moved on to a particular group of people, while still maintaining the obligation of all."

Despite the increased involvement of the community, self-policing began to collapse by the 1500's. In 1361, the Justice of the Peace Act created a new official, the Justice of the Peace. In effect, a peace officer appointed by the Crown not only replaced the shire-reeve as the county peace officer but he also acted in a judicial capacity. The creation of this new office resulted, for the first time, in the subordination of the police to the judiciary and while it was done primarily for reasons of efficiency, it unfortunately led to injustice and corruption.

In London in 1680, a night watch system was organized to protect industrial factories from a rapid urbanization of rural and indigent people. In the night watch, community

members patrolled the streets attempting to maintain peace and order. Over a period of time, a day watch system was also established.

Richardson (1970:26-28) employed the term "transitional policing" to describe the watch systems which emerged as the frankpledge system of policing began to break down. Transitional policing systems were characterized by lack of continuity and lack of accountability to central governmental authority.

Richardson provided two examples from London, England to demonstrate the absence of central governmental authority accountability. The first example was the Bow Street Runners which were created by Sir Henry Fielding in 1748 when he became the Chief Magistrate of the Bow Street district in London. The Bow Street Runners were "thief takers" and, as such, apprehended criminals in their district. They reported directly to Fielding and to no one else.

The second example was the creation of a "River Police" in 1798 by Patrick Colquhoun who was an enterprising and prominent English merchant. Their function was to provide protection for the merchants along the River Thames. As in the previous example, the River Police were confined to a

particular area in this case the river area, and reported only to the merchants who paid them.

To further illustrate this fact of non-continuity, this time in North America, Richardson examined the policing systems utilized in the city of New York from 1697 to 1783. From 1697 to 1731 the positions of "bell-men" were created. These bellmen were responsible for police services, as well as making the rounds, ringing their bells and shouting out the time. The bellmen was replaced by a citizen's watch system in 1731. On a regular rotation, residents of a particular community area were responsible for patrolling the streets. In 1734, a group of permanent paid constables took over these duties. From 1735 to 1783, the policing function was alternately performed by a paid watch, the state militia, and yet another permanent citizens watch group. A formal police agency was not established in New York until 1845.

The point to be most emphasized by the previous discussion on the social control methods developed by societies prior to the establishment of formal police organizations is that community members, civilians, bore the almost total burden of policing responsibilities in most cases.

CHAPTER 3

The Establishment of Formal Police Organizations

In comparison to transitional policing systems, modern forms of policing are characterized by continuity in office, continuity in procedure, accountability to a central governmental authority, and consists of persons generally recognized as having full-time police responsibilities. In Canada, the United States, and other countries which at one time were under British domination, the London Metropolitan Police, as established by Sir Robert Peel in 1829, is considered to be the forerunner of modern police organizations. The emergence of formal police agencies however, did not occur simultaneously around the industrialized world, or for the same reasons. Urbanization, industrialization, and the evolution of more socially diversified and stratified societies rendered informal and transitional styles of community member policing more and more seemingly ineffective and inefficient.

Radzinowicz (1957:326) related a quote by an angry citizen of London, who made a sarcastic, but widely-shared, perception of the quality of the watchman system and those individuals serving in it in 1812. He says:

"Wanted a hundred thousand men for London watchmen. None apply for this lucrative position without being the age of sixty, seventy, eighty, or ninety years: blind with one eye or seeing very little with the other; crippled

in one arm or both legs, deaf as a post; with an asthmatical cough that tears them to pieces whose speed will keep pace with a snail, and the strength of whose arm will not be able to arrest an old washer-woman of fourscore returned from a hard day's fag at the washtub; whose constitution is worn out in hard service, either in the army or navy, some unhealthily business, or from the effects of a gay and profilgate life; and that such will neither see or hear what belongs to their duty or what does not, unless well palmed or garnished for the same."

The inept quality of the watchmen seems hardly surprising when it is considered that all adult males in the community, irregardless of age, moral dependability, or physical attributes, were expected to serve on the watch. The men were expected to carry on their full time occupations during the day and, when it was their turn, serve as members of the watch during the night. Lundman (1980:19) also notes that the members of the elite class were able to pay small sums of money to others, usually men who were elderly or unemployed, to take their place.

The advantages of a government controlled policing agency were apparent to most urbanized societies but, even as crime increased, communities resisted the police idea. Lundman (1980:14) in his analysis of the emergence of the

metropolitan police in London, stated that "many preferred the relative liberty and informality of a community police rather than risk the perceived threat to democracy associated with modern police."

Skolnick and Woodworth (1967:101) assert that the police occupy an especially sensitive position in all modern societies. They state:

"As one observes such a process in action one becomes increasingly aware of the totalitarian potential. Totalitarianism implies tight socialization. Its conception of man is relatively fixed and inflexible, and its symmetry and conventionalism imply a mandate for developing instrumentalities of conformity. We are not referring here only to such totalitarian social orders as Hitlerism or Stalinism. We are discussing the idea of a totalitarian potential inherent in any society, even the most constitutionally protected and democratic, as, bit by bit, legal definitions increasingly standardize the conception of moral man and as the apparatus for social control becomes increasingly refined."

Canada and the United States also experienced this type of resistance to the organization of formal police agencies. Modern police agencies did develop in each of these three countries however. The impetus to finally formulate police agencies in each area in each country varied according to the

particular environmental, social and political structures of each but there also existed a number of similarities which should be discussed.

As a result of studying the circumstances surrounding the emergence of modern police agencies in England and the United States, Lundman (1980:24-30) suggests that there existed four common factors including:

- "1. rising levels of crime;
2. public riots;
3. public intoxication; and
4. the conception of a "dangerous class" of persons responsible for crime, public disturbances and drunkenness."

Given the lack of any universal compiling and reporting of crime rates in England and the United States it is difficult to ascertain actual levels of criminality but there is clear evidence that people in London, and in most of the larger urban centers in the United States, perceived and believed that crime was increasing in the period prior to the formation of organized police forces. This perception of the extreme worsening of rates of criminality for the first time led a significant body of people to see that crime was at least as much a threat to their personal liberty as was the

creation of a government controlled professional police agency.

Also, both London and many United States cities, most notably New York, Boston, and Washington D.C., experienced numerous public riots. In many of these riot situations, the military was called upon to deal with the uprisings and, again, a large number of citizens saw the harms of public commotion and the included involvement of the military as a greater threat to freedom than modern police agencies.

Changes in the tax systems, manufacture and sale of hard liquors, as well as major changes in drinking patterns from a family-and-meal-related custom to an individual practice in newly opened public drinking places led the affluent sectors of society in both England and the United States to view the drinking and public drunkenness of the "dangerous classes" with increasing alarm. The relationship between alcohol and crime, as well as, mob violence, was perceived in both countries. Two of the many proposed responses to the problems posed by public intoxication were the initiation of prohibition and the suggestion that police forces be created to regulate these problems.

Middle class and elite members of the society in both

England and the United States conceived of the "dangerous classes" as a group of people who were riotous, intemperate and possibly biologically criminal who were located at the bottom bases of society. In both countries, this class of people was perceived as being a threat to the very fabric of society's status quo and it was felt that only organized police forces could effectively deal with its inherent problems.

Canada is a country made up of many diverse regions and as such, each region spawned its own justification for the establishment of police agencies. Unfortunately there is relatively little published material existing on the early origins and development of the police in Canada. Both Juliani, Talbot and Jayewardene (1984:9-19) and Griffiths, Klein and Verdun-Jones (1980:47-50) provide an analysis of the origins of municipal policing in Canada.

Prior to Confederation, each Canadian region had its own specific policing characteristics depending upon the time of settlement, the racial origin of the settlers, and the characteristics of the country.

The early French-Canadian settlers devised a system of policing similar to the system they had known in France. The

* first police in what was then called Lower Canada appeared on the streets of Quebec City in 1651 and by 1673 the first police regulations had been drafted and were put into force. With the rising British takeover of political and military power, the two major centers of Montreal and Quebec City were forced to establish police organizations not only to maintain law and order but also to emphasize the British presence in that province.

Prior to the latter part of the nineteenth century, most rural communities in Upper Canada (now the province of Ontario) policed themselves in much the same manner as the Frankpledge system before the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain. Justices of the Peace and constables were employed to maintain law and order.

The 1830's the Parliament of Upper Canada required that each district organize a criminal justice subsystem to maintain law and order. This action was deemed necessary to expand political control in reaction to a relatively large immigration of American settlers into Canada. Individual cities in Ontario established functional police forces as a result of particular circumstances in their history. For example, in 1835 Toronto introduced its night watch system with a six-man police force. Brantford established a police

force in 1847 in response to citizens' complaints concerning a dramatic increase in public drunkenness and nuisance. Hamilton, Ontario organized a Board of Police when it received its city charter but did not actually organize a police department until a quickly "increasing incidence of juvenile delinquency made the need of such a force obvious."

Policing duties in the Maritimes were generally delegated to the soldiers of the British garrisons. It was not until the militia was withdrawn or disturbances grew out of control that municipalities felt the need to make concentrated efforts to establish their own police forces.

Because of the sparse population and relatively low levels of serious crime in what are now the western provinces of Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company was the only organization which had anything to do with the maintenance of law and order west of central Ontario prior to the 1850's. Even then the Hudson's Bay Company entered into agreements with the federal government to maintain order in only those areas where it had established trading posts.

In May of 1873 the North West Mounted Police were established. The justifications for the establishment of this force in western Canada are somewhat contested. Kelly

and Kelly (1976:10-21) stated that the North West Mounted Police were established to police the western plains which the Canadian government had purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869. According to these authors the purpose of the force was to protect native Indians from unscrupulous white traders from the United States who had been "plying them with whiskey and rifles in exchange for buffalo robes and horses." Kelly and Kelly also stated that the Canadian government wished to avoid many of the problems encountered by their American counterparts and thereby sent the North West Mounted Police to prevent and minimize conflict between white settlers and the native Indians. They also were charged with attending to the health and welfare problems of Indians and Eskimos.

Brown and Brown (1973:10-23) assert that the notion that the North West Mounted Police were created to ensure the rights and property of all peoples in the Canadian west were protected, is a myth. They contend that the North West Mounted Police were instead established as a semi-military force designed to keep order on the prairies and to facilitate the transfer of most of the territory of the region from the Indian tribes to the federal government with a minimum of expense and bloodshed. Rather than protecting the rights and interests of the Indian peoples they "were a crucial

part of a conscious scheme by which powerful economic and political interests destroyed the economy and way of life of entire peoples and wrested a vast territory from its inhabitants for pittance." The North West Mounted Police became closely identified with defending the interests of the corporate friends of the Canadian government, primarily the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was from these beginnings that the federal police force became involved in municipal policing duties.

Juliani, Talbot and Jayewardene (1984:9-19) have concluded that although municipal forces originated at different times across the regions of Canada depending on some specific situational peculiarities, there were a number of common problems experienced in Canadian urban centers which prompted most municipalities to establish police forces. These common problems included public drunkenness and brawling, prostitution, gambling, and a significant number of neglected children roaming the streets performing delinquent acts.

This discussion of the emergence of public police forces would not be complete without a review of the influence of elite groups in this process. Power is rarely uniformly distributed across all social levels in any given society.

The power to bring about meaningful change in countries such as Canada, England and the United States is concentrated in a relatively small number of elite individuals who possess great quantities of wealth and prestige. In relation to the origins of policing as previously discussed, it was the powerful elite groups in each of the three countries which stood to lose the most to the perceived rising crime rates, increasing public drunkenness and public disorder. Richard Quinney (1975:38) has argued that, "...definitions of crime are composed of behaviors that conflict with the interests of the dominant class."

Lundman (1980:31) explains how the elite groups influence the criminal justice systems to best protect their interests by stating: "Elites take control of the law creation and enforcement machinery of the state when the actions of the powerless threaten the position of elites. By making certain actions illegal and by creating law enforcement agencies, the powerless are brought under the control of the state."

Parks (1976:239) in her study of the influence of elitism in policing in the United States, has reaffirmed the notion that police agencies were created by and for elites by stating:

"The history of social control

in the United States is the history of transition from "constabulary" to "police society" which was not essentially for the protection of the "general welfare" of society but was for the protection of the interests and life-styles of but one segment of society--those holding positions of wealth, "respectability", and power."

Even though the victims of the perceived rising crime rate were primarily from the lower, or "dangerous", class, the members of the elite class were offended and often felt threatened by these activities. Silver provided an analysis of how the elites in London acted to produce a police force in London and how that force acted to protect and promote elite interests. He listed six benefits for the elites in the emergence of the Metropolitan Police which are as follows:

1. The public police acted to minimize the contacts between the elites and members of the dangerous classes.
2. The public police became the organization called in to quell, suppress, and prevent public riots. They were able to do this more effectively than the military and posed a far less threatening appearance.
3. With the creation of the public police ordinary citizens no longer had to participate in the transitional styles of policing, thereby increasing the potential for economic activity which was to the benefit of the elites.

4. \ Public police acted as a "civilizing" force on the dangerous class by enforcing middle-class and elites conceptions of proper and moral behavior.
5. The public police were created to control the vices of the dangerous class

such as public intoxication and use of profanity, as well as, reacting to criminal activities.

6. The creation of public police agencies caused violations of criminal laws and societal norms to be recognized and reacted to by a central democratic government for the first time.

Richardson (1970:198) summed up the benefits of the public police for the elites in this way:

"Freedom was a highly placed value as long as the poor were not going to use that freedom to bring about basic social change. The police with their clubs were the agency charged with the defense of the status quo when more subtle means were insufficient."

It can be argued that with the minimum of citizen participation inherent in formal police organizations, the elites of society can better protect their own interests, sometimes to the detriment of all other classes and groups within that society. As the transition was made from informal to formal types of policing perhaps a significant portion of the truly democratic ideal was lost to society.

CHAPTER 4

Present Status of the Police Role

Examining what police organizations do in urban industrialized societies provides an excellent base to determine their role in these societies. There is a traditional view held by both police personnel and members of the public that the police role is focused primarily on law enforcement and maintenance of public order duties. There have been many attempts by researchers to empirically determine the amount of actual time spent by police personnel on various types of activities. Fagin (1979:176) examined a large number of these types of studies and concluded that all of them showed that only a minority of the police officer's time was devoted to actual law enforcement activities which is entirely opposite to police officer's self perceptions. Wilson (1968:18) provided an excellent example of this phenomenon in a survey of the Syracuse, New York Police department. He found that in this department only one percent of the calls requesting police services were requests for law enforcement or crime fighting assistance, while approximately sixty-seven percent of the calls were requesting community service or order maintenance assistance.

Goldstein (1977:35) categorized the various responsibilities of modern police organizations into eight broad

objectives which are listed below:

- "1. To prevent and control conduct widely recognized as threatening to life and property (serious crime).
2. To aid individuals who are in danger of physical harm, such as the victim of a criminal attack.
3. To protect constitutional guarantees, such as the right of free speech and assembly.
4. To facilitate the movement of people and vehicles.
5. To assist those who cannot care for themselves; the intoxicated, the addicted, the mentally ill, the physically disabled, the old, and the young.
6. To resolve conflict, whether it be between individuals, groups of individuals, or individuals and their government.
7. To identify problems that have the potential for becoming more serious problems for the individual citizen, for the police force, or for the government.
8. To create and maintain a feeling of security in the community."

The rapid expansion of the police role in western societies was due in large part to the broad and extremely vague definitions placed upon them in relation to their mandate to maintain law and order. This was primarily due to the fact that the police are on call at all hours of every day, they possess a highly organized mobile response capabil-

ity, and they have unique access to legal and symbolic powers. The public has come to expect police officers to act capably as rescuers, mediators, and counsellors. It should also be noted that police agencies were formed and operating in communities long before the majority of social service agencies were organized.

The result of the rapidly expanding perceived role of police agencies in societies has been well articulated by Garmire (1972:2) when he stated:

"History has left us with a bewildering hodgepodge of contradictory roles that police are expected to perform. We may well ask for example, are the police to be concerned with peacekeeping or crime fighting? The blind enforcers of law or the discretionary agents of a benevolent government? Social workers with guns or gunmen in social work? Facilitators of social change or defenders of the 'faith'? The enforcers of the criminal law or society's trash bin? A social agency of last resort after 5:00 p.m. or mere watchmen for business or industry?

The illusion held by both the public and the police themselves that the police are superhumans capable of handling any situation which arises in the community can only result in disillusionment and dissatisfaction with the police.

The police have become expected by the public to perform a great variety and quantity of community services which are already being provided to varying extents by existing governmental and community agencies. In so doing, the police are substantially limiting the effectiveness of other existing social service agencies which may be more suited to this type of work and may very well be inhibiting their potentials for further development and growth. Yet, the public has come to regard the police as a large surrogate agency for the community even though the average sworn police officer has received minimal training and in some cases is not capable of delivering the community services demanded by the public. Fagin (1979:179) puts the amount of formal training received by police officers in perspective in this way: "While physicians receive a legal minimum of 11,000 hours of training, embalmers receive 5,000, barbers receive 4,000 hours, and beauticians 1,200 hours of training, the policeman receives less than 200 hours of training."

Even though the responsibilities of the police have increased at this astonishing rate with its included conflicting roles, police agencies are striving to even further expand their role. They are actively creating new subdivisions in their organizations such as the creation of special crime prevention and victim assistance squads. Garmire (1972:3) provides an excellent conclusion to this

subject when he states:

"In sum, the public had developed such high expectations of its police that those expectations moved beyond reality to something that could be better described as faith. As the public came to have faith in the police to do all things, the police came to have faith that they could do all things; when disillusionment set in, the singers lost faith in the song, in each other and in themselves."

As a direct result, relations between the police and the North American public have become adversarial. The public has become fearful of pervasive police intrusion into community life and is resentful of occasions and situations requiring police contact. Bayley (1982:5) states that because the police are deployed largely for emergency response, not for routine, low-visibility interaction with the public, that the public wants to keep the police at arms length, is resentful of contact, and fearful of pervasive police intrusion into community life. One of the direct negative effects of this situation, according to Bayley, is that the public resultingly does not want to share in the responsibility for social control with the police either. Crime has become to be perceived as an action solely between the state and the criminal with the result that public actions to enhance social control are conducted apart from police activity. In summation,

Bayley states that, "the failure of Anglo-Saxon police, American especially, to work cooperatively with the public in social control is at the root of our law enforcement dilemma."

As in areas in which the police actively engage in increases so do their expenditures. In a study of 100 American cities with populations from 50,000 to 500,000 persons, Heninger and Urbanek (1983:203) found that the average American police department commanded almost 18.6 percent of municipal budgets in 1980. In times of economic recession, all governmental agencies must seek alternatives to survive financially. It is also necessary for the police role to be so defined and delineated so that there are reasonable expectations about what the police are expected to do in order to reestablish any semblance of faith in the police by the public. Up to the present time, police organizations have resisted any attempts to redefine or limit their present roles and needed percentages of municipal budgets and have instead partially turned to the response of

incorporating civilian workers in their agencies as a solution to their predicaments. Slowly, police agencies are being forced by economic realities to include an increasing number of citizen workers in their organization.

CHAPTER 5

THE RISE OF CIVILIANIZATION IN POLICE ORGANIZATIONS

Early in the twentieth century, most police agencies were almost totally composed of sworn police officers. Virtually all job functions required by the organizations were performed by sworn police officers regardless of how menial or how unrelated these job functions were to actual law enforcement or community service duties. In England, for example, the historic founding place of modern formal police forces, civilianization in police agencies was almost non-existent at the start of the twentieth century. Hill (1975:23-25) in his study of civilianization in the Police Service, stated that prior to 1919, only a few of the larger urban police forces in England employed even a small number of civilians to act as cooks, cleaners, and female gaolers, but that their small numbers did not warrant being recorded. It wasn't until the 1930's that even a few civilian clerks were hired to perform standard office tasks.

The same general situation existed in the both Canada and the United States in terms of an almost total lack of the use of civilians in police organizations. There were, of course, some notable exceptions which should be identified. For example, the North West Mounted Police employed scouts, the most famous being Jerry Potts, to assist them in their

attempts to control the native populations and to locate and drive out the whiskey traders from the western plains of Canada. Sheriffs in the American western frontierland often temporarily deputized community members to form posses to pursue and apprehend suspected law-breakers. Still the work load was minimal and specific for the most part and the incidence of civilians taking an active part in the policing agency was minor indeed. As the police role evolved it naturally became evident that changes in personnel policy had to be implemented.

Guyot (1979:277) distinguishes three different types of civilianization based on the different relationships of the civilian positions in relation to the structure of sworn positions within the police organization. The first type have been civilians who are employed in routine tasks which require little skill and training and which normally operate outside the normal police organizations, such as meter maids and crossing guards. These positions are fairly acceptable to both management and non-management personnel alike as there is little direct threat to existing jobs or status. The second type is the insertion of civilians in existing routine positions thereby freeing the sworn officers for duties more directly related to their specialized skills and training. This includes the use of civilians in such

✓
positions as clerical workers or radio dispatchers. The third type, which initiates the most controversy, is the use of civilians to replace sworn officers in specialist staff positions such as administrative support personnel. Unlike the first type, this use of civilians, would threaten the availability of existing jobs and the status of sworn personnel. Because of these reasons, the third type is the most controversial and the slowest to develop.

To Guyot's classification of three types of civilianization it is the writer's opinion that a fourth category should be included. This fourth type includes the use of civilians as scientific and technological experts in the laboratory and computer centers of the police agency. An excellent example of this type of civilian are the employees of the R.C.M.P. forensic laboratories in Ottawa.

Almost all formal police organizations in the industrialized world have developed the use of civilianization to some degree. The vast majority of these posts which have been civilianized are confined to the first two types of positions categorized by Guyot. Some selected police agencies, however, have expanded the use of civilians into areas where they assist sworn personnel in the execution of their law enforcement and community service duties.

In New Rochelle, New York, Hegarty and Kissinger (1977:390-393) described their proposal to improve police services to the city of New Rochelle without actually increasing municipal operating costs. Hegarty was the police commissioner and Kissinger was the city manager of the city of New Rochelle at a time when demands for police services by the community members exceeded the police resources available. Hegarty and Kissinger formulated and implemented a community service worker project, as well as a neighborhood patrol team project. These two programs were designed to:

- "1. Increase patrol activity, neighborhood security and community services in New Rochelle without increasing the number of patrolmen and general costs in the department;
2. Relieve patrolmen of duties that do not relate to police work; i.e. animal complaints, parking enforcement and pedestrian safety duties, garbage and abandoned vehicle complaints, property damage reports, and bicycle safety and related violation enforcement duties;
3. Delegate, to trained patrolmen the responsibility of conducting many preliminary investigations that, in the past, have been the duties of detectives or other investigatory specialists;
4. Improve the technical knowledge, skills, and general attitudes of all police employees;
5. Provide more efficient responses to criminal and community problems, in

particular neighborhoods, by improving the deployment of patrol units and the accountability for employee performances;

6. Improve the management of the department by eliminating obsolete ranks and positions and appointing the most qualified employees to critical managerial duties."

Twelve non-sworn, community service worker positions were created utilizing a grant award from the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services of \$195,386. These twelve new employees, after 250 hours of training, were equally divided into three Neighborhood Patrol Teams. Each patrol team consisted of one lieutenant, two sergeants, sixteen sworn police officers, and four community service workers. Each patrol team was assigned to a particular neighborhood and were responsible for all essential police services in that area. The community service workers, while under direct supervision of their sergeants, assumed a variety of largely community service duties such as:

- "- barking, sick and injured animal complaints and reports,
- reports of minor property damage or hazardous conditions,
- missing or sick persons reports,
- pedestrian safety or school-crossing assignments,

- fire alarm assistance,
- lost or found property reports,
- abandoned vehicle complaints and reports,
- garbage, trash, or refuse complaints,
- parking enforcement,
- excessive noise complaints,
- mail deliveries,
- traffic control assignments,
- motorist assistance,
- minor theft reports
- receptionist, administrative and clerical duties,
- bicycle registration, safety programs, inspections, and related enforcement duties,
- personal welfare investigations,
- security inspections at assigned locations,
- observation and reporting of criminal activity to sworn police employees,
- public assistance whenever necessary."

Fink and Sealy (1974:53-54) suggested that the introduction of Community Service Officers would act to effectively reduce community alienation with a minimum of administrative and structural disruption. Community Service Officers would provide a visible police presence, even though they would not possess full law enforcement powers. They would also act as a buffer or community ombudsmen between the police and the community in sensitive matters. Fink and Sealy list five pri-

mary purposes for the implementation of this type of program which differ somewhat from those in the New Rochelle situation

These five purposes include:

- i) to improve the quality of police functioning in high-crime and high-tension neighborhoods,
- ii) to be a source of empathy and understanding of minority group attitudes and viewpoints,
- iii) to assume police duties of a purely service nature,
- iv) to provide minority group members an additional means of gaining entrance to law enforcement work, and
- v) to expand and diversify the available pool for police manpower requirements."

Schwarz, et al. (1975:43) cited a study conducted by the Urban Institute in Washington, D.C. involving thirteen American cities which developed community Service Officer programs. Their conclusions were that the CSO programs helped to improve police-community relations, identified a group of prospective police officers, and relieved present officers of routine tasks. Part of their study included 158 interviews with police administrators, civilians and their supervisors. Most interviewees recommended hiring more CSO's

and over 75 percent said that the CSO's perform their jobs well.

Forsyth and Adams (1979:28-29) also extol the benefits derived from employing community service officers. They found that the use of these civilian officers was very beneficial to the Visalia, California police department. Because of the success of this program they initiated an Investigative Aide program to increase the efficiency of the department's investigations division. Along with assisting in the completion of reports, the investigative aides were also made responsible for follow-up investigations of non-major offences such as hit-and-run automobile accidents, petty thefts, and malicious mischief complaints. This program had been in place for a period of seven years and the authors claim that, "the program, without exception, has been a huge success and has become a viable component of the investigation unit."

Tien and Larson (1978:117-131) described an innovative program instituted in the Worcester, Massachusetts Police Department involving the use of police service aides. The police service aides performed many of the duties described as duties of community service officers in other departments. In Worcester, these duties were slightly expanded, and the

Officers were also uniformed, but unarmed, and were assigned police marked vehicles. Again, this study showed that civilians can effectively perform non-crime-related activities traditionally assigned to sworn officers as they handled approximately 1/3 of all calls for service received. Scottsdale, Arizona and Miami, Florida are two other urban centers which had positive results with police service aides.

According to Schofield (1977:71-80), the Fort Lauderdale Florida Police Department also developed a successful community service aide project in an effort to improve and expand the range of law enforcement services provided by their department. In 1976, 39 community service aides responded to 23,877 calls for service at a far lower cost to the department than if sworn officers had to respond to the same calls.

On the basis of these successful experiments utilizing civilians in community service worker roles, the Police Task Force of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967:22-24) recommended that all large, urban municipal police forces develop a system employing community service officer program.

Similar to community service officer programs are the initiation of police cadet systems. Quarles (1977:44)

documented that many American communities have been experimenting with police cadet systems. Although police cadets perform some of the duties of community service officers as previously outlined, the main objectives of police cadet systems relate to recruitment needs. Young adults, many of them from minority groups, between the ages of 17 and 21 years of age are placed in clerical and "assistant to" positions throughout the police organization.

An article in the journal, Law and Order (Anon. 1979:45-46) described the implementation of a Teens on Patrol program which was instituted in Rochester, New York. This program involves youths between the ages of 16 and 19, who work directly with the Rochester Police Department's Community Services Section. Members of this program are assigned to either clerical positions or to the supervision of community parks and playgrounds. These positions are available only in the summer months and offer students interested in the field of law enforcement as a career an opportunity to work with the police and gain practical experience in a portion of the sworn police officer's role in the community. This program has been in place since 1966.

A similar Teens on Patrol program has been implemented in Canada. Hobbs (1979:8-10) described the Teens on Patrol

implemented in 1978 by the Durham Regional Police Force in Ontario in response to the increased incidences of vandalism in the municipal playgrounds and recreation facilities within its jurisdiction. Responses by both the public and sworn officers were positive as the patrolled areas experienced a drastic reduction in the incidence of vandalism. It was also reported that the presence of these young people had a positive effect on developing a better relationship between the community and the police force.

Cizanckas (1978:16-18) gives a description of a project instituted by the Menlo Park, California Police Department where high school students were recruited to patrol repossessed homes that were being renovated by the federal government. Prior to the initiation of this project, these homes were incurring between \$250 to \$2,500 damage from vandalism. The high school students, or Junior Housing Inspectors as they were entitled, were able to cut the damage done due to vandalism by 90 per cent and it was also concluded that police-community relations were improved in the included neighborhoods.

The city of Seattle, Washington implemented two innovative programs utilizing civilians in the police organization. Bibby (1978:16-21) described both the Seattle Police Reserve

Unit and the Seattle Police Explorer Post. Both programs are under the responsibility of the Special Activities Section to provide a supplementary non-paid, voluntary manpower source of additional needs for patrol and security during special events involving large numbers of spectators at the Kingdome Stadium. When on duty, members of the reserve unit are uniformed and work under the direct supervision of a regular sworn officer. Volunteer members of the Explorer Scouts are youths between the ages of 15 and 20 who deal specifically with the problem of crowd control.

Seattle is not the only American urban center to utilize police reserves or auxiliary police manpower. Lewin and Keith (1976:84) state that although data regarding auxiliary forces are sketchy at best, their numbers may be substantial.

They report that the New York City Police Department alone has about 5,000 auxiliary officers affiliated with it. The auxiliary officers augment the sworn patrolman contingent by about 22.5 percent. There are a number of other municipal departments in the states of Ohio, Michigan, Kansas, California, Tennessee, Massachusetts, and Virginia which report the existence and enhanced use of auxiliaries.

Perhaps the earliest example of auxiliary police personnel originates from England with the Women's Auxiliary

Police Corps. The WAPC, in the 1940's, according to Hill (1975:24), undertook administrative duties which, up to that time, were considered only to be competently dispensed by Police Officers. Excluding the Metropolitan Police District, the WAPC numbered 3,110 women, along with 1,271 other citizen workers. Many of the members of the WAPC stayed on in their posts after the war was over. Because of the manpower shortages brought on by World War II, the WAPC was given the opportunity to prove that it was beneficial to police organizations to employ civilians in those posts not requiring the exacting standards of trained officers.

Many police forces have civilianized the job functions of radio dispatcher with varying degrees of success. Barber and Vorie (1979:9-11) described a case where the police department of the University of California even renovated their equipment to enable a totally blind individual to act as a radio dispatcher.

Involving disabled or elderly civilians in carefully selected positions is not unique to the University of California. Wagner (1976:7-11) describes a Toledo, Ohio attempt to utilize disabled Vietnam-era veterans between the ages of 20 and 50 as participants in a Police Technician program. The veterans worked in records, identification, juvenile, traffic, adult investigations and communications sections.

Bird, (1978:13-21) describes and evaluates the use of senior citizens as data processors in the San Diego Police Department's Crime Analysis-Unit. This program involved 14 part-time women employees aged in their mid to late 60's. Both of the programs proved to be cost effective as well as greatly affecting the department's public image in a very positive way.

There are also numerous examples of civilian groups either organized under the auspices of police forces or organizing themselves on their own impetus to provide services within the normal "policing role".

One of the best known and most successful types of program of this nature is the formation of "Neighborhood Watch" groups. The model for these groups arose from the crime prevention project which began in 1972 in Seattle, Washington. Through a series of grants from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the city of Seattle set up a law and justice planning office which discovered through telephone victimization surveys that the high incidence of residential burglary was of major concern to Seattle community members. The planning office then attempted to organize community members into a neighborhood watch program. The program consisted of the following four elements:

1. Operation Identification-imprinting family possessions with a mark which could be easily identified,
2. Target Hardening-increasing the quality and quantity of physical security devices to deter easy access to residential buildings,
3. Occupancy Proxy-attempting to make the dwelling appear to be occupied when in fact no family members are in the building; and
4. Block Watch-encouraging neighbors to be watchful towards neighbor's residences and encouraging them to report-suspicious circumstances to the police.

Cirel et al. (1977)

The reported results of this program were extremely positive. It was estimated that there were significant reductions in victimization rates (almost 40%) with no apparent geographical or spatial displacement.

A large number of urban centers in both the United States and Canada now have developed similar block watch programs. The difference between many of these and the Seattle program is that the Seattle program was entirely created, developed and implemented by community members, not the crime prevention branches of particular police forces.

Yin, et. al. (1976:154) identified 850 different active civilian neighborhood patrols in cities throughout the United States. These patrols exist in neighborhoods of all income levels, both white and racially mixed. The patrols have an average life span of five years. They did note, however, that these patrols occasionally demonstrate behaviors which could be defined as vigilantism.

Another example of community members joining together to perform "police duties" is the creation of citizen patrol teams. Poole (1977:39) has found that civilian patrols have been organized since 1970 in Boston, New York, Baltimore, St. Louis, Chicago, San Jose, and Norfolk. Their creation arose from a common perception of dissatisfaction with the degree of protection made available by the various city police departments. For example, the East Midwood Patrol In Brooklyn has 120 members who volunteer their time to offer all-night patrols each and every day of the year. Along with watching for prowlers and muggers from patrol cars, they also instruct other community members on the subject of target hardening techniques. If the members observe anything noteworthy or suspicious, they immediately contact the city police through the use of citizen band radios. Expenses incurred by the patrol teams are covered by requesting all households in the 25-block area to donate ten dollars per

year. It is reported that 85% of the households voluntarily make that payment. Although Poole did not furnish exact statistics, he claimed that the crime rate in the East Milwood area dropped sharply after the Patrol began its operations.

Smith, et al. (1975:215-228) reported on an experimental pilot city demonstration program conducted in 1973-1974, which paired Rochester, New York police officers and local citizens, walking beats in selected Rochester neighborhoods. It was found that the police partner in the police-civilian teams consistently dominated, determining team style and division of labor. The teams had little positive effect on crime rates but may have helped to reduce police-community estrangement.

Civilian police employees have been hired by some police departments to provide specific counselling expertise in calls for service involving both domestic quarrels and incidents involving juvenile offenders. The American Personnel and Guidance Association (1976:1-3) provides an analysis of the operations of the Dallas, Texas Police Youth Services Program which teams civilian counsellors with police officers in an effort to divert delinquents and reduce recidivism.

The utilization of civilian counsellors in police departments was also initiated in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The Association of Central Oklahoma Governments (1976:32-44) evaluated the diversion of juvenile offenders project which involved the hiring of four civilian youth counsellors placed under the supervision of the commander of the department's Youth Bureau. The counsellors attempted to reduce the Youth Bureau's caseload and to reduce delinquency through intervening treatment of children in need of supervision (CINS) and runaways. In the first year of operation, the project handled 12 to 20 percent of the cases that would normally have been handled by the Youth Bureau police officers at a far lower cost.

Plummer, et. al. (1979:10-16) reported on the apparent success of the Hayward, California Police Department's attempts to utilize civilian family counsellors in assisting sworn officer's in their handling of domestic disputes at the scene of the disturbance. The counsellors were also expected to train sworn officers and firstline supervisors in crisis intervention techniques and to provide free counselling to families and individuals who requested it. The counsellor's duties also extended to provide services for juvenile offenders and their families. The counsellors have been found to reduce police involvement in family disturbances,

particularly with chronically dysfunctional families. Many of the chronically dysfunctional families began calling to counsellors directly rather than the police when a crisis arose, thereby reducing the emotional strain on sworn officers.

Citizen volunteers in policing is another area in which community members have recently attempted to augment police services in larger urban centers. According to the New York Times (1916:8), the city of New York formed a voluntary organization of 8,000 citizens under the leadership of the Police Commissioner called the "Citizens Home Defense League". This body of citizens was formed to serve as an emergency reserve force in case of a manpower shortage due to the war effort. At approximately the same time a special volunteer police force was organized under the authority of the Chief of Police in Berkely, California for the specific purpose of enforcing local traffic regulations. These are the two earliest examples of volunteers used in police work after the organization of formal police agencies in the United States. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (1977:5) stated that since 1916, the use of part-time police volunteers has spread to a number of communities throughout the world including New York, Honolulu, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Dallas, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Phoenix,

London, Berlin, and Moscow. In these communities they serve a variety of functions including:

"neighborhood security patrols, traffic control, emergency rescue work, and such specific assignments as searching for missing persons and the reporting of public hazards."

The L.E.A.A. has estimated that there are approximately one million teenagers and adults performing volunteer work for the criminal justice system in the United States.

Skousen (1973:10) listed the advantages of volunteer police organizations and divided these into two categories, primary and secondary advantages. The list of primary advantages consists of objective gains including:

1. Provides additional manhours for extended periods of preventive patrol work,
2. Provides a trained pool of personnel for use in the event of emergencies,
3. Provides necessary manpower in the event it becomes necessary to police a special event without draining a precinct of regular personnel,

4. Provides an opportunity for individuals contemplating a law enforcement career to learn about police work, and
5. Provides the foregoing advantages at very slight cost."

The list of secondary advantages consists of less measureable subjective gains including:

- "1. Provides an avenue for establishing mutual respect between the people and the police through joint participation in crime prevention activities,
2. A uniformed presence may provide an environment of less fear and greater security in those neighborhoods actively patrolled,
3. Provides a meaningful role for citizen's wishing to fulfill their civic obligations,
4. Fosters and encourages positive police performance and accountability due to the presence of citizen volunteers, and
5. Provides the foregoing advantages at very slight cost."

Greenberg (1979:272-273) also evaluated the use of volunteers in police organizations. He noted that the degree of success of each volunteer program varied from organization to organization. In his evaluation he cited that the two most common objections to the use of volunteer police related

to their surveillance functions and to the economic and job security threat they seemed to present to sworn officers. Greenberg concluded, however, that the primary functions of voluntary police was to "augment the scope or extent of police surveillance and to provide useful information for effective crime control." By volunteering their time and services to the police organization, community citizens create an opportunity to participate in a new role with respect to their civic duties by being a police "helper".

In most cases, bonds of mutual respect have developed between the police, their helpers, and the community. Greenberg also notes that, "the degree to which a free society will tolerate police interference should be of constant concern to all persons." and the development of volunteer police programs ensures at least some opportunity for ordinary citizens to influence the process of maintaining social control in their community, as well as contributing to police efficiency and cost effectiveness.

King (1961:34) in his analysis of auxiliary police

units, has found that there has been varying experience ranging from highly successful to out and out failure. He came to the conclusion that a bond of mutual respect had to develop between the police, their helpers, and the community before an auxiliary police program could be successful. Unsatisfactory results occurred in instances where civilians were isolated from the regular police members.

The idea of utilizing police volunteers can be taken to extremes. Copp (1979:6) the editor of the journal *Law and Order*, suggested that the reestablishment of a functioning Civil Defense organization to defend against perceived rising levels of crime could become a valuable tool to be utilized by police agencies across the United States. Copp claimed that the public experiences such high levels of fear of crime and universal anxiety that groups of militant individuals have begun to emerge and rally support for vigilante patrols. His response to the perceived threat of vigilantism is to have police administrators reform a "vibrant local CD organization to help 'Wake Up America' to the obligation all citizens have to actively participate in a police/citizen team for crime suppression."

There are a number of police departments which have developed specialist positions for civilians. Brannan

(1976:45-60) for example, in a study concerning the effectiveness of a special crime attack team (SCAT) in Denver, Colorado, found that the SCAT team included a civilian crime analyst who routinely selected target areas on a daily basis to provide "directed patrol procedures".

The Fort Lauderdale, Florida Police Department has assigned a civilian court liaison officer to the prosecutor's office. Poole (1977:49) reports that the sworn officers are allowed to remain on call with the liaison officer and don't have to spend all day in court waiting for their case to be heard.

Manchester, England has initiated a public relations section within its police department. According to Hargrave (1979:22), the press and publicity unit within the public relations section is staffed entirely by civilian personnel, with a qualified journalist as the principal officer.

Civilianization of positions within police agencies has also occurred to a large extent in Canada but very few instances of such have been researched and written about. Solicitor General Canada (1984:17) has documented a very large increase in the percentage of civilians in police agencies since 1961 as shown in Table #1.

TABLE #1 PROGRESSION OF CIVILIANIZATION IN CANADA
FROM 1961 to 1981

TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>% OF SWORN</u>	<u>% OF CIVILIANS</u>
1961	92.4	7.6
1971	94.5	5.5
1981	75.7	24.3

Table #2, taken from Statistics Canada (1983:3) shows the actual number of civilians (labelled as other full-time personnel) working in the various provinces and territories across Canada between the years 1980 and 1982.

Table #3 (Proportion of Civilians and Sworn Officers in 45 Canadian Urban Police Departments, 1978) further breaks up the proportion of civilians to sworn officers in municipal police departments in 45 Canadian urban centers in 1978.

These three tables alone show that Canadian police forces have become civilianized to a certain extent. Almost exclusively, however, these civilians have been relegated to support and clerical positions within police organizations. There are very few recorded instances where civilians have been

TABLE #2 - NUMBER OF POLICE PERSONNEL, BY TYPE AND BY PROVINCE, 1980 - 1982

PROVINCE	TOTAL FULL-TIME PERSONNEL			FULL-TIME POLICE OFFICERS			OTHER FULL-TIME PERSONNEL (1)		
	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982	1980	1981	1982
NEWFOUNDLAND	1,063	1,072	1,122	873	939	893	190	133	229
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	219	227	217	193	191	179	26	36	38
NOVA SCOTIA	1,633	1,754	1,748	1,411	1,451	1,482	222	303	266
NEW BRUNSWICK	1,467	1,498	1,503	1,270	1,285	1,282	197	213	221
QUEBEC	18,067	17,882	17,581	14,947	14,876	14,610	3,120	3,006	2,971
ONTARIO	25,972	26,516	27,191	19,879	19,995	20,339	6,093	6,521	6,852
MANITOBA	2,612	2,687	2,750	2,212	2,256	2,326	400	431	424
SASKATCHEWAN (2)	2,444	2,463	2,542	1,917	1,976	1,990	527	487	552
ALBERTA	5,020	5,613	5,851	3,977	4,455	4,462	1,043	1,158	1,389
BRITISH COLUMBIA	6,864	7,108	7,297	5,237	5,462	5,633	1,627	1,646	1,664
YUKON TERRITORIES	135	141	138	111	117	115	24	24	23
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	245	239	275	203	200	227	42	39	48
CANADA (3)	66,687	68,079	68,589	52,986	53,897	53,725	13,701	14,182	14,864

(1) Includes Police Cadets.

(2) Excludes Police Personnel From The R.C.M.P. Training Depot.

(3) Includes Police Personnel From The R.C.M.P. Training Depot In Saskatchewan.

TABLE #3 - PROPORTION OF CIVILIANS AND SWORN OFFICERS
IN 45 CANADIAN URBAN POLICE DEPARTMENTS, 1978

CITY	% S.O.	% CIV.	CITY	% S.O.	% CIV.
ST. JOHN'S, NFLD.	95.7	4.3	LONDON, ONT.	70.8	29.2
HALIFAX, N.S.	92.7	7.3	WINDSOR, ONT.	86.7	13.3
DARTMOUTH, N.S.	91.8	8.2	THUNDER BAY, ONT.	84.7	15.3
SYDNEY, N.S.	93.0	7.0	KINGSTON, ONT.	83.2	16.8
ST. JOHN, N.B.	88.7	11.3	WINNIPEG, MAN.	86.2	13.8
MONCTON, N.B.	93.7	6.3	BRANDON, MAN.	78.1	21.9
FREDERICTON, N.B.	100.0	0.0	REGINA, SASK.	82.8	17.2
MONTREAL, QUE.	78.1	21.9	SASKATOON, SASK.	83.1	16.9
LAVAL, QUE.	71.3	28.7	PRINCE ALBERT, SASK.	78.7	21.3
QUEBEC CITY, QUE.	87.3	12.7	MOOSE JAW, SASK.	83.4	16.6
SHERBROOKE, QUE.	81.5	28.5	CALGARY, ALTA.	80.7	19.3
TROIS-RIVIERS, QUE.	79.7	20.3	EDMONTON, ALTA.	81.3	18.7
GATINEAU, QUE.	79.6	20.4	LETHBRIDGE, ALTA.	72.9	27.1
HULL, QUE.	85.2	14.8	MEDICINE HAT, ALTA.	83.3	16.7
METRO TORONTO, ONT.	83.1	16.9	CAMROSE, ALTA.	85.8	14.2
HAMILTON-WENTWORTH	83.8	16.2	VANCOUVER, B.C.	83.1	16.9
PEEL REGIONAL	82.4	17.6	VICTORIA, B.C.	83.5	16.5
NIAGARA, ONT.	82.7	17.3	SAANICH, B.C.	82.6	17.4
WATERLOO, ONT.	82.6	17.4	DELTA, B.C.	80.2	19.8
DURHAM, ONT.	82.6	17.4	NEW WESTMINSTER, B.C.	87.4	12.6
YORK, ONT.	87.5	12.5	WEST VANCOUVER, B.C.	78.2	21.8
SUDBURY, ONT.	83.2	16.8	MATSQUI, B.C.	76.5	23.5
OTTAWA, ONT.	75.6	24.4			

used in any significant type of law enforcement or peace keeping duties.

The rise of civilianization in police organizations is occurring in many western countries. Many of the experiments in civilianizing positions are unreported and unpublished. The preceding information can at best only be considered as an indication of the scope and range of the types of non-administrative positions presently being filled by civilians.

For a large variety of reasons, community members are slowly regaining involvement in the policing process.

CHAPTER 6

Civilians As Administrators in Police Agencies

Even though the practice of placing civilians in specialist staff positions such as administrative support personnel is highly controversial and slow to develop, there are a number of police agencies which have chosen to take these steps with some positive results.

Hill (5:24-26) in his analysis of the development of civilianization in the London Metropolitan Police service, found examples of civilianization in specialist departments as early as the 1930's. By 1935, the Solicitors' Department of the Metropolitan Police was completely staffed by civilians. In Kent County the entire Administration Department had been civilianized, thereby releasing 78 sworn officers for operational duty without any apparent decrease in efficiency.

Hill goes on to conclude that with the ever-increasing acceptance of the idea that administration is a specialist task external to the basic training and experience of most sworn officers, civilianization of these positions will develop even further in the future.

Dewhirst (1970:42-43) a Senior Administrative Officer for the Kent County Constabulary, agrees with Hill's analysis and conclusions. Dewhirst refers to the Taverne Report,

which was the Report of the Working Party on Police Operational Efficiency and Management, which recommended that "all purely administrative posts should be civilianized, including that of the chief administrative officer," to relieve senior operational officers of the heavy paper workload which they encounter. This recommendation has been criticized severely by sworn officers as they feel they would be excluded from gaining experience in purely administrative functions with included higher levels of compensation, power and prestige. It was acknowledged however, that this practice would fill the obvious need to create a meaningful civilian career structure resulting in attraction and retention of high calibre prospective civilian employees. Dewhirst found that while most senior operational officers felt that operation decision-making positions should be closed exclusively for experienced sworn officers, a large proportion of administrative, but non-operational decision-making responsibilities concerning such areas as maintenance of police stations and houses, the payment of allowances and the upkeep of personal records could be efficiently transferred to civilian administrators.

James F. Richardson, a noted historian and sociologist focusing on the historical perspective of police organizations in the United States, found evidence supporting the idea of

civilianization of administrative posts in early urban American police departments. In an analysis of the Cleveland Police Department from 1920 to 1970, Richardson (1974:89-90) researched a study directed and edited by Roscoe Pound and Felix Frankfurter relating to the lax treatment of the Cleveland police on various vice crimes such as prostitution and gambling in that city. Raymond B. Fosdick was one of the main researchers on this topic and after a review of the Cleveland situation he unleashed a scathing criticism of that department's promotional criteria.

Fosdick had earlier, in two related books, contrasted the haphazard methods for the choosing of police administrators utilized by urban American centers with the high quality of leadership in European police forces, Fosdick, along with many others, held the belief that the head of a police agency should express the leadership, education, talent, character, and integrity to train, inspire, and direct the sworn officers under his command. Fosdick perceived that very few career sworn officers possessed these qualities and that the police chief be a civilian selected for "his breadth and depth of background".

Even though Fosdick recommended civilianization of administrative positions within American urban police

departments in the 1920's most police departments in the United States have kept these job functions closed to include only manpower from the sworn officer ranks. A search of the literature concerning this subject results in a very few illustrations of civilians functioning in administrative positions. Bennett-Sandler (1979:257) for example, reports that Boston has a civilian director for its police academy, as well as, four influential special assistants to its Police Commissioner. Bennett-Sandler also states that New York City has had a civilian director of police personnel.

Cohan (1976:1-4) found that the Des Moines, Iowa Department of Public Safety hired a female civilian to act as an Assistant Director of Personnel and Training to help develop recruitment, placement, screening and training procedures for all sworn officers.

There probably are many more examples of civilian administrators in American police organizations but unfortunately very few assessments of their effectiveness are studied recorded or published. Guyot (1979:278) has reported in American urban police departments employing more than 1,000 officers, civilian employees were responsible for budgeting in 52%, for public relations in 39%, and data processing in 35% of all departments. With this heavy

preponderance of civilian staff in these areas, it seems logical to assume that at least some departments have turned over responsibility for such areas as finance and budgeting, personnel recruitment and training, and public relations completely to civilian administrators.

Canada, especially, has been very slow to accept civilianization of administrative positions in police organizations with exception of the metropolitan Toronto and Waterloo Regional police forces. In Toronto, a civilian deputy chief was hired to manage the finance and administration aspects of that particular force. In 1978, Peat, Marwick and Partners (1978:1-40) examined the current and potential usage of support personnel in the Waterloo Regional Police Force and recommended that more professional and managerial posts be developed for civilians, particularly in the intermediate management positions. Although Canada usually follows the lead of either the United States or Great Britain, it has failed to do so in respect to the practice of civilianizing administrative positions within their police organizations.

CHAPTER 7

Perceived Benefits of Civilianization

Civilianization represents the most widespread change in police organizations in the past thirty to fifty years. Although police organizations in North America have lagged behind some European countries in terms of their utilization of civilians, Guyot (1979:277) found that the ratio of civilians in American police forces rose steadily from 7.5 percent in 1950 to 17.5 percent in 1977. There are a number of reasons why this process of increased civilianization has occurred.

The police department is the most fundamental city agency, representing the ultimate power of government to enforce certain rules within its areas of jurisdiction. Because of this fact, and because of peoples' fear of crime and criminals, police increases in manpower and budget tend to be virtually immune to questioning by economy-minded community members. What is often forgotten, or overlooked, is the fact that law enforcement is similar to any service activity. Effective law enforcement requires activities such as allocating scarce resources, setting priorities, and controlling costs similar to any other service activity. Without this kind of businesslike orientation, police departments can consume large amounts of community resources

while accomplishing very little.

The most commonly cited justification for hiring civilians in the police organization is perceived monetary savings. Since the second world war governments have greatly increased their expenditures on the criminal justice system, especially police services.

Solicitor General Canada (1984:13-22) provides information to substantially support this statement. In the 20 year period between 1961 to 1980, expenditures for the criminal justice system by Canadian Federal, provincial and municipal governments rose by approximately 1336% in current dollars. In 1980, the three levels of governments in Canada spent more than \$2.115 billion dollars to provide police services. In that same year, the cost of just police services within the criminal justice system accounted for approximately "62% of the federal budget for justice, about 35% at the provincial level and about 97% at the municipal level." In conclusion, it was found that police costs rose at a rate significantly higher than did other relevant indices including other governmental service agencies, the Consumer Price Index, and the Gross National Product.

In reference to the United States Bahl et al. (1972: 815-832) found that in a comparison of the ratio of personnel

payroll to total expenditures, police services are the most labor intensive of all functions in state and local government. Hennessey (1976:36) quoted an International City Management Association study of sixteen sample police departments of varying sizes and found that personnel investments represented an average of slightly more than ninety percent of the total budgets.

For the past twenty years in the United States, public demands for police patrol services have increased as much as ten percent a year while budget constraints have negated attempts to increase the number of police officers at a comparable rate. According to Tien and Larson (1978:118) "an around-the-clock, two-officer patrol unit costs from \$120,000 to \$350,000 a year to operate of which more than ninety percent is directly attributable to salaries, pensions, and fringe benefits. Patrol costs typically consume fifty to sixty percent of a police department's total costs."

Most of the categories of civilians hired in police organizations have been placed in specialist functions in an attempt to solve the dual dilemma of the call for increased and more diversified service provision on one hand, and restricted budgetary limitations on the other.

Schwarz, et al. (1975:32) in their Urban Institute

study, suggest that salaries for civilians averaged twenty-three percent less than the starting salary of sworn police officers and that overhead costs were approximately ten percent less for civilians, except in cases of the larger cities where overhead costs tended to be equal for both groups.

Lewin and Kieth (1976:80) found that the cost of employer's contributions to retirement, health, and insurance programs for civilian workers are less than (and perhaps as little as 1/10 of) the costs for sworn officers.

The same situation is also true for police agencies in Canada. Statistics Canada (1983:6) presents information which shows just how much of each of Canada's provinces and territories police budgets are used up by employee's salaries and budgets. (See Table #4 - Distribution of Police Budget by Province, 1978-1980).

Statistics Canada (1983:5) also presents information in Table #5, which show that the cost for each police employee has risen sharply.

TABLE #4 - DISTRIBUTION OF POLICE BUDGET BY PROVINCE, 1978 - 1980.

PROVINCE	1978 - 79		TOTAL BUDGET \$	PROVINCE	1979 - 80		TOTAL BUDGET \$
	SALARIES & BENEFITS % OF BUDGET	OTHER EXPENSES % OF BUDGET			SALARIES & BENEFITS % OF BUDGET	OTHER EXPENSES % OF BUDGET	
Nfld	74	26	27,469,135	Nfld	76	24	31,020,677
P.E.I.	76	24	5,244,118	P.E.I.	79	21	5,831,812
N.S.	81	19	35,861,796	N.S.	78	22	42,222,708
N.B.	79	21	29,371,139	N.B.	80	20	32,713,788
QUE.	87	13	459,303,129	QUE.	88	12	500,859,577
ONT.	88	12	552,727,192	ONT.	87	13	604,919,172
MAN.	83	17	59,066,851	MAN.	83	17	63,538,229
SASK.	80	20	61,377,997	SASK.	80	20	69,344,044
ALTA.	80	20	126,669,996	ALTA.	80	20	145,765,860
B.C.	81	19	164,079,639	B.C.	82	18	183,702,309
YUKON	64.	36	4,388,194	YUKON	65	35	4,861,460
N.W.T.	60	40	11,145,644	N.W.T.	56	44	12,048,176
CANADA	85	15	1,536,684,830	CANADA	85	15	1,696,827,812

Statistics Canada (1983:6)

TABLE #5 COST PER POLICE EMPLOYEE IN CANADA
1977-78 to 1979-80

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>\$ COST PER POLICE EMPLOYEE</u>
1977 - 1978	25,119
1978 - 1979	26,392
1979 - 1980	28,947

Because of the lower salary for civilian clerks and technicians, this substantial rise in annual expenditures in police services is not as large as it could be. Solicitor General Canada (1984:17) cites the Provincial Police Commission Budget Resources Information System which reported that, "in 1980 the average hourly wage was \$6.69 for a civilian employee and \$12.33 for a sworn police officer."

Table #6 taken from Solicitor General Canada (1984:16) illustrates quite clearly the extent to which increases in personnel, salaries and benefits have affected operating expenditures between the years of 1961 to 1981.

With the exception of civilian personnel working in sophisticated forensic laboratories or some selected administrative positions, all of the aforementioned examples of utilizing civilians in police organizations have had cost effectiveness as a significant motive in their origins. The

TABLE #6 - FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO AN INCREASE
IN OPERATING EXPENDITURES, 1961 TO 1981.

		% Of Increase
1. COST INCREASE TO BE EXPLAINED		
1981 Cost Less 1961 Cost =		
(7,738,198 - 2,528,386) =	\$5,209,812	
2. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO INCREASE		
a) <u>Personnel Increase:</u>		
87.4% of 1961 Operating Expense =	\$2,209,809	42.4
b) <u>Salaries:</u>		
1981 - (1961 + 87.4%) = \$5,929,365		
- 3,735,388 =	\$2,193,977	42.1
c) <u>Salary Benefits:</u>		
1981 - (1961 + 87.4%) = 536,586		
- 46,194 =	\$ 490,392	9.4
d) <u>Employer Contributions:</u>		
1981 - (1961 + 87.4%) = 655,416		
-396,527 =	\$ 258,889	5.0
e) <u>Other Operating Costs:</u>		
1981 - (1961 + 87.4%) = 616,831		
- 560,086 =	\$ 56,745	1.1
TOTAL	\$5,209,812	100.0

actual amount of money saved by each civilianization program is somewhat open to question or debate, but nearly all the programs reviewed have stated that budgetary savings of some sort have resulted.

Another common justification used by police administrators for increased civilianization cited by researchers relates to cost efficiency as well but warrants separation from simple cost savings. Bouza (1978:91) in his analysis of police administration organization and procedures, recognized that because the body of sworn police officers comprises the costliest group of police employees in terms of budget allocations. Almost all administrators would agree that it would be poor management practice to have a highly paid, skilled, and trained sworn police officer performing job functions for which his or her training is not directly applicable. The utilization of civilians in positions ranging from various clerical duties and housekeeping maintenance and through such positions as radio dispatching, community service officers, police volunteers, investigative aides, and administrative positions, frees the sworn officer to concentrate more time, effort, and resources on serious criminal investigations and other specialized policing functions.

The largest percentage of requests for police action and

intervention are unquestionably calls for community service. It is also well documented that approximately 85 percent of a typical police department's calls for service do not require the person responding to the call to possess the specific police skills and powers such as the ability to use weapons, the ability to apprehend, the power of arrest, etc. Civilians have tended to become specialists within the realm of police duties. Tien and Larson (1978:119) have noted that the use of civilians in police agencies acting in specialist functions is similar and comparable to the utilization of paraprofessionals in various areas of medicine who perform certain limited services for those individuals who do not need the attention and special skills of qualified physicians. The result is increased efficiency in all areas of the police organization.

Civilianization, therefore, allows varying levels of government the ability to reduce police expenditures without curtailing services when faced with declining tax revenues by replacing sworn officers in such areas as dispatching, record keeping, and other administrative support duties, as well as, acting to free sworn officers for more time allocation in field law enforcement duties.

A third, and very important, justification for increased

civilianization would be the expected increases of efficiency and level of expertise within police organizations. Specialization of job functions and technological advances have resulted in highly complex and intellectually demanding requirements for police personnel. There are a great many job functions required in larger urban police departments which demand a relatively elevated level of expertise in which the average sworn patrol officer does not possess the academic background or level of training to handle efficiently. Examples of these kinds of job functions include the positions of computer programmers, forensic laboratory technicians, financial management and budgeting, etc. Hennessey (1976:37-38) made the assertion that filling these specialist functions with already qualified civilians would most probably result in the individual remaining in his or her area of specialization with a lower rate of periodical transfer.

The greatest proportion of specialist job functions however, require a relatively lower level of expertise than that generally possessed by sworn officers. Quite often, the sworn officer finds these types of positions redundant and boring. Posting a sworn officer trained in law enforcement techniques and procedures to a clerical position for example would often result in inefficiency, boredom, and a perception by that officer that he or she is in some way being punished.

In many departments, positions of this type were sometimes deployed for use as punishment for a sworn officer's incompetence or indiscretion. These statements are confirmed by the Urban Institute study conducted by Schwarz et al. (1975: 101). They found that a majority of the sworn officers interviewed felt that civilians performed some tasks better than police, partly because civilians can concentrate on one job since they are not subject to rotation and special assignment as officers are. The sworn officers also tended to consider some of the civilianized jobs confining, sedentary a form of punishment and not proper police work.

A fourth major benefit included in increased utilization of civilian employees relates to productivity. It can be said that the productivity of any employee is a direct function of his expertise. Technological advances, especially in the area of computer systems, have been rapidly incorporated in the field of law enforcement. The usefulness of this new technology is dependent on the qualifications and skills of those individuals who are assigned to utilize them. To post sworn officers in positions requiring skills and expertise beyond their training automatically limits the potential positive output of those pieces of hardware.

A category of benefits rarely mentioned either by

researchers or police practitioners, consists of the benefits intrinsic with the hiring of civilians. Mixing civilians with sworn officers brings new life and versatility to the police organization. Police agencies in North America are organized in a para-military personnel structure which often results in a distinctive, almost sub-cultural, ideology being developed by its members. Due to the fact that police officers are exposed to numerous intensely negative situations and environments in their occupation as they perform their often repressive duties, they tend to develop an "us against them" attitude. Also, because of the unique role they play, the non-police members of the society experience difficulty in empathizing with the emotions and reactions of sworn police officers. Sworn police officers, therefore, tend to form intense, closed groupings of friends and associates, thereby alienating themselves even more from the larger society which they serve. In many ways, these sub-cultural values which develop from the paramilitary organization and function of the police agency conflicts with democratic values.

Skolnick (1966:54-58) concluded that police officer isolation results primarily from two principal variables inherent in the roles they are expected to perform. These two principal variables are "danger" and "authority" and should be interpreted in the light of a constant pressure to appear efficient. Because the element of danger is

constantly reinforced to the police officer by his peers and the community-at-large, the officer is generally a "suspicious" person who remains especially attentive to perceived signs indicating a potential for violence and law-breaking. Skolnick further states that, "the character of the policeman's work makes him less desirable as a friend, since norms of friendship implicate others in his work." As a direct result, the police officer becomes socially isolated from both the segments of society which he regards as symbolically dangerous and also from the conventional citizenry with whom he does identify.

This initial isolation as a result of the element of danger is reinforced by the presence of the element of authority. Skolnick noted that the police officer is required to enforce laws based on puritanical morality but when he attempts to do so he receives the brunt of citizen disapproval. "In these situations the policeman directs the citizenry, whose typical response denies recognition of his authority, and stresses his obligation to respond to danger." One example is the typical response to being pulled over for speeding and the citizen involved suggests that the policeman should rather be chasing bank robbers and other assorted "real criminals". A paradox results, however, because the kind of man who responds well to danger does not normally subscribe to codes of puritanical morality, thereby making the policeman

unusually liable to charges of hypocrisy. Skolnick also noted that by having the whole civilian world as an audience for the policeman as he goes about discharging his duties also further promotes police isolation and solidarity. As a result, the policeman develops resources within his own world to combat social rejection and attempts to reinforce his own personal identity within his occupational milieu.

The practice of employing civilians within the police organization should tend to normalize the atmosphere within the agency. Berkley (1974:39) has noted that:

"The more the police force is

integrated with the larger society, the more it is apt to share that society's rules and values. The more the police force is a civilian organization, the more it may restrain such antidemocratic practices as brutality and deprivation of an individual's rights."

It is probably true that introducing a certain number of civilian clerks and secretaries would have little impact on police officer subculture or would enhance to any significant extent the democratisation of North American police agencies, but, a much wider range of civilianized posts all throughout the police agency structure could very well carry much more impact in these areas. By infusing civilians throughout the police agency, the very character of individual police employees, and the agency itself, changes.

Unlike many European police organizations, North American police tend to view themselves predominantly as non-civilian organizations. Berkley (1977:37-43) reviewed the incidence of civilianization in the four western European countries of Sweden, Great Britain, Germany and France. He found that these countries developed the use of civilian administrators in police organizations to a much higher degree than their North American counterparts.

In Sweden, many of the most responsible administrative positions are reserved for lawyers. The director of the police, at the time Berkley reported his study, was a former judge of the court of appeals. The police director was further responsible to a police commission whose members were appointed from the four major political parties in Sweden.

The Scotland Yard in Great Britain has at least three of its eight major departments manned by civilians. In fact, lawyers with no previous police background have always been in charge of the famous Criminal Investigation Division.

In West Germany, the police are agencies run by the separate states which make up the country. Each state agency has a division head, an equivalent of a state police chief, who is generally a professional civil servant usually holding a doctorate degree in law. These division heads simply view their administrative position in the police agency as normal governmental activity resulting in an easy flow of civilian leadership throughout.

France also has a long history of civilianization on the administrative level. Not only have the heads of the Sureté and the Paris Prefecture of Police been invariably civilians, but also almost one-half of all managerial positions in police organizations have been filled by civilians.

The practice of placing civilians in administrative positions, as well as throughout all available levels of the police organization hierarchy, acts to minimize the separation between the police and the community they serve. In Scotland, for example, the 1979 Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland suggests that civilianization not only frees sworn officers for more specific policing tasks but that the civilian employees also provide a valuable link between the police and the public by fostering a general awareness of the problems confronted by

the police.

Quarles (1977;46) asserts that the "police cadet system" provides an excellent example of the valuable link between the police and the public in terms of "generation gap" problems with young people because the cadets are within that age range themselves. It is also an excellent way for which the police organization can recruit and integrate minority group members into the force.

CHAPTER 8

Perceived Negative Consequences Arising From Civilianization

The development of civilianization in police organizations has not received universal approval or acceptance. Many of the perceived benefits of this process of increasing the relative numbers of civilian personnel in police organizations has been challenged by both social science researchers as well as police personnel.

Greisinger (1975:30) cites an Urban Institute study which suggests that the monetary savings derived from hiring civilian personnel may not be as substantial as forecast by other researchers! This study indicates that other less tangible cost factors are often ignored when calculating the cost effectiveness of civilian personnel. These factors include:

1. Higher civilian attrition rates, resulting in start-up costs to be repeated more often in positions filled by civilians in comparison to those positions filled by sworn officers;
2. Costs of job supervision; and
3. Abuse of sick leave, tardiness, or other costs attributable to undesirable practices.

Greisinger, however, presents virtually no data to

support the notion that non-sworn personnel would require more job supervision than sworn personnel or that civilian personnel are more likely to be tardy or abuse sick leave than sworn personnel, therefore casting serious doubt on the information presented.

Gregg (1977:1-2) presented a more thorough analysis of the impact of civilianization on police expenditures. As a result of a survey of 80 middle-sized American urban center police departments, he found that there were two distinct strategies that police departments utilized to employ civilians in their organizations. The impact on expenditures within the department was dependent upon the strategy chosen. Police departments either elected to replace sworn officers in specified positions or elected to supplement a given level of sworn officers with civilians. In police department which chose to replace sworn officers "civilians allowed municipal governments to reduce police expenditures without curtailing services when faced with declining tax revenues."

For those police departments which supplemented sworn officers by taking over desk assignments, the number and proportion of officers posted to field assignments was raised but with the result that it also increased total police expenditures.

Gregg also discovered that some American municipal governments also used the savings resulted from increased civilianization to increase the salaries of sworn officers thereby negating any positive change in police expenditures.

Heininger and Urbanek (1983:204) in their study of the effect of civilianization in 100 American cities, found no correlation between police departments which ended the ten years between 1970 and 1980 with a higher percentage of civilians and police department expenditures per capita.

These researchers were unable to give concrete explanations for this unexpected conclusion but they did attempt to conjecture two tentative hypothesis including:

1. Civilians simply may not be cheaper than sworn officers, especially if the department primarily hires with specialized and technical expertise,
2. Even after realizing a savings in personnel costs through the use of civilians, departments may find that non-personnel expenses are driving up the costs.

A Canadian example of this concept would include the Ottawa City Police Department which has primarily chosen to

supplement sworn officers with civilian personnel. This situation may have increased the actual number of sworn officers available for service delivery in the community on a short term basis but has had little effect on organization expenditures which was espoused as being the main justification and objective of employing civilians within the department.

~~The~~ assumption that allocating civilian personnel within police personnel positions increases the number of sworn officers freed to perform law enforcement and patrol duties has been shown to be cited as the second most important justification for increased civilianization. Proponents of this assumption generally only examine short term ramifications of civilianization. There is a substantial body of evidence to suggest that rather than solely supplementing a police force, civilians often actually replace sworn officers within the organization.

Referring again to Gregg's study on the impact of civilianization (1977:35-36) it was found through regression analysis that the replacement of sworn officers by civilians resulted in reductions in:

1. the absolute number of officers

that a department deploys for patrol at 10:00 p.m. and

2. the number of patrol officers per 10,000 residents in the serviced jurisdiction."

The replacement of officers by civilians is associated with a greater percentage of a department's officers on patrol in the evenings because a greater percentage of sworn personnel are resultingly assigned to patrol duties, but, it is also associated with a total reduction of .51 manpower units in the total number of officers assigned to patrol duties in general. Gregg concluded that approximately one-half of the reduction in sworn personnel that is associated with civilian substitutions occurs in patrol assignments and the other half occurs in the administration and support assignments.

Heininger and Urbanek (1983:203-204) also concluded that the increase in the percentage of civilians employed by police departments in the ten years between 1970 and 1980 has had the effect of displacing sworn officer positions. In their sample of 100 medium to large American cities they found that there was no significant relationship between the number of sworn officers per 100,000 citizens and the rate of change in the percentage of police department employees who

had civilian status. "In other words, one could not predict that a department which experienced a decline in its ability to put high numbers of sworn officers (relative to population) on the street would also experience growth in the percentage of its employees who were civilian."

The conclusion that civilians have displaced sworn officers in Canadian police organizations can also be made. Statistics Canada (1983:1) presents data that in 1982 the number of full-time police officers decreased 0.3% from 53,897 in 1981 to 53,725 in 1982. The total number of full-time police personnel increased 0.8% however, from 68,079 in 1981 to 68,589 in 1982. As a result, the rate of full-time police officers per 1,000 population in Canada decreased one-tenth (0.1) to 2.2 police officers per 1,000 population.

Referring again to the statistics contained in Table 1, it was found that in the twenty years from 1961 to 1981 the percentage of sworn officers in relation to total personnel strength declined from 92.4% to 75.5% while civilian employment increased over 300% from 7.6% to 24.3% of total police personnel. This means that as a proportion of total police personnel sworn police constables declined from about 70% to 52%, due to the most part because of the large amount of civilians hired during the ten years from 1971 to 1981, but

also due in part to the relative increase in the number of senior officers and non-commissioned officers in Canadian police organizations.

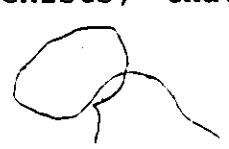
Norrgard (1976:25) reports on a Police Technical Assistance Report prepared for the San Luis Obispo County Sheriff's Department in California which has as the principal thrust of its recommendations the increasing use of civilian employees where such use was warranted with a deliberate attempt to actually reduce the number of sworn officers within the department. Usually police organizations are not so forthright as to declare the fact that they wish to promote civilianization primarily to lessen the number of sworn personnel on their payrolls.

This situation has further repercussions as both Korczynski (1978:26) and Gregg (1977:5) identify the problem that once a civilian replaces a sworn officer in a particular position such as dispatcher, that individual becomes a dispatcher only. In times of short-term, unusually high sworn officer manpower demands, there no longer exists a reserve of police officers to be taken from desk positions to be transferred to active units. Neither researcher, however, has postulated how effective these desk officers would be in the field if crises requiring this type of

action might occur.

Another major concern regarding increased civilianization is the effect on police officer morale. Hill (1975:33) in his report on civilianization in the British police service, stated that the attitude of being "anti-civilian" was part of the group norm of most police officers. As Hill states, "the objections of police tend to be subjective, but subjective antagonism is just as harmful as any other, and such antagonism is held by a great number of officers." Hill also perceives that in his opinion, this antagonism is being very successfully broken down by civilians attempting to perform their job functions efficiently and striving to become a part of the police team. This may only be wishful thinking on his part considering the vested interests accompanying his position as an Inspector in the London Metropolitan Police Force.

Korcynski (1978:26) contends that the "esprit de corps" between sworn officers is a result of similar experiences in life and death situations where officers have depended upon each other. It is necessarily, then, a bond which never could be achieved between sworn officers and civilian personnel working in the same department. As long as the subjective antagonism described by Hill exists, that bond



will never be fully achieved. As Dewhirst (1970:46) has noted, "In many cases civilian employees have been tolerated rather than integrated into the units in which they have worked."

The most common civilianized position cited in both published research and in interviews with sworn officers that presents problems not only in terms of officer "esprit de corps" but with field officers morale and concern for personal safety is that of the "dispatcher". Many officers conceive of their occupation as being mostly law enforcement oriented and therefore highly dangerous. Civilians are seen as individuals who lack field experience and specialized law enforcement training with the result that they cannot be depended upon to appropriately respond to calls for service, knowing how many police personnel to send on a call, what specific and general information should be solicited from the citizen originator of the call, or how much of this information should be related to the officers responding to the call.

Another of the problems associated with civilianization commonly cited is the lack of sufficient or appropriate training for civilian employees within the police agency. Civilian employees themselves recognize the fact that often the

training they receive from the police organization is less than adequate or to the level they would prefer.

Bergman (1976:2-11) presents an analysis of some of the problems inherent in civilianizing specialist positions with the R.C.M.P. crime detection laboratories. These laboratories had originally been staffed primarily by sworn officers with university background. Over time the laboratories began to hire civilian university graduates to fill specialist positions to work side by side with regular sworn officers. This situation resulted in varying degrees of friction due to discrepancies between background experience, pay scales, rank structure, and promotional opportunities. Even when a classification system was introduced where civilians were granted equal rank and pay with sworn officers in the laboratories, marked differences in attitude and background experiences perpetuated the friction which existed earlier with the result that there was still a relatively high turnover in civilian personnel. Bergman, himself a sworn officer with the R.C.M.P., claims that the four to five years of academic training within the relatively undisciplined environment of a university a civilian receives ill equips him or her to function with a high level of motivation when faced with the inertia of a large organization which, "but of necessity operates in a cautious and authoritarian manner."

Whether or not Bergman's analysis is fully correct, it again illustrates the type of perceptions concerning civilian involvement within police organizations which seems pervasive among sworn police officers.

With the great majority of clerical and support position being delegated to civilians many sworn officers are concerned that there is no longer anywhere to place injured, older, or less fit officers. The recent world-wide economic recession has acted to exacerbate this problem because of the forced hiring restraints which have accompanied it. For example, Clark (1985:17-18) found that in a 1980 task force on police delivery service, an estimate that approximately 55% of Ontario Provincial Police constables would be 45 years of age or older by the year 1980. Couple this information with the fact that already in 1980 the Ontario Provincial Police had 38 sworn officers on long-term-disability protection with several others under review, 46 officers restricted to full-time sedentary duties, and another 83 officers performing specialized light duties as a result of mental or physical problems. Prior to the advent of intense civilianization, sworn officers experiencing these types of problems could be assigned light clerical or support duties. Presently there are very few such positions open in any police organization and these officers are forced towards early retirement

without full pension benefits or are relegated to unemployment while on long-term-disability.

Korcynski (1978:26) himself being a police lieutenant, claims that another problem with pervasive civilianization is that the majority of job positions dominated by civilians are desired daytime jobs. As Korcynski states, "an officer on nights who has been working and thinking of going to days one of these years may find himself with no future except working nights until he retires." This argument loses its import when it is considered that most of these positions involve responsibilities which most sworn officers are not trained to perform and which they would mostly perceive as redundant, tedious and far removed from normal law enforcement duties.

In conclusion, then there are a substantial number of concerns about the extent and effects of hiring civilians within police organizations. Within the police organizations themselves there appears to be two opposing camps, apparently based on job title and position, concerning the perceived benefits or detriments inherent in the process of civilianization of police personnel.

CHAPTER 9

The Ottawa City Police Department As A Case Study

Through the cooperation and assistance of the Ottawa City Police department a limited case study was conducted concerning the extent, development, and perceived consequences of civilianization in this urban police agency. The case study was limited to a complete review of the Annual Reports of 1972 through 1981 in the area of Classification of Personnel as well as a number of informal interviews with sworn patrol officers, civilian police personnel, police association members, and police administrators.

Tables #7 through #18 inclusive demonstrate the very significant increase in the proportion of civilians in relation to sworn personnel in the ten year period between 1972 and 1981. Not only has the proportion of civilians to all other police personnel risen from 12.5% in 1972 to 24.0% in 1981, but also the total number of civilian position classifications rose from 5 in 1972 to 25 in 1981. During this same time period the number of position classifications for sworn personnel actually dropped by a significant amount from 16 classifications to only 10 in 1981. This reduction in the number of position classifications for sworn officers appears to have had an effect on the traditional career opportunities for the average policeman. In 1972, 75.1% of

TABLE # 7

OTTAWA CITY POLICE 1972CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNEL

<u>POLICE PERSONNEL</u>		<u>CIVILIAN PERSONNEL</u>	
CHIEF OF POLICE	1	WOMENS DIVISION	12
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3	CLERK TYPIST	48
STAFF SUPERINTENDENT	1	TECHNICAL OFFICER	1
SUPERINTENDENTS	4	GARAGE PERSONNEL	14
INSPECTORS	7	DOG LICENCE INSPECTOR	4
LIEUTENANTS	12		
FORCE SERGEANT	1		
STAFF SERGEANT	10		
DETECTIVE SERGEANT	13		
DETECTIVES	38		
SERGEANTS	31		
CORPORALS	7		
ACTING DETECTIVES	5		
CONSTABLES	399		
CADETS	16		
POLICEWOMAN	3		
<hr/>		<hr/>	
TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	551	TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	79
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	16	TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	5
GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL	=	630	
% POLICE PERSONNEL	=	87.5	
% CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	=	12.5	

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNELPOLICE PERSONNEL

CHIEF OF POLICE	1
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3
STAFF SUPERINTENDENT	1
SUPERINTENDENTS	4
INSPECTORS	7
LIEUTENANTS	12
FORCE SERGEANT	1
STAFF SERGEANT	10
DETECTIVE SERGEANT	12
DETECTIVES	38
SERGEANTS	36
CORPORALS	6
ACTING DETECTIVES	7
CONSTABLES	398
CADETS	2
POLICEWOMEN	0

CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

WOMENS DIVISION	7
CLERK TYPIST	46
TECHNICAL OFFICER	1
TELEPHONE OPERATOR	6
CLERK 4	2
CLERK 5	6
STORES SUPERVISOR	1
STOREMEN	3
PARKING CONTROL OFFICERS	39
PARKING CONTROL SUPERVISORS	3
GARAGE PERSONNEL	14
DOG LICENCE INSPECTOR	4

TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	538
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	16

TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	132
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	12

GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL	=	670
% POLICE PERSONNEL	=	80.3
% CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	=	19.7

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNEL

<u>POLICE PERSONNEL</u>		<u>CIVILIAN PERSONNEL</u>	
CHIEF OF POLICE	1	CLERK TYPIST	47
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3	TECHNICAL OFFICER	1
STAFF SUPERINTENDENT	1	TELEPHONE OPERATOR	6
SUPERINTENDENTS	4	CLERK 4	7
STAFF INSPECTORS	5	CLERK 5	6
INSPECTORS	13	STORES SUPERVISOR	1
SENIOR STAFF SERGEANT	1	STOREMEN	3
STAFF SERGEANT	20	PARKING CONTROL OFFICERS	49
SERGEANTS	90	PARKING CONTROL SUPERVISORS	3
CONSTABLES	402	GARAGE PERSONNEL	12
CADETS	1	DOG LICENCE INSPECTOR	4
<hr/>		<hr/>	
TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	541	TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	139
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	11	TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	11

GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL = 680
 % POLICE PERSONNEL = 79.6
 % CIVILIAN PERSONNEL = 20.4

TABLE # 10

OTTAWA CITY POLICE 1975CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNEL

<u>POLICE PERSONNEL</u>		<u>CIVILIAN PERSONNEL</u>	
CHIEF OF POLICE	1	E.D.P.	1
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3	CLERK TYPIST	47
STAFF SUPERINTENDENT	1	TECHNICAL OFFICER	1
SUPERINTENDENTS	4	TELEPHONE OPERATOR	5
STAFF INSPECTORS	5	CLERK 4	7
INSPECTORS	14	CLERK 5	7
SENIOR STAFF SERGEANT	1	CLERK 6	1
STAFF SERGEANTS	22	STORES SUPERVISOR	1
SERGEANTS	102	STOREMEN	4
CONSTABLES	424	PARKING CONTROL OFFICERS	51
CADETS	0	PARKING CONTROL SUPERVISORS	3
		GARAGE PERSONNEL	8
		DOG LICENCE INSPECTOR	4
<hr/>		<hr/>	
TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	577	TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	140
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	11	TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	13

GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL = 717
 % POLICE PERSONNEL = 80.5
 % CIVILIAN PERSONNEL = 19.5

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNEL

<u>POLICE PERSONNEL</u>		<u>CIVILIAN PERSONNEL</u>	
CHIEF OF POLICE	1	E.D.P. SUPERVISOR	1
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3	CLERK TYPIST	57
STAFF SUPERINTENDENT	1	TECHNICAL OFFICER	1
SUPERINTENDENTS	13	TREASURY OFFICER	1
STAFF INSPECTORS	6	CLERK 4	7
INSPECTORS	14	CLERK 5	6
SENIOR STAFF SERGEANT	1	CLERK 6	1
STAFF SERGEANTS	22	TELEPHONE OPERATOR	6
SERGEANTS	99	STORES SUPERVISOR	1
CONSTABLES	427	STOREMEN	4
CADETS	0	PARKING CONTROL OFFICERS	60
		PARKING CONTROL SUPERVISORS	4
		GARAGE PERSONNEL	14
		DOG LICENCE INSPECTOR	4
<hr/>		<hr/>	
TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	577	TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	167
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	11	TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	14

GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL = 744
 % POLICE PERSONNEL = 77.6
 % CIVILIAN PERSONNEL = 22.4

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNEL

<u>POLICE PERSONNEL</u>		<u>CIVILIAN PERSONNEL</u>	
CHIEF OF POLICE	1	CHIEF'S SECRETARY	1
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3	DOG LICENCE INSPECTOR	7
STAFF SUPERINTENDENT	1	GARAGE PERSONNEL	9
SUPERINTENDENTS	3	PARKING ATTENDENTS	5
STAFF INSPECTORS	6	ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER I	1
INSPECTORS	14	E.D.P. SUPERVISOR	1
SENIOR STAFF SERGEANT	1	BUDGET OFFICER	1
STAFF SERGENAT	25	SUPERVISORS GROUP 3	2
SERGEANTS	109	STORES SUPERVISOR	1
CONSTABLES	426	SUPERVISORS GROUP 2	10
		STOREMEN	4
		CLERKS GROUP 1	58
		COMMUNICATION CLERKS	4
		SWITCHBOARD OPERATORS	6
		PARKING CONTROL SUPERVISORS	4
		PARKING CONTROL OFFICERS	62
<hr/>		<hr/>	
TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	589	TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	176
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	10	TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	16
GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL		=	765
% POLICE PERSONNEL		=	76.9
% CIVILIAN PERSONNEL		=	23.1

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNEL

<u>POLICE PERSONNEL</u>		<u>CIVILIAN PERSONNEL</u>	
CHIEF OF POLICE	1	CHIEF'S SECRETARY	1
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3	DOG LICENCE INSPECTOR	7
STAFF SUPERINTENDENT	1	GARAGE PERSONNEL	9
SUPERINTENDENTS	3	PARKING ATTENDENTS	5
STAFF INSPECTORS	7	ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER I	1
INSPECTORS	15	ANALYST PROGRAMMER	1
SENIOR STAFF SERGEANT	1	E.D.P. SUPERVISOR	1
STAFF SERGEANTS	26	BUDGET OFFICER	1
SERGEANTS	123	SUPERVISORS GROUP 3	2
CONSTABLES	401	STORES SUPERVISOR	1
		SUPERVISORS GROUP 2	10
		STOREMEN	4
		CLERKS GROUP 1	63
		COMMUNICATION CLERKS	10
		SWITCHBOARD OPERATORS	6
		PARKING CONTROL SUPERVISORS	4
		PARKING CONTROL OFFICERS	62
<hr/>		<hr/>	
TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	581	TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	188
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	10	TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	17
GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL		=	769
% POLICE PERSONNEL		=	75.6
% CIVILIAN PERSONNEL		=	24.4

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNELPOLICE PERSONNEL

CHIEF OF POLICE	1
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3
STAFF SUPERINTENDENTS	1
SUPERINTENDENTS	3
STAFF INSPECTORS	7
INSPECTORS	15
SENIOR STAFF SERGEANT	1
STAFF SERGEANTS	27
SERGEANTS	125
CONSTABLES	396

CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

CHIEF'S SECRETARY	1
DOG LICENCE INSPECTOR	7
GARAGE PERSONNEL	9
PARKING ATTENDENTS	5
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER I	1
ANALYST PROGRAMMER	1
E.D.P. SUPERVISOR	1
BUDGET OFFICER	1
SUPERVISORS GROUP 3	3
STORES SUPERVISOR	1
SUPERVISORS GROUP 2	10
STOREMEN	4
CLERKS GROUP 1	63
COMMUNICATION CLERKS	10
SWITCHBOARD OPERATORS	5
PARKING CONTROL SUPERVISORS	4
PARKING CONTROL OFFICERS	62
R.R. PROGRAMMER 1	1

TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	579
------------------------	-----

TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	189
--------------------------	-----

TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	10
---------------------------------	----

TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	18
---------------------------------	----

GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL	=	768
-----------------------	---	-----

% POLICE PERSONNEL	=	75.3
--------------------	---	------

% CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	=	24.7
----------------------	---	------

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNELPOLICE PERSONNEL

CHIEF OF POLICE	1
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3
STAFF SUPERINTENDENTS	1
SUPERINTENDENTS	3
STAFF INSPECTORS	7
INSPECTORS	15
SENIOR STAFF SERGEANT	1
STAFF SERGEANTS	26
SERGEANTS	124
CONSTABLES	399

CIVILIAN PERSONNEL

CHIEF'S SECRETARY	1
DOG LICENCE INSPECTOR	7
GARAGE PERSONNEL	9
PARKING ATTENDANTS	5
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER 1	1
ANALYST PROGRAMMER	1
E.D.P. SUPERVISOR	1
BUDGET OFFICER	1
SUPERVISORS GROUP 3	3
STORES SUPERVISOR	1
SUPERVISORS GROUP 2	10
STOREMEN	4
CLERKS GROUP 1	64
COMMUNICATION CLERKS	11
SWITCHBOARD OPERATORS	5
PARKING CONTROL SUPERVISORS	4
PARKING CONTROL OFFICERS	62
R.R. PROGRAMMER 1	1

TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	580
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	10

TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	191
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	18

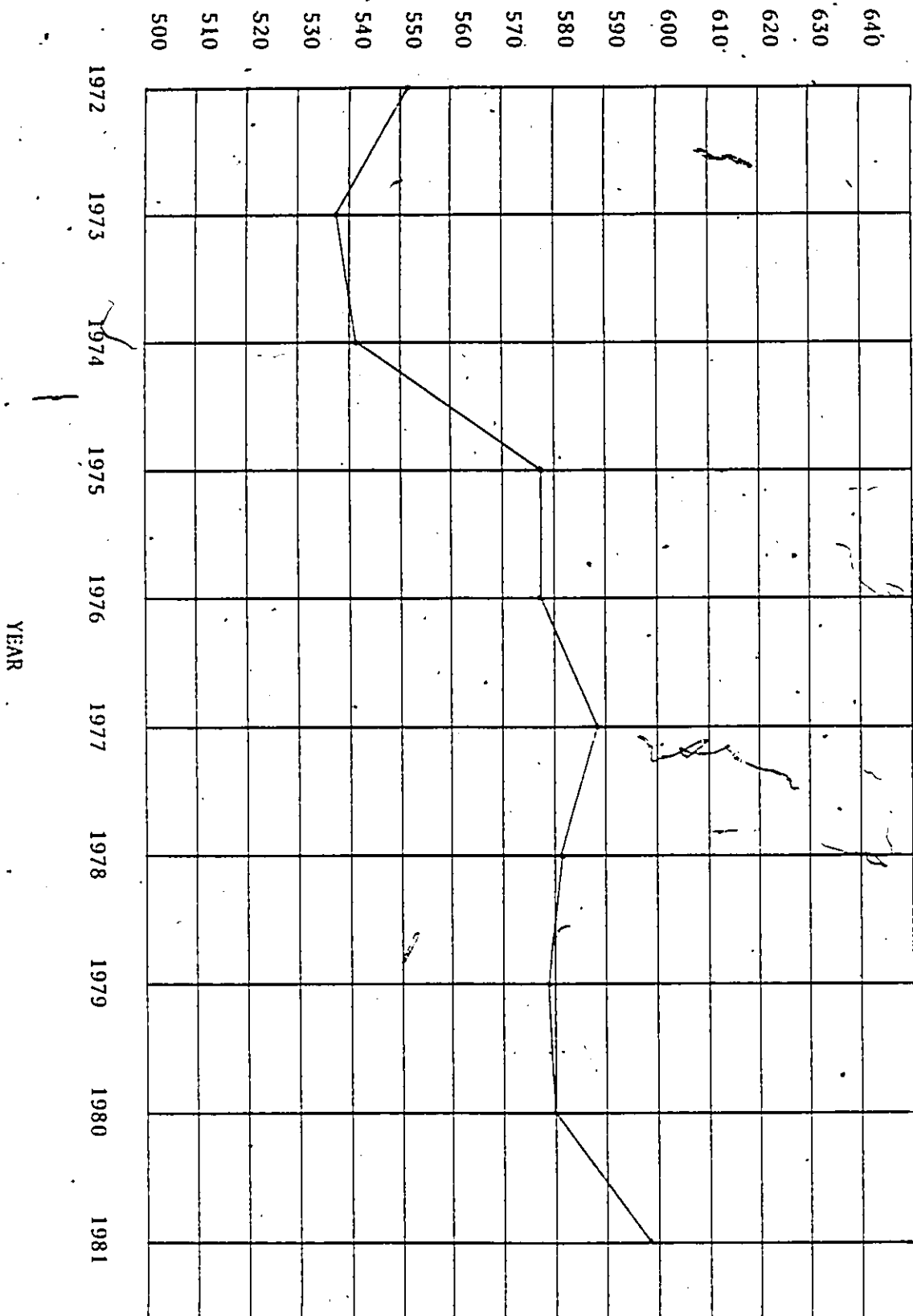
GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL	=	771
% POLICE PERSONNEL	=	75.2
% CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	=	24.8

OTTAWA CITY POLICE 1981
CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONNEL

<u>POLICE PERSONNEL</u>		<u>CIVILIAN PERSONNEL</u>	
CHIEF OF POLICE	1	CLERKS GROUP I	66
DEPUTY CHIEFS OF POLICE	3	CLERK 2	34
STAFF SUPERINTENDENTS	1	READER	4
SUPERINTENDENTS	3	SENIOR CLERK-STAFF OPERATIONS	1
STAFF INSPECTORS	7	STORES SUPERVISOR	1
INSPECTORS	16	SECRETARY 2	2
SENIOR STAFF SERGEANT	1	FIREARMS OFFICER	1
STAFF SERGEANTS	25	SENIOR CLERK-BUDGET & FINANCE	1
SERGEANTS	128	PROGRAMMER I	1
CONSTABLES	414	SUPERVISOR - FILING	1
		SUPERVISOR-CRIMINAL RECORDS	1
		STORES SUPERVISOR	1
		SUPERVISOR-TRANSPORTATION	1
		SECRETARY 3	1
		SUPERVISOR-WARRANTS I	1
		SUPERVISOR-SUMMONS	1
		SUPERVISOR-PROPERTY	1
		SUPERVISOR-DATA INPUT	1
		INTERMEDIATE PROGRAMMER	1
		BUDGET OFFICER	1
		E.D.P. SUPERVISOR	1
		ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER	1
		SENIOR ANALYST PROGRAMMER	1
		PARKING CONTROL SUPERVISORS	4
		PARKING CONTROL OFFICERS	60
TOTAL POLICE PERSONNEL	599	TOTAL CIVILIAN PERSONNEL	189
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	10	TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSIFICATIONS	25
GRAND TOTAL PERSONNEL		=	788
% POLICE PERSONNEL		=	76.0
% CIVILIAN PERSONNEL		=	24.0

NUMBER OF PERSONNEL

TABLE #17 - INCREASE OF SWORN POLICE PERSONNEL IN OTTAWA CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT, 1972 TO 1981



NUMBER OF PERSONNEL

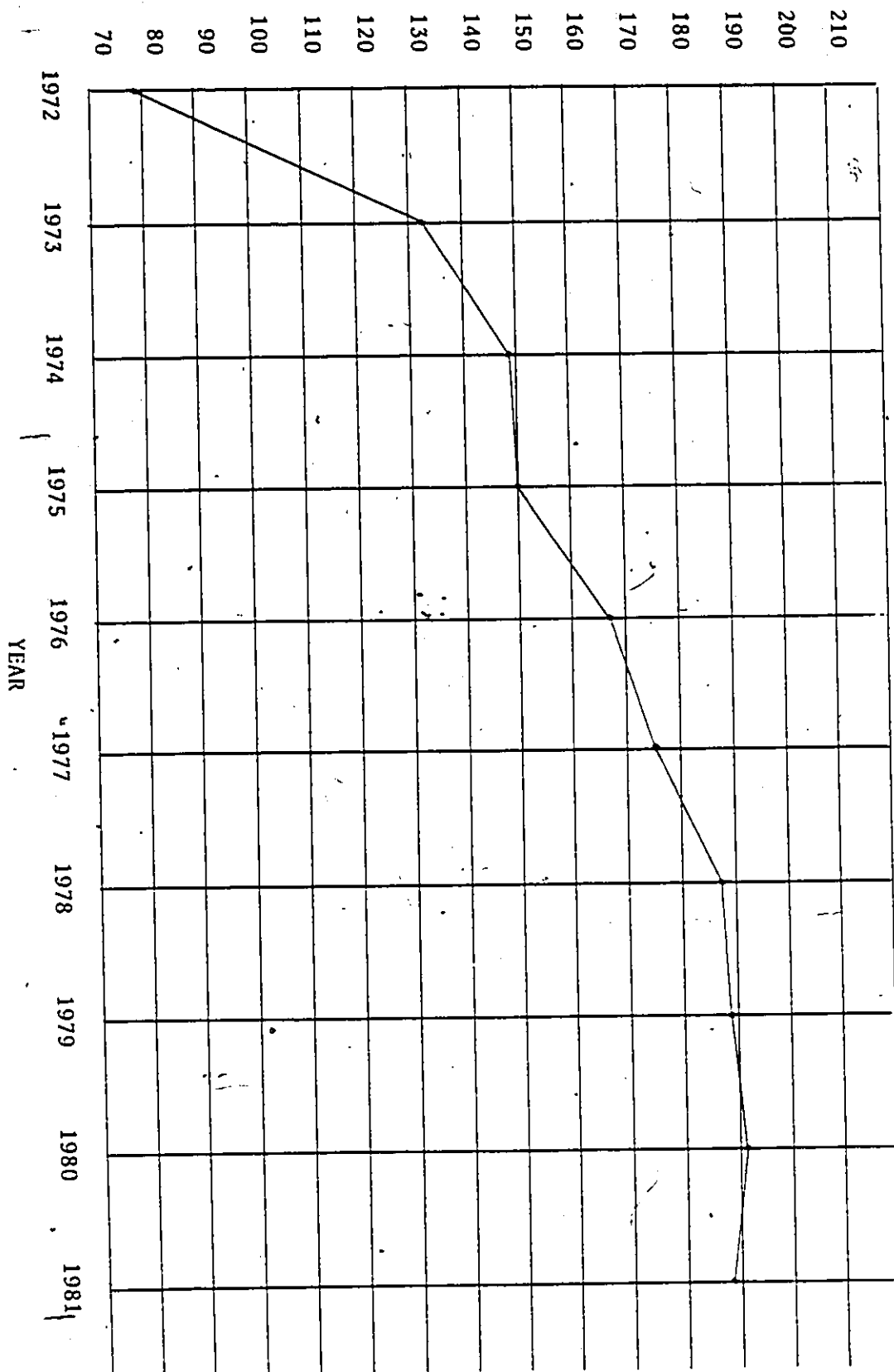


TABLE #18 - INCREASE OF CIVILIAN POLICE PERSONNEL IN OTTAWA CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT, 1972 TO 1981

the sworn officers were below the rank of sergeant while by 1981 only 69.1% were below that same rank. The percentage of sworn officers above the rank of Senior Staff Sergeant remained constant at 5%.

The most significant increase in civilian personnel occurred in 1973 when civilian Parking Control Officers were introduced into the police force. If the number of Parking Control Officers and Parking Control Supervisors were not included in the civilian personnel category, the proportion of civilian personnel in relation to total police personnel would drop to approximately 17%. This would represent only a 4.5% civilian increase over the 1972 figures.

As like the majority of Canadian Police agencies, the civilian personnel in the Ottawa City Police department are predominately female and are relegated almost exclusively to support and clerical services. The most notable exception to this is, of course, the Parking Control Officers. Parking control is also the one and only job function performed by civilians which could be perceived as being directly related to primary law enforcement duties.

As of 1981 there were no civilians in the role of assisting or replacing sworn officers in response to calls for law enforcement or order maintenance such as were previously discussed in some selected American police forces.

There were also no civilians in administrative roles supervising sworn officers assigned to patrol or investigatory duties.

The reactions of the various types of police personnel interviewed concerning the deployment of civilians was varied and included almost every issue that appeared in the literature pertaining to civilianization and its effects on the police organization. Although the interviews which were conducted were unstructured, and in some ways, designed to pursue varying areas of discussion dependent upon the role and position status of each of the different groups, there were a number of questions which were presented to each person interviewed. The following is a list of questions which was presented to each of the people interviewed:

1. What are the reasons why civilian personnel have been introduced into the Ottawa City Police force?
2. Has the introduction of civilian personnel had a positive or negative effect on the police force organization?
3. Should administrative and management positions be opened to civilian personnel?
4. What classification of positions should civilian personnel be restricted to?
5. Have civilian police employees taken jobs away from sworn officers?
6. How has the rising numbers of civilian personnel affected the morale of the Ottawa City Police force?

7. Are present sworn officer personnel being offered every opportunity to maximize their potentials for diverse role functions?
8. Should the Ottawa City Police department look into instituting a program similar to the Community Service Officer programs initiated in several American police departments?
9. Should the role of the police agency be expanded even further from present obligations or should the police attempt to withdraw some of its community services?
10. Should the police agency be divided into two organizations, one to respond to law enforcement and order calls and one to respond to calls for service?

Results of Interviews

There was almost total agreement among all categories of personnel interviewed concerning the reasons why civilian personnel have been introduced into the Ottawa City Police force. It was readily accepted that civilians could competently perform clerical, parking control and other support duties and services at a lower cost to the department than if sworn officers were required to perform these same duties and services. As could be expected, police administrators and managers were more informed on the actual rate of savings to the departmental budget than other police personnel.

The majority of personnel interviewed also agreed that employing civilians in these types of positions resulted in an increased efficiency level in all areas of the police organization. It was perceived that the amount of job dissatisfaction would be substantial if sworn officers were expected to perform job duties relating to civilianized positions in that generally they have relatively lower levels of skills and training in these areas.

The reactions to the level of civilianization achieved within the Ottawa City Police department was not completely positive. The sworn officers on patrol and the police

association members interviewed voiced a number of concerns over the number of civilians being introduced into the police department. Paramount among these concerns was the fact that there are increasingly fewer spots to place older, less fit, or injured sworn officers in sedentary positions which they could physically handle. There was a shared perception that prior to the influx of civilian personnel, there was ample opportunities for sworn officers with many years of service, or those injured in the line of duty, to retain their sworn officer status while performing limited clerical or support duties. With present personnel practices these sworn officers hold strong emotional convictions that the police department is becoming callous and irresponsible to the physical and emotional needs of "those who are daily laying their lives on the line" in terms of job expectations of those no longer able to fulfill completely the diverse and complex role of police constable.

A second, also very emotional, complaint cited only by the sworn officers concerned the impact of introducing a significant number of female civilian personnel into the police department, which previously had been almost totally a male domain. In the words of one sworn officer, "This has become a little Peyton Place and the number of sexual affairs, and marriage breakdowns has become epidemic!" The blame for

this situation is seen as resting solely on the female civilian personnel within the department rather than on the group of primarily male sworn officers.

The group of police managers and civilian personnel generally perceived that civilianization has primarily had a positive effect on the police department. The only complaints voiced by civilian personnel related to the occasional lack of acceptance by selected sworn officers. It seems that the reaction to civilianization within the Ottawa City Police department is most dependent upon the rank and status of the individual concerned. This situation appears to be consistent with findings in the written research reported on this subject within other police jurisdictions.

The development of civilianization in administrative and management positions has been virtually non-existent in Canadian police agencies, therefore, it is not surprising that the civilians, sworn officers and police association members interviewed were unanimous in thinking that most administrative positions within a police department necessitate the experience, training and background found exclusively in sworn police officers. The only position that even some of these personnel interviewed thought might be competently handled by a civilian would be the position of Deputy Chief

of Police in charge of finance and administration.

The exception to this near consensus were two police managers who expressed that in their opinion, highly trained and specialized civilians could operate quite effectively in other administrative positions, particularly the position of Chief of Police. There was a shared perception that the functions and skills required by the office of Chief of Police could best be fulfilled by an individual primarily possessing proven administrative and managerial abilities providing that experienced sworn personnel are given sufficient levels of power and authority to actually supervise and direct law enforcement personnel in the performance of their role expectations. They also agreed that all other managerial positions dealing primarily with administrative details and personnel management could be successfully delegated to qualified civilians. The police managers interviewed voiced concerns over whether or not these positions should be opened to civilians in future. These concerns will be reviewed in relation to a further question.

Initially, the personnel interviewed, excluding some selected administrative positions, agreed that only sworn police officers should respond to incoming calls for police services irregardless of whether they are calls for service,

order maintenance, or law enforcement. The possibility that anyone other than a fully trained and experienced police officer could respond to a majority of these calls and handle them appropriately was not thought of. After the issue of civilianization was discussed at greater length, however, it was recognized by the vast majority of personnel interviewed that certain categories of service calls could be capably handled by individuals other than sworn police officers. The major concern expressed about this issue was that the act of responding to calls for service gave the sworn patrol officer opportunities to engage in community and public relations thereby enabling him or her to build a network of informants and community contact persons. Having sworn officers respond to calls for service also gave them an opportunity to engage in policing activities which resulted in positive feedback. Even though these same sworn officers perceived of themselves as mainly being agents of law enforcement, they acknowledged that responding to calls for service offered them opportunities to receive praise and thankfulness from the community members in their jurisdiction. The consensus among sworn officers was that if calls for service were to be delegated solely to civilian police employees, sworn officers would lose a substantial amount of opportunities for positive public relations with the people they serve and depend upon for cooperation in cases requiring investigation into

criminal acts. The sworn officers could possibly be perceived solely as an armed force invading a community territory, with badges showing and guns blazing, responding to gross infractions of the law such as hostage takings and armed robberies. ~~Even though responding to calls for service runs contrary to the sworn officer's self-perceptions and self-identities as police officers,~~ they do recognize that these activities are vital to their ability to achieve all job expectations and to obtain self-satisfaction and positive reinforcement from the job they are attempting to do.

Sworn patrol officers in the Ottawa City Police force interviewed were unanimous in the perception that civilian police employees should be restricted to position classifications which acted to support the sworn officers in the field such as clerical and secretarial positions, or as parking control officers. The police managers also agreed with the sworn officers in terms of civilian job placement restrictions with the exceptions of a few isolated administrative positions such as Deputy Chief in charge of finance and administration and the office of Chief of Police. Civilian police employees however, were much more open to the idea that civilians could effectively perform many of the isolated job duties ordinarily accorded to sworn officers, especially in the area of responding to calls for service and order maintenance. The

majority of civilian employees verbalized a perception that they themselves could perform a number of activities currently performed solely by sworn officers and also expressed a willingness to take upon themselves some of these duties if the opportunity to do so were provided them.

There is a very perceptible fear amongst sworn police officers that civilians may take away job positions and classifications presently open to them. This fear was paramount in the minds of the police association representatives interviewed. Canadian police forces as a whole have been able to resist the trends towards civilian involvement in what has been perceived as, "police duties and responsibilities" in comparison to relatively recent developments in the United States and this is the way that sworn officers in the Ottawa City Police department wish to keep it. Many of the more senior members of the force are intimidated by the ever-increasing rates of change within the department and recognize that they do not possess many of the types and levels of skills required by potential specialized job functions within the departmental organization. These officers sense a certain degree of specialization arising within the police organization and recognize that they lack sufficient levels of formal education to successfully compete for specialized positions requiring proficiency with computers

or other technological advances, as well as, specific social work skills which they predict may soon be required for dealing with young offenders or victims of specific crimes involving interpersonal violence such as rape, incest or robbery.

These fears are aggravated in the minds of more senior officers by the relatively higher levels of education possessed by the majority of new recruits entering the Ottawa City Police department. This increased emphasis on formal education, coupled with the more extensive use of civilians in traditional police duties and responsibilities, experienced in the United States, has had a perceived negative effect on the level of morale within certain sectors of the department.

A logical alternative, or vehicle to minimize the frustration or fear experienced by sworn officers, might be to diversify and expand the training programs offered to them so that they may be better equipped to handle more effectively the demands requested of the police agency by the community citizens they serve.

The police administrators and managers interviewed acknowledged the limitations of present police training techniques but generally were pleased with recent developments

in police training programs. Training packages concentrating on such topics as crisis intervention, correct response to domestic disputes and even victim assistance techniques have been instituted to some degree within the police officer training curricula. This fact was acknowledged not only by the police administrators interviewed, but also by the sworn officers and police association members who responded to this question. There was almost unanimous consensus that the present concentration of training information pertaining to calls for community service was adequate in terms of their perceived job function. Although all the sworn police employees interviewed acknowledged the extreme diversity of job functions demanded of them by the community at large, they primarily perceived of themselves as law enforcement officers and as such, were generally satisfied with the present emphasis of their training which primarily consisted of instruction in law enforcement and criminal investigation skills.

The general area of instruction in the development of managerial and administrative skills and abilities was the most often quoted weaknesses of the police training curriculum offered to them as sworn officers in the Ottawa City Police department. All officers of the rank of Senior Staff Sergeant and below, expressed career goals of attaining

management positions within the department before they retired and acknowledged at least some degree of lack of proficiency in this area. There was a pervasive conception, however, of police administrators needing to be widely experienced police officers with some progressively attained supervisory and managerial experience. In summation, it was generally agreed upon that the most necessary criterion for being an acceptable police manager or administrator was previous sworn officer experience as a constable and as a sergeant as opposed to being specifically academically trained in administrative theory.

The civilian employees interviewed held no strong opinions regarding this question other than the present levels of training offered to sworn officers seemed adequate without the exception of developing necessary expertise in general report writing skills.

The introduction of the topic of the possibility of institution of a type of Community Service Officer program into the Ottawa City Police department initiated strong responses from the groups of personnel interviewed. The police administrators interviewed acknowledged the possibility of achieving a number of desirable advantages through the initiation of a type of community service officer program.

They concluded that community service officers could perform some selected community calls for service quite efficiently and at less cost to the department in comparison to the cost of sworn officers responding to the same calls. This acknowledgement however, was not sufficient for these police administrators to advocate the institution of such a program in their police department. The reasons given for their opinions included:

1. a lack in trust of the responsibility level of non-sworn police personnel in terms of dealing adequately with problems in the community
2. a concern for the overall level of staff morale within the department
3. the effort and expense involved in the initiation and on-going supervision of such a program
4. the difficulties incurred in developing community support and acceptance of such a program,
5. a strong desire to maintain the level of professionalism and mutual trust presently perceived by police personnel.

The sworn officers and police association members vehemently opposed the introduction of such a program into

their department. These sworn police officers viewed themselves as being able to efficiently handle any and all calls, whether they be calls for law enforcement and keeping the peace, or calls for community service. They reacted to the idea of introducing a type of community service officer program as a possible attempt by forces within the department attempting to displace sworn officer positions with lower paid, less trained and far less qualified and proficient outsiders. They were concerned that such a program would have a detrimental effect upon the level of respect given them by the community citizens. They also cited a concern for the safety level intrinsic in such a program. Several of these sworn officers quoted a potential dangerousness to the officer responding and that sending a person other than a sworn officer could, given the right set of circumstances, endanger human lives.

All of the civilian police employees consulted gave positive responses to the concept of a community service officer program. In their opinions, a significant proportion of what they perceived as sworn officer duties and responsibilities could competently be performed by non-sworn officer personnel. One civilian employee expressed that if such a program were to be inaugurated in the department she would likely apply for one of the community service officer

positions. She foresaw such a position as offering greater job satisfaction and challenge than the work she was presently performing.

When asked whether the police department should attempt to take on even more programs and responsibilities than it has already, responses from each group were generally in favor of further expansion if the additional personnel needs were met. The reasons underlying the positive responses varied from group to group and included such arguments as:

1. the community has faith in the capabilities and professionalism of the department
2. the police department is the first community agency most citizens call for an extremely wide array of problems or concern, and therefore, the department should be equipped with an equally wide array of qualified personnel for response
3. the greater the diversity of services offered to the community, the greater the number of possible position classifications for police personnel, and, therefore, the opportunities for lateral and vertical mobility are also significantly increased for those personnel; and
4. there are specialized needs in the community which the department has a responsibility to be involved in but has not yet developed an existing bureaucracy to handle until very recently. The areas of crime prevention and victim assistance are two such examples.

The suggestion that the police department be divided into two organizations, one to respond to law enforcement and order maintenance calls, and one to respond to calls for service was also disagreed with unanimously by all groups interviewed. All levels of police personnel foresaw many more disadvantages in such a scenario than advantages.

Such a drastic reorganization of the department concerned the police administrators interviewed mainly because of the bureaucratic nightmare which would necessarily result. It was extremely difficult for these administrators to resolve resource reallocation issues. For example, they recognized that there would not be enough positions in the law enforcement organization for even a small portion of the present sworn officer population within the department and most of those left out would be unwilling to settle for a placement in the calls for service only organization.

The police administrators also expressed concern for their own job security if such a reorganization took place within their own department. They recognized that with a much smaller law enforcement and order maintenance division, many of the positions of their rank would necessarily become obsolete.

The sworn officers and police association members

consulted were primarily concerned that such a reorganization would result in sworn officers placed in the law enforcement and order maintenance organization as becoming extremely alienated from the community and would be perceived primarily as an armed, almost military, faction of the police department to be feared rather than respected by community citizens.

These personnel also stated that much of the information concerning law enforcement and order maintenance responsibilities was gathered through contacts made as a result of responding to calls for service. To eliminate their ability to respond to service calls would presumably act to completely disintegrate their community information network.

The sworn officers and police association members also reiterated the opinion that calls for service can often and readily become life-threatening situations and the act of exclusively dispatching unarmed, and from their perspective, inadequately trained individuals to these calls would result in a decline in the level of community, as well as police personnel safety.

The police association members agreed with the comments made by the police administrators in that they also perceived that such an organizational structure would severely limit

the career opportunities for present sworn officers and would necessarily exclude more senior officers from continuance in their profession. The number of potential position classifications would become severely limited and the positions left in existence demand a younger officer in top physical shape. They also predicted that the acceptance of such a reorganization within the department by the community would be extremely slow to develop because of the predominant perception by the citizenry that the present organizational structure of the department best fulfilled the needs of the community.

There existed also a predominant perception that whatever the organizational structure, non-sworn police personnel, without the powers of arrest and the unique access to the law as possessed by sworn officers, would also be perceived and treated as second-class police employees both within and outside the department. It was this predicted lack of status and acceptance which most affected the negative reaction to the reorganization as proposed in this question by the civilian police personnel interviewed.

The case study which was conducted involved only sixteen interviews of police personnel within a single municipal police force and was not meant to be construed as a solid basis for formulating a theoretical prospectus on the general effects of civilianization on police agencies in Canada. The content of the interviews was included almost exclusively to provide illustrations and examples of perceived consequences, real or imaginary, of the introduction of civilian police personnel into a historically sworn officer dominated police organization. The sample of personnel selected for inclusion in the study was far too small and the personnel interviewed were not randomly selected, thereby negating the possibility of an acceptable level of statistical significance, reliability or transferability of results. Also, the interviews conducted were only partially consistent in that although the ten question areas included in this study were presented to each of the respondents, each interview varied in length and the amount of other content included.

The results of the case study did, however, illustrate many of the issues found in the literature survey on this subject and will be referred to in subsequent analyses of policy implications for police organizations in Canada.

CHAPTER 10

ISSUES TO BE FACED BY CANADIAN POLICE OFFICIALS IN RELATION
TO CIVILIANIZATION

Police agency personnel, community members and government officials all across Canada are constantly being faced with the dilemma of creating and maintaining a police organization which is able to respond to many varied and, often, conflicting demands. There is the need for a public consensus of personal safety versus the need for individual liberty and freedoms; the need for quick, efficient and predictable response ability versus the need for lower municipal agency cost expenditures; the need for career advancement opportunities versus the need for efficiency and proficiency; the need for job security versus the need for specially trained personnel; the need for quality recruiting practices and on-going training techniques versus the need for equal opportunity and maintenance of the status quo; and the need for quick alternatives to long standing problems versus the need for long term police development practices.

Canadian municipal police agencies have been confronted with these conflicting demands since their inception and have developed a number of sets of responses which have led them to their present state. The rising number of civilian personnel introduced into the police agency represents one of these sets of responses. As Schwartz et al. (1975:91)

stated however, "the degree of a program's success depends on the quality of planning, implementation and management." Are Canadian police administrators aware of the needs of quality preplanning before a civilian or group of civilians are introduced into the agency? Is ample consideration being given to the full and varied impact of these new personnel on the existing order and traditional functioning of the organization? By what methods and to what extent should the civilian personnel introduced be trained? What recruiting standards and practices should be implemented when considering the hiring of civilian personnel? What position incentives and opportunities for advancement should be made available to them?

The practice of civilianizing any portion of the police organization should include all of the question areas being sufficiently addressed by Canadian police administrators prior to the implementation of civilianizing a position or group of positions.

The following is a proposed list of necessary steps which police administrators should consider and follow when first contemplating initiating the creation of either a new position classification requiring civilian personnel or changing an existing position classification from requiring

sworn officer personnel to requiring civilian personnel.

STEP 1: A comprehensive analysis should be completed outlining the specific objectives of initiating each specific position classification change. The most commonly cited objective attributed to the process of civilianization is perceived monetary savings. These savings would make possible for the organization the ability to remain within decreasing total budgetary parameters or to create monetary surpluses in the area of personnel expenses, thereby being able to divert those surpluses to operational areas requiring greater amounts of funds and allowing for the creation of new projects.

A simple comparison of gross monthly wage expenditures provides insufficient data for a thorough analysis. A multitude of other factors must also be considered including recruiting and training costs, attrition rates, contributions to pension plans, unemployment insurance plans and health plans (Schwartz et. al. 1975:32 and Lewin and Keith 1976:80). Other factors which should be considered include the costs of necessary supervision and forecasted rates of abuse of sick leave, tardiness, or other costs attributable to undesirable practices. (Greisinger 1975:30).

STEP 2: An analysis of cost efficiency should also be

completed prior to the civilianization of a position classification. The specific duties inherent in that position must be outlined and a subsequent judgement made of the particular skills and talents required by an employee to most capably and efficiently complete the entire range of position functions and expectations.

These simple principles must be applied when attempting to reorganize or reclassify job positions. First, the person performing the job must be separated from the job itself and a determination or ranking of the value of the work inherent in that job in comparison to that of other jobs. Secondly, the right person should be placed in the right job. Each job requires an array of skills and the person demonstrating the highest degree of training and proficiency in those required skills should be placed in that job. Thirdly, excellent performance fulfilling the expectations of the job should be recognized by paying more to those who exhibit best job performance. In summation, proper position classification facilitates the attainment and maintenance of the triangular relationship between duties, qualifications and pay.

The ability to work efficiently at a task is directly associated with the level and type of experience and training possessed by the individual performing the task. If a

position classification requires knowledge, skills and abilities alien to those possessed by sworn officers, the decision to civilianize that position generally would seem appropriate. Not only would the particular department be able to replace a highly paid, skilled and trained sworn police officer who is performing job functions for which his or her training is not directly applicable with an appropriately trained civilian, but also that sworn officer would then be available to concentrate more effort on performing job duties more closely aligned to his training such as investigating serious criminal activities, as well as, other specialized policing functions (Bouza 1978:91).

Especially in larger municipal police departments, there exist some position classifications requiring extremely high levels of academic, intellectual and technological expertise and training. Except in relatively few cases, it would be extremely impractical to assign an individual specifically trained to fulfill sworn officer duties a position far removed from his capabilities. The cost incurred and time required to supplement most sworn officer's training with that necessary to specifically respond to that one specialized job function would be inappropriately high. Police administrators must recognize that a certain number of trained specialists, primarily civilians, must be accepted into the

organization on the basis of attaining maximum cost efficiency (Hennessey 1976:37-38).

Managerial and administrative positions also require skills which may not necessarily be present in the sworn officer contingent of the police department even after years of experience on the force. As previously stated, an assessment should also be made of each available administrative and managerial position and a determination made of whether or not previous sworn officer experience is a necessary prerequisite for the capable handling and cost efficiency of operating in that position. Many of the higher rank administrative positions within the police organization require only a minimal knowledge of actual police operations and seemingly concentrate on functions requiring primarily public relations, budgeting and personnel management skills. (Hill 1975:24-26; Dewhirst 1970:42-43; Richardson 1974:84-90; and Guyot 1979:278).

Many other categories of position classification could effectively incorporate a number of civilian employees to perform many of the more mundane job responsibilities inherent in those positions. Examples of this type of reorganization would include programs similar to that initiated by the Visalia, California police department as

described by Forsyth and Adams (1979:28-29) where civilian investigative aides were hired to be responsible for follow-up investigations of non-major offences in an attempt to increase the efficiency of the department's investigations division.

With a reorganization of an existing urban police department into units or teams with specific areas of responsibilities, civilian personnel can be introduced within the unit to perform many mundane, less complicated and supportive functions for the sworn officers in that unit thereby increasing operational efficiency at less cost to the department. This fact coupled with the fact that civilians could effectively manage high level administrative positions such as chief and deputy chief of police, the possibility of a complete civilian career structure becomes a distinct possibility.

STEP 3: All urban police organizations in Canada should seek to create a comprehensive civilian career path within their departments. The government in Great Britain identified this issue two decades ago in 1967 through the Report of the Working Party on Police Operational Efficiency and Management, or what is commonly known as the Taverne Report. The Taverne Report stated that the police service should

employ civilians in those spheres of activities where the full training of the sworn police officer is not essential. This report recommended that all purely administrative posts should be civilianized, including that of the post of chief of police. Dewhirst (1970:39-45) stated that the purpose of this recommendation would be to establish a stable and efficient group of civilian administrative staff who would relieve senior operational officers of a significant portion of the tremendous paper workload with which they were overburdened.

Dewhirst identified that the principal argument in favor of civilianizing such posts as were advocated by the writers of The Taverne Report was to create a viable civilian career structure. The Working Party on Manpower acknowledged the high number of civilian police employees working in the police organization as either clerical support or performing administrative duties, as well as, forecasted a rate of probable growth in the future, and concluded that it was undeniable that the police service could only attract and retain civilian police staff of high caliber and potential only if it provided a career structure offering significant prospects for promotion.

In the United States, Bouza (1978:91-92) also came to

similar conclusions. According to Bouza, civilians "should be woven into the fabric of the department's life and made integral parts of the operation. Civilians should have the same opportunities for advancement as sworn personnel and a parallel pyramidal structure should be created to accommodate this need." Bouza also concludes that the creation of a complete civilian career structure, by weight of the sheer numbers of civilian personnel, would act to "dilute the insular nature of many departments." Again it was concluded that civilian police employees should be introduced at levels of the police operation.

Bouza and Kennedy (1979:36-38), in their analysis of the New York City Police Department's Communication Division, even further recommended that not only should a civilian career structure be created within the police organization, but also that there was a need for initiating a citywide career ladder for specific civilian technocrats, such as computer operators and data processors. The creation of such a structure would act to increase the potential pool of civilian "experts" available to the department who could perform specific job functions which require a great deal of specialized skill.

STEP 4: The personnel practice of lateral entry

must be considered as an alternative way of filling position vacancies which would best be handled by either a civilian or a sworn officer. Lateral entry requires the freedom to leave one organization at a certain rank and enter another department at the equivalent position. Presently, lateral entry between police departments, both in the United States and in Canada, is still only a concept which is rarely put into practice. Exchange of personnel among police departments rarely occurs, and exchange with other civilian, government or business organizations also almost never happens. This lack of opportunity for lateral entry into a particular police organization results in a relatively high degree of isolation and insularity from all other community groups and organizations. Guyot (1979:255) contends that this resulting insularity is the primary factor which supports the facets of the police subculture, namely mutual protection and secrecy, which hinder the efforts of police managers to direct their organizations, as well as, it acts to alienate the entire police organization from the very community groups and individuals which they are commissioned to serve.

Hewitt (1975:19-23) also outlined some of the problems encountered by police organizations due to the lack of opportunities for lateral entry. The more significant of these problems encountered are:

1. An overreliance on seniority which results in employees being promoted on an unorganized basis or because individuals are simply close at hand when vacancies occur. Veteran preference can be readily perceived as being disruptive to sound personnel systems and a source of inefficiency. As a result, rigid adherence to promotion from within most often leads to agency provincialism, limited understanding and appreciation of broad problems of police service, and a narrow outlook, imagination and usefulness;
2. Qualification standards become rigidly established without regard to the realities of the labor market. These rigid and unrealistic qualification standards tend to enhance the position of the insider to the organization and penalize the outside thereby preventing movement across occupational lines;
3. The lack of lateral entry opportunities also minimizes the potential for mobility. Changes in job position classifications tend to modify and improve accumulated traditional work habits, especially for those individuals who aspire to be career generalists. Employees should be encouraged to move as freely as possible between all sectors of law enforcement to maximize the variety of experience and the broadening of perspective; and
4. Opportunities for advancement also become restricted. A large number of smaller municipal police departments are unable to provide the career advancement opportunities necessary to keep highly talented and skilled employees within their organization. As a direct result of this situation, the potentially highest rated individuals either become frustrated with their position classifications or avoid even attempting to begin employment with the police.

Although the creation of lateral entry opportunities would present some difficulties to police agencies, the benefits inherent in this practice would be extensive if applied to both sworn officers and civilians.

STEP 5: An appropriate training and orientation system must be made available to all new civilian or sworn employees entering into the police organization. Due to the unique economic situation of the past decade a labor market has been created which provides ample opportunity for the police agency to recruit both sworn and civilian employees from a very competitive, ambitious and well qualified group of applicants. Effective training must be organized and developed in such a way as to be timely and relevant.

One of the most often quoted complaints against civilian employees acting in officer supporting roles is that they lack an adequate understanding of the unique work expectations and degree of personal risk encountered by sworn officer personnel in particular situations. Civilians are perceived as employees who lack field experience and who have not received even the barest amount of law enforcement training, therefore, making them a liability to the organization (Korcynski 1978:26; Dewhirst 1970:46; Hennessey 1976: 38).

Schwartz et al. (1975:102) found in their study of civilianization in thirteen American cities that the training costs for civilians averaged \$289 per employee, while sworn officer training costs average \$7,000 per employee. It was also noted that civilian employees received primarily on-the-job-training, whereas sworn officers participated primarily in more formal training programs.

Guyot (1979:278) has also documented the fact that very little thought, effort and resources are usually invested when civilian employees are hired. She notes that because civilians are in most cases excluded from the rank structure of the sworn officers they are considered as being outsiders to the whole department. While sworn officers are widely recruited, meticulously screened and relatively vigorously trained, civilians are not.

Civilian employees engaged in sworn officer supportive roles such as secretaries, clerks, radio dispatchers, etc. must be given sufficient opportunities through substantive formal training packages to gain a more thorough and complete understanding of the total operations of the department and the objectives and roles of the sworn officer contingent.

The issue of comprehensive training needs becomes even more paramount in importance when consideration is given to the implementation of a program where civilian employees are hired to replace or supplement sworn officers in responding to a variety of calls for community service or order maintenance. An example of this type of civilian employee would be the equivalent of Community Service Officer or Police Service Aides programs as initiated in the United States.

Tien and Larson (1978:121) in their examination of the Worcester (Massachusetts) Police Department Police Service Aides program, found that this department expended considerable effort in providing a substantive eight week training program to its new civilian employees. The amount of time and effort utilized in the training of these employees was warranted by the considerable amount of responsibilities delegated to these individuals. The aides were officially deployed in their own specially marked vehicles. They were uniformed, but unarmed, and were assigned specific responsibility for all calls of a service nature which did not require the authority to arrest between the hours of 10 a.m. and 2 a.m. Because the Police Service Aides had adequate training and their role expectations were well defined prior to their being assigned to specialized

duties, they were a positive addition to the department and the program was perceived as being extremely successful.

STEP 6: It is a common perception that the most valuable resource of any organization is the current staff complement. The largest and most influential group of current employees within police agencies are the sworn, non-management, police officers who hold membership in a police association or police union. Prior to any attempts being made to civilianize existing positions, or to create a new position classification which would be filled by a civilian, or group of civilians, a great deal of thought and effort must be expended in an attempt to either gain union support for the change or at least minimize as much as possible the negative consequences of union disapproval.

Police union personnel have invested both a large amount of time and effort towards advancement within the current organizational structure. Livingstone and Sylvia (1979:16) have stated that changing the organizational structure previously set is "equivalent to changing the psychological contract between the organization and its members which requires considerable negotiation and education."

Lewin and Keith (1976:87) also made note of the importance of recognizing the vast potential of the police union to severely limit the effectiveness of managerial attempts to reorganize the police agency. It was the opinion of Lewin and Keith that police managers and public officials must "formulate their labor market and employment policies in recognition of the linkages among wage determination, the external labor market, manpower practices, and collective bargaining in the production of police services."

Randall (1978:12-34) documented an account of how the police association in the Boston Police Department successfully impeded a 1968 proposal to hire civilian traffic directors in their jurisdiction. The mayor of Boston formulated the proposal to replace trained police officers who were deployed as traffic officers with civilians who could be paid less, would require less training, and who could work part-time. This action would allow the department to redeploy these sworn officers to patrol duty where they could concentrate on law enforcement and crime control work. The proposal was adamantly opposed by the Boston Police Patrolmen's Association (B.P.P.A.). The B.P.P.A. raised the argument that by using civilians to direct traffic and transferring sworn officers to outlying residential areas, the downtown business would be deprived of comprehensive police protection. They were successful in

obtaining the support of the downtown merchants in opposing the civilianization proposal. In response to this pressure, the Boston city council finally defeated the measure. The Mayor of Boston then proceeded to attempt to gain state legislature support for his proposal a number of times but was constantly unsuccessful. In the end, however, after a great deal more struggle between the mayor's office and the B.B.P.A., the two organizations developed a compromise alternative which allowed the hiring of a few civilian employees without requiring sworn officers to reassume rigorous street assignments instead.

Gaining police union support for any attempt at civilianization is very hard to accomplish. Referring again to Tien and Larson's (1978:117-131) analysis of the Police Service Aides program with the Worcester police department, it was noted by these authors that even though that program was perceived as being very successful and beneficial to the department and to the community as a whole, the union's official position was definitely against the police service aide program. Tien and Larson state that the program received as little negative criticism as it did because the police union involved was distracted by what it saw as more pressing and important issues including a new work schedule, pay raises and court overtime pay. Also, in an attempt to

minimize the union's negative reaction to the creation of the program, the originators of the plan made an effort to present the aides as a supplement to, and not a replacement of, the sworn officer contingent. To further emphasize this point, the chief of the department authorized to have thirty-five sworn police officers to be hired at the same time the aides were introduced into the department. This action by the chief undermined, to a limited extent, the main objection of the top union officials which was that the creation of the police service aides program would result in fewer additional sworn police officers being hired by the city. Even with these considerable efforts being made by the department, one union steward was quoted by Tien and Larson as stating, "To be honest, there are very good things about the police service aides program, but nobody is going to get up at a union meeting and defend the PSA's."

These two examples of union reaction to attempted civilianization demonstrates the importance in minimizing negative feedback and reaction from the police union sector of any particular police department. This reaction may be minimized by including union representatives in all stages of pre-planning and implementation of planned personnel or position changes. Honest and complete information and data should be shared with union personnel in an attempt to have

them more fully understand the motivations underlying the proposed changes.

STEP 7: Again recognizing the valuable resources inherent in the existing staff complement it is extremely important for Canadian police officials to make the best use possible of their present staff complement. Economic and educational factors in the recent past have enabled Canadian police agencies to recruit new sworn officers from a very competitive, ambitious and well educated and qualified group of applicants. The present system of staff training techniques and curriculum and deployment of sworn officer personnel fails to most fully utilize the various potentials of the individuals involved. Often police departments develop personnel practices which are self destructive and act to reinforce ineptitude and expensive inefficiency. One such example is the practice of promoting personnel primarily on the basis of seniority.

Johnston (1985:14) identified the fact that the practice of promoting officers on the basis of seniority in the Montreal Urban Community homicide squad has resulted in a relatively low solution and conviction rate in comparison to other urban homicide squads throughout Canada. Johnston quoted the present and past squad commanders stating that promotion based solely on seniority results in inefficiency

and quite often officers not suited and underqualified being promoted into positions where they have little opportunity of being successful. The Police Director of the Montreal force was also quoted as stating, "whether the older man is cut out for homicide work doesn't matter. Whether the young officer is the best cop of the lot doesn't matter either." A situation such as exists in Montreal cannot be good for that department, as a whole, or for all of its individual employees.

Younger sworn officers are handicapped in demonstrating their abilities and fulfilling their various potentialities within the departments in which they work by traditional training curricula promotional practices and restrictive operational guidelines. A young officer entering any particular police force in this country must realistically anticipate remaining a generalist patrol officer on the streets for approximately ten years prior to being given an opportunity for promotion. During those initial ten years he, or she, would receive little, if any, specific, formalized training to prepare for specialized duties and/or supervisory and managerial positions. A sworn officer trained specifically for law enforcement duties may very well have propensities and skills which could be developed for specialized duties; duties which may be designated as

requiring specifically trained civilian specialists, which are never identified and exploited by the department. As a result a multi-talented individual entering the police force as a sworn officer remains a sworn officer almost exclusively useful for fulfilling the law enforcement facets of the job which acts to restrict their usefulness to the department. The training departments of the police agencies do little to develop their potential skills for effective response to social service calls or to develop to the fullest extent their managerial abilities. Rather, personnel practices such as described earlier in this section by Johnston develop and the departments become ineffective in fulfilling their designated responsibilities.

Other than the cost savings inherent in hiring civilian police personnel to perform support and clerical duties, the most commonly cited argument for hiring civilians is that they possess the necessary training and experience required for specialist duties. For example, family counsellors sent with sworn officers as described by Plummer, et al. (1979:10-16) and civilian training assistants as described by Cohan (1976:23). In both of these examples, specialized training for selected sworn officers demonstrating both an intense interest and aptitude in those areas may have resulted in existing police personnel being able to provide

the required services without introducing civilian staff with a limited understanding of the police role as a whole. Too often, diversly gifted sworn officers are denied the opportunity to demonstrate the abilities they are capable of in delivering police services. Some changes which police administrators should consider in their departments have been identified in the United States by the American Public Administration Service claims Guyot (1979:270). In twelve out of forty-two departments studied by the Public Administration Service at least one of the following career employment practices were utilized: "special assignment into positions that have career value, leaves of absence to allow employees to pursue education or experience in other agencies, formalized job rotation, and exchange programs with police departments or other agencies." All of these career employment practices could act to more fully develop existing sworn police personnel capabilities and potentials.

The process of civilianization involves complex and comprehensive planning to be successfully implemented in any police agency with a minimum of resulting inefficiency and breakdown of agency morale. The seven steps previously listed merely provide police administrators with a number of considerations and suggestions which would aid them in effective management of their department's responsibilities.

CHAPTER 11

THE DUAL ORGANIZATION POLICE AGENCY

The dramatic rise in the practice of civilianization in police agencies as a response to the demand for increased services in times of significant budgetary restraint lends itself to the conclusion that police services might benefit from a drastic reorganization, both functionally and structurally, so that it conforms to the realities of the roles requested of it with maximum cost efficiency. One alternative to be seriously considered would be to divide the police organization into two agencies under one department. The one agency would primarily be a community-service agency responding to the vast majority of community originated calls, which are calls for service. The other agency would primarily function as a law enforcement agency responding to community originated calls requesting criminal investigation and requiring personnel possessing the full powers of arrest and use of force. Administrators of both agencies would primarily be civilians possessing such skills as planning, budgeting, personnel administration and systems analysis.

Perhaps the most important justification for such a reorganization is the elimination of the role conflict inherent in modern policing. The modern police role has

evolved into police personnel being expected to function as a relatively large surrogate service agency to the community handling all of the needs of the people all of the time while also maintaining an armed, uniformed force with unique access to the law to legitimately use physical force and the powers of arrest to enforce the laws of the land. These two roles are basically in conflict with each other, yet operationally, individual police officers are expected to master each role psychologically so that in the performance of their duties they can perform each with adequate proficiency as the occasion demands.

Both Garmire (1972:4-9) and Fagin (1979:174-190) conclude that the resulting role conflict experienced by sworn police officers has severely limited the effectiveness of the police as a deterrence to crime, called into question the legitimacy of their function, and eroded public trust and confidence because they are not properly trained, equipped or capable of performing either role with a significant degree of success, let alone both of them.

A major source of the problems inherent in the role conflict of sworn officer's duties is a direct result of the police forces traditional conceptions of themselves as law enforcement officers and not as an element of the helping

system even though many research studies including Wilson (1968:18) have demonstrated that approximately two-thirds of all calls coming into the police station are calls for service. As Fagin (1979:182) states, "The police self-image is one in which the police officer pictures himself as the crime fighter standing alone against the Mongol hordes."

In a general sense, police officers have not accepted fully the service role and have not desired to acquire the skills and experience necessary for service and order maintenance most probably because of the lack of department identification and reinforcement of these roles in terms of training and formulation of a police department identification as one of many existing social welfare agencies.

Community citizens, on the other hand, have come to immediately summon the police when conflict first erupts because they have a highly organized mobile response capability, as well as, legal and symbolic powers. Ironically, however, the presence of an armed, uniformed sworn police officer with the power to use physical force and to arrest often escalates an emotional conflict situation to an even higher level which often results in the deterioration of police community relations.

The Dual Organization police agency would act to

minimize the effects of role conflict on its employees. Each agency within the one department would have its own well defined set of roles, expectations and specifically trained personnel. Levels of frustration, job dissatisfaction and poor role performance would logically be greatly improved. The law enforcement agency would primarily be staffed by individuals who are presently sworn police officers with few changes in their recruitment and training techniques. They would exclusively perform the police functions of patrol and investigation being fully armed with necessary weaponry and possess the powers of arrest and legitimate use of force. Naturally, this agency would be composed of individuals psychologically and physically attuned to the law enforcement role.

The community-service agency would primarily be staffed by individuals who would not necessarily be sworn police officers but who would possess levels of education, experience and training commiserate to the service roles they would be performing. Although these individuals would not require full uniforms or sidearms, they should be in possession of the full powers of arrest.

Garmire (1972:7) suggests that both the agencies should be under civilian control.

"Administering both agencies at the departmental level would be a professional staff composed of public administrators directly responsible to the elected or appointed head of government. The public administrators would not necessarily be policemen. Indeed, they should be chosen for their administrative expertise - not just for their law-enforcement or community-service expertise. I wish to emphasize the importance of developing and maintaining civilian control over both the law-enforcement and community-service agencies."

The civilian control, coupled with specialized role expectations inherent in the dual agency would act to minimize police isolation from the community, insularity among its employees and the encompassing negative repercussions of role conflict. Contrastly, only appropriately trained and suitable employees would be engaged in specific policing duties which would act to maximize job satisfaction and performance efficiency.

One fact that must be considered when discussing the evolution of the modern police role is that the public police are not the only agency which offers either community aid or law enforcement services. There are a large number of private security and investigation firms which offer selected police services, as well as, a multitude of both public and private social service agencies in existence

which in closer analysis may be better equipped to provide services and expertise required by the public than the police can offer.

The idea of a dual organization police agency could be further advanced by arguing that the public police departments have fallen into the trap that because they can provide 24 hour, highly mobile response to a wide variety of calls that they should respond to these wide array of calls and continually expand their base of responsibilities, for example into crime prevention and victim assistance areas. Because the police department represents the ultimate power of government to enforce certain rules within its area of jurisdiction and because of people's fear of crime, the expansion of police responsibility and its corresponding budget tends to be virtually immune to outside questioning. The fact is, however, that law enforcement, like the provision of any other service, is essentially a business activity and as such the allocating of scarce resources, the setting of priorities, and controlling costs should be scrutinized.

Poole (1977:37-50) presents a somewhat cynical perspective of the way public police departments used the citizenry's fear of increasing crime levels, guaranteed access

to tax money and high profile as defenders of human rights and liberties to justify their continued increase of sphere of influence and increased budgets to their best advantage. Acknowledging that the public police do apprehend a proportion of criminals and law-breakers, Poole, Wertheimer (1974:49-60) and a number of other researchers have tested many of the assumptions and myths upon which modern policing have been based and have found that the capability of the police to prevent and solve crimes is far more limited than commonly supposed and depicted on television and movie screens. For example:

- "1. Routine, random preventive patrol in marked police cars has little value, either in preventing crime or in making citizens feel safe.
2. Cutting seconds or even minutes from the average police response time makes little difference in whether or not a criminal is apprehended.
3. Most serious crimes are solved through information obtained directly from the victim or witness rather than from leads developed by detectives.
4. A large number of serious crimes essentially solve themselves based on information given to the responding officer; massive data collection systems are probably not worth what they cost."

(Poole: 1977:37-38)

Based on this information it can be concluded that the

police serve most effectively as a back-up role to apprehend (where possible) those individuals who forcibly interfere with the lives and property of others. Wertheimer (1974:53) has concluded that, "police provide, not protection, but the illusion of protection; they protect us, not from harm, but from the fear of harm."

For many business organizations and private individuals what the police are able to offer is not enough for their particular needs and private law enforcement or security firms are hired to both supplement and replace the public police force. Presently, in both Canada and the United States there are more individuals engaged in private security than there are numbers of public police personnel. In fact, there are a number of police departments which have considered delegating specific police services to private security firms.

The Institute for Local Self Government (1977:31-42) in the United States recommends that private security firms, through specialization, modern business techniques, and the incentive of making a profit, could offer significant cost savings to a municipality for specialized police services. Table #19 shows four levels of selected police services which a San Francisco Bay Area police department

suggested could be contracted to private firms.

TABLE #19

MODULAR APPROACH TO CONTRACTING FOR SELECTED POLICE SERVICES

LEVEL 1: Support Services

LEVEL 2: Non-criminal, Non-hazardous
(such as lost child, residential
injury, abandoned vehicles, etc.)

LEVEL 3: Criminal, Non-hazardous (such
as misdemeanors, petty-theft,
ordinance violations, etc.)

LEVEL 4: Felonies, Non-hazardous (such
as cold auto theft, cold burglary
bad cheques, etc.)

(Non-hazardous refers to requests
for services containing no prob-
ability of personal contact with
law violators, e.g. the so-called
"cold" offences.)

(Institute for Local Self-Government
1977:33)

If **such** a proposal were implemented in Canadian police departments, the law-enforcement branch of a dual agency police force could delineate specific areas of responsibility which they could more realistically satisfy. The narrowing of the public police role would offer police departments the ability to concentrate their limited resources on specific

duties and responsibilities which have been prioritized by the community and which correspond directly to the training the police officers have received.

The community-service agency in the dual organization police department could also be limited in the types of calls it would respond to. Presently the modern police forces respond to almost every call for service ranging from stray pets to major public disturbances. Some selected police departments have hired specialist civilians such as social workers, juvenile caseworkers, family counsellors and educators and trainers to assist in responding to community calls for service and order maintenance. As a direct response to the traditional roles the police have expanded to encompass, other community service agencies have been restricted in the development of their ability to meet community needs. Resultingly, both the police and the community, have come to believe that the police are the only agency which can effectively resolve certain community problems. This situation need not necessarily be true.

Equipping a variety of community social service agencies with expanded communication and response capabilities on a twenty-four hours basis would enable agencies other than the police department to provide

services requested. For the most part, these other agencies have greater expertise, resources and specifically trained personnel to more effectively resolve public dilemmas than sworn police patrol officers. Before such a plan has any chance of succeeding, however, these other public agencies must be granted some of the unique rights and responsibilities held primarily by sworn police officers.

Because the police have been granted the legitimate capacity and authority to use coercive force and have a unique access to the law by being able to exercise the power of arrest, the general public have come to perceive the police department as the only agency which should be called to handle such diverse tasks as proceeding against criminals, evicting drunks, directing traffic, controlling crowds, caring for the very young and the very old, administering first aide, settling domestic altercations and so on. The police assert that the argument that various order maintenance and social service functions that they are regularly asked to perform should not be part of the police role, loses sight of the fact that it is the unique access to force and law that is being requested and not police skills as social workers, family counsellors and psychologists.

The solution to this dilemma is to simply break the

near monopoly the police have on unique access to force and law and allow specific agents within a variety of social service agencies that same unique access to be used in specific situations. Rather than bringing highly trained civilian specialists into police departments to assist them in dealing with a wide array of service requests, perhaps police departments should begin to consider transferring specifically trained sworn patrol officers into social service agencies to assist in dealing with specific requests for service which may require unique access to law and force. The police would then perform a gate-keeping function to the appropriate social agency.

By keeping the spectrum of responsibilities assigned to the police within reason through the action of allowing various public and private agencies the power and ability to handle specific requests for services previously exclusively under police domain, the possibility of an effective dual agency police organization under civilian control increases.

The social service agencies involved would, of necessity, need to accommodate these new responsibilities in a very controlled manner. For example, each agency could create a separate branch to deal specifically with these specialized new area of responsibility without affecting a major change

to their present order and bureaucracy. A fairly comprehensive internal and community public relations and information package would need to be instituted to educate and encourage acceptance of the new roles and expectations of these specialized branches. Individuals employed in these separate branches would need to possess specific skills and training to accommodate these new roles in the individual agencies they would be operating in. These individuals could either be former sworn police employees who have considerably upgraded their level of training or they would be former social service agency employees who have received specific police training to properly exercise the powers of arrest and legitimate use of necessary force. Their supervisors, managers and administrators would also have to be expert in these new role expectations to have the separate agencies operate at their fullest levels of efficiency and accountability.

Great care must be taken for the law enforcement branch not to be viewed by the public as aggressive and obtrusive enforcement figures. Negative role imaging can be minimized through positive public relations programs instituted by the particular police department and by instilling in both the

particular sworn officers in the agency and the general public a sense of acceptance and importance. The act of placing these officers under civilian management will also act to minimize the insularity and "us against them" identification which plagues many modern police departments.

In conclusion, the primary justifications for considering the reorganization of police departments into dual agency police organizations would be to minimize the problems inherent in the role conflict between community service and law enforcement systems, provide a suitable milieu within the police department to allow maximum transfer of responsibilities to appropriate private and public security firms and social service agencies, and perhaps most importantly, infuse the police organization with non-sworn police personnel, thereby decreasing the organization's insularity from the public and maximizing the democratic values inherent in the department.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In a determined effort to create a professional police force which would win the confidence and support of the general public, Sir Robert Peel set down his famous principles of law enforcement which remain the foundation of professional police service:

Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement

1. The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder as an alternative to the repression of crime by military force and severity of legal punishment.
2. The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police existence, actions, behavior, and the ability of the police to secure and maintain public respect.
3. The police must secure the willing cooperation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain public respect.
4. The degree of cooperation of the public that can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity for the use of physical force and compulsion in achieving police objectives.
5. The police seek and preserve public favor, not by catering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to the law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the

- justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws; by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the society without regard to their race or social standing; by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.
6. The police should use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice, and warning is found to be insufficient to achieve police objectives; and police should use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.
 7. The police at all times should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police; the police are the only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interest of the community welfare.
 8. The police should always direct their actions toward their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary by avenging individuals or the state, or authoritatively judging guilt or punishing the guilty.
 9. The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

(Radelet 1977:4)

Peel's Principles of Law Enforcement reflect the basis of development of social control methods throughout human cultural history by emphasizing the important role of the public in any attempt to formalize policing services. During the periods of time when western cultures were primarily mechanically solidary societies, characterized by a low division of labor, internal population homogeneity and a simple technology, there existed a form of "collective conscience" reflective of an undifferentiated and repetitive life experience which lent itself to the ideal that each society member was responsible for law enforcement. All members of a community accepted an obligation for the good behavior of each other based on a well-understood principle of social obligation and collective security.

With the advent of industrialization and urbanization, societies moved towards organic solidarity, characterized by a high division of labor, internal population heterogeneity and an advanced technology. Informal forms of policing became less effective primarily due to the loss of a collective conscience and a greater emphasis on acceptance of diversity. Activities formerly structured in terms of a collective acceptance of responsibility transformed themselves into activities requiring external administration and integration. What was formerly accomplished by a society as

a collectivity (mechanically) needed to be assigned and accomplished organically. This process need not necessarily be reversed, nor could it be, but it must be recognized that the formation of a government bureaucracy to maintain social control and order and to be responsible for law enforcement should not exclude opportunities for community members to be involved in the deliverance of those services. Police agencies as a whole, along with their individual employees, have become relatively insular and isolated from the citizens they are to be servicing.

With isolation comes the potential of the abuse of individual liberty and the restriction of the ideals of democracy. This is especially true of government agencies possessing a great deal of power and which are organized in quasi-military structures such as the police. In an attempt to minimize the authoritarian potential inherent in the police agency it must be infused as much as possible with civilian influence and involvement.

Peel recognized this concept when he referred to the historic tradition that "the police are the public and that the public are the police" and emphasized the fact that the ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police existence, actions and

behavior. The relationship of public and police should be perceived as being singular among both groups rather than the "Us Against Them" attitude which appears to be so pervasive in modern police departments.

Upon examination of the origins of modern police agencies, another important justification for maximizing civilian participation in policing becomes evident. A number of social scientists, including Quinney, Parks, Bordua and Reiss, have suggested that the power to bring about meaningful change in an organically solidary society is not equally distributed across all social class levels and as such specific social groups or classes possess the power to manipulate bureaucracies such as police departments to act in their own best interests, sometimes to the detriment of all other social groups or classes.

The elites of society can influence the criminal justice system to legislate against specific actions and by controlling the law enforcement agencies can bring the powerless under the control of the state (which in turn is predominately controlled by the elites). Bordua and Reiss (1967:282) summarized elites interests in the formation of early police agencies by stating:

"The form of early police bureaucracy was a response not only, or even primarily, to crime per se, but to the possibility of riotous disorder. Not crime and danger but the criminal and dangerous classes as part of the urban social structure led to the formation of uniformed and military organized police. Such organizations intervened between the propertied elites and the propertyless masses who were regarded as politically dangerous as a class."

By having all levels of the police department proportionately civilianized, it is far more difficult for elite interests to be given priority significance to the exclusion of all other community interests.

Police organizations have evolved their role and spheres of influence relatively rapidly from their early beginnings. In Canada, the United States and Great Britain, the role of the police has progressed from an emphasis on four primary justifications underlying the prime motivations for organizing police agencies including controlling perceived rising levels of crime, quelling public riots, limiting public intoxication and suppressing those individuals labelled as belonging to the "dangerous classes", to a collective societal perception that the police department is the government agency that can and should effectively respond to an immense array of societal needs ranging from needs for a variety of social services, the maintenance of societal

control and order and the repression of criminal activity and law enforcement. Traditionally, the police have been given the broad and extremely vague definition of their role in society as maintaining law and order and as a result their role has constantly been subject to interpretation and reinterpretation leading to even further constant expansion of expectations from the general public.

Despite this constant expansion of the police role, both the public and individual police officers remain fixated on the perception that the police are primarily "crime fighters" while a preponderance of evidence demonstrates that only a minority of the average police officer's time is devoted to law enforcement activities. Since the majority of community requests are for community service and order maintenance the opportunity exists for a large number of non-sworn police employees to be introduced into police organizations at most levels of functioning. The process by which non-sworn police personnel, civilians, are introduced into the police organization is labelled as civilianization.

Civilianization represents the most pervasive change in police agencies to occur in the past half century. There are potentially four different types of civilianization possible in relation to the structure of sworn positions

within the police agency. The first type involves the civilianization of positions performing routine tasks which normally operate outside of normal police work such as crossing guards and parking control officers. The second type is the civilianization of support and clerical positions which acts to free sworn officers for duties more closely related to their specialized skills and training. The third type involves civilianization of specialist staff positions, primarily administrative positions. The final type involves the civilianization of scientific and advanced technological positions in the laboratory and computer centers of the police agency. Examples of all four types of civilianization have been included in this prospectus.

The actual rate of civilianization within any one country is difficult to determine due to the fact that many of the experiments in civilianizing positions go unreported and thus unpublished. In comparison to the United States, however, it is obvious that Canadian police forces have been reluctant to practice civilianization with any substantial degree of commitment.

Although there exists some controversy over the actual extent of some of the benefits resulting from the practice of civilianization, a review of the published literature

clearly shows that civilianization of specific job functions can be very helpful to police organizations to increase cost efficiency and productivity if civilians are used to replace, not supplement, sworn officers in the police organization. These findings are of significant relevance when it is recognized that although public demands for police services have risen substantially in the past twenty years the amount of financial and personnel resources available to the police have not been able to increase at the same rate.

Excluding the civilianization of administrative and sophisticated technological support positions, nearly all of the included examples of employing non-sworn police personnel to replace existing sworn officers have cited financial savings to the particular police department as a direct result. These departments also found that by having civilians perform activities which did not require the specific skills and powers possessed by sworn police officers, the officers were freed to spend more time than previously possible on field law enforcement duties.

Civilianization has also acted to provide police departments with individuals possessing levels of expertise and specialized training which these departments have not

been able to develop among its own complement of sworn officers.

Perhaps the most important, and least mentioned, benefit derived from the practice of civilianization, is the normalization process of the police agency which is intrinsic in introducing non-sworn personnel into the workplace, bringing new life and versatility to the organization. Civilianization acts to minimize the separation between the police and the community they serve by providing a valuable link between the police and the public and fostering a general awareness of the problems confronted by the police as they attempt to perform their duties. As a direct result the insularity and isolation of the police department from the community is significantly reduced.

The limited case study of the Ottawa City Police Department provided a concrete context to examine the extent of civilianization in a Canadian municipal police force and allowed for an examination of different types of police personnel's reactions to this personnel practice. Almost all pertinent topic areas discussed in the published literature were identified to some extent in the interviews completed.

As could have been predicted, the sworn patrol officers and the police association members presented the strongest negative perceptions concerning the topic areas presented to them. These were the individuals who had the most to lose in terms of the rising instances of civilianization and as such presented the most conservative responses to the questions included in the interviews.

In contrast, the police administrators and civilians interviewed provided responses which demonstrated a greater degree of acceptance towards the possible positive benefits which could be derived from the practice of civilianization.

This group of employees provided two sets of comments which are of great interest, including:

1. Two of the police administrators interviewed agreed with the idea of highly trained and specialized civilians could quite effectively operate in a number of administrative positions, most notably in the position of Chief of Police,
2. The majority of civilian employees verbalized a perception that they themselves could perform a number of activities currently performed solely by sworn officers and also expressed a willingness to take upon themselves some of these duties if the opportunity to do so were provided them.

Recognizing the small extent of the numbers of personnel interviewed and the resulting minimal capacity for statistical significance, the interviews conducted did act to serve the useful function of verification of the major issues inherent in the civilianization process and also provided a base from which recommendations for the initiation of the practice of civilianizing specific job positions could be formulated to assist interested police officials.

Prior to the formulation of any attempt to civilianize a job position, however, it is extremely important to preplan the implementation process. A list of necessary pre-planning steps have been included in this prospectus covering the most important areas of consideration which should be considered prior to the initiation of any proposed position classification change. A synopsis of these steps will be included in a list of policy recommendations for police managers and administrators in Canada to consider as they attempt to lead their departments through an economically depressed period. ↓

Civilianization of specific positions within police departments as they are presently structured is not the only alternative by which police administrators can continue to provide policing services while resources are becoming

scarce. The possibility of totally restructuring the police organization into two separate agencies, one to respond to community services calls and one to respond to calls for law enforcement, both under civilian control, has been presented Garmire (1972:6-11) suggested that such a reorganization would result in a number of benefits including:

1. a drastic reduction in role conflict for police employees presently inherent in their job description
2. the community would become much more involved in the administration of policing services due to the two agencies being under civilian control; and
3. such a reorganization would offer numerous opportunities for input from other non-police organizations and private industry to assist in the deliverance of policing services.

The ~~writer~~ has supplemented Garmire's original suggestions with the conclusion that a reorganization of this type would enable other public and private agencies to have an opportunity to assume responsibility for responding to calls from the public for services which they are presently more able to successfully complete than the police department if they were able to share in the unique access to law and legitimate use of force presently held exclusively by the police. It is this type of restructuring and reorganization which would maximize community reinvolvement in the main-

tenance of societal control and order. Civilianization of specific position classification in existing structures of Canadian police departments is the first major step in reducing the insularity of the police and creating a more democratic system of providing specialized services to the public.

The following is a list of recommendations for Canadian police administrators to consider based on this review of the process of civilianization and its impact on police agencies in Canada.

RECOMMENDATION #1:

Police organizations must reassess their self-image of being agencies which are significantly different from other government bureaucracies because of their unique role and potential power in fulfilling that role. The police must be viewed simply as one of many agencies of municipal government. By viewing the police primarily as an agency of municipal government the fact is emphasized that each community has the opportunity to make their own judgements as to what the police force should be doing. The police need to recognize that the community has a legitimate and important role in the decision-making process of administrative policy making.

Such a perspective also reinforces the fact that requested increases in police budget and manpower can no longer be immune to community questioning because the police are similar to any other service agency and are required to set priorities in the allocation of scarce resources in an attempt to control costs.

Police administrators also sometimes get caught up in the process of "empire building" (as do many administrators in the public agencies). Rather than constantly searching for new areas into which the police department could and should assume responsibility for, police administrators should attempt to devise responsible means by which services currently provided by the police organization could be transferred to other agencies in the community (either public or private agencies) which may have greater and more specialized resources to competently satisfy the particular request for service.

A re-evaluation of the police self-image is pointless, and perhaps even destructive, without a re-education of the general public to correspond with it. Any proposed change of the police role, or its perceived role, should be accompanied by public approval or initiation. This cannot be accomplished without a more complete public understanding

of the present parameters of the police role and possible alternatives to its-present state. This re-education can be accomplished with the cooperation of federal, provincial and municipal governments.

RECOMMENDATION #2:

Police administrators should have a task analysis performed on each and every existing position classification, including all administrative positions, within their departments in an attempt to determine whether or not those individuals presently performing the tasks are the most proficient and cost efficient personnel possible to be assigned to those positions. In this process, the specific duties inherent in that position must be outlined and a subsequent judgement, made of the particular skills and talents required by an employee to most capably and cost efficiently complete the entire range of position functions and expectations. To complete this function properly, the value of sworn officer's experience must be placed in its proper perspective. It is not realistic to presuppose that the vast majority of position classifications within the department require prior sworn police officer experience.

RECOMMENDATION #3:

Police administrators should contemplate and review all possible alternative position classifications which do not presently exist in their departments. A list of numerous possible position alternatives which have been initiated by particular police departments in Canada, the United States and Great Britain have been previously listed. Examples of these alternative position classifications include community service officers, police service aides, police cadets, civilian crime analysts, and many others. The initiation of these alternate position classifications would act to free existing sworn officers to perform duties more relevant to their training and expertise.

RECOMMENDATION #4:

Police administrators should strive to organize and deploy an extensive volunteer program similar to those initiated by other criminal justice and social service agencies, particularly correctional services. Volunteers can assist in many duties and provide the police department with yet another avenue for liaison with the community.

RECOMMENDATION #5:

A civilian career ladder offering numerous opportunities for advancement must be structured into existing police departments to recruit and retain civilian employees who display job proficiency and a commitment to the police agency and its responsibilities. This action would correspond with the recommendation of the Taverne Report which was drafted in Great Britain. This action would establish a stable and efficient group of administrative staff who would relieve senior operational officers of a significant portion of the paper workload which is an intrinsic part of the operational demands of any police organization. Bouza and Kennedy's recommendation that a citywide career ladder for specific civilian technocrats such as computer operators and data processors, should be considered in an attempt to create a potential pool of civilian "experts" who could perform specific job functions which require a great deal of specialized skill.

RECOMMENDATION #6:

Police administrators should supplement the personnel practice of civilianization with the practice of allowing and encouraging lateral entry for all position classifi-

cations. This concept would apply not only from police department to police department but would also encourage exchange of personnel from other civilian, government or business organizations.

RECOMMENDATION #7:

The training curriculum developed for police personnel should be adjusted to more closely coincide with actual job functioning for all personnel. Fagin (1979:179) quoted a National Advisory Commission (1973) report which evaluated police training in general in the United States as stating that training in subjects other than law enforcement, for example, order maintenance, psychology, etc. comprises only five to twenty percent of the training curriculum. The training packages offered to sworn officers must more closely reflect the actual duties these officers are expected to perform.

Unlike the situation with sworn police officers who require a shift in emphasis in their existing training curriculum, civilians rarely receive the benefit of any formalized training. Insufficiently trained, civilian police personnel could potentially present a risk to the personal safety of police employees in general.

Another important issue to be identified is that too much reliance can be placed on the effects of training, especially in cases where the ideals taught in training do not become and remain operational because they are not reinforced in all key organizational processes.

RECOMMENDATION #8:

Prior to any attempt being made to civilianize any position classification, police administrators should attempt to either gain support for the change or attempt to minimize negative union reaction to the proposed change. This can be accomplished to an extent by involving union representatives in all stages of pre-planning and implementation pertaining to civilianization.

RECOMMENDATION #9:

Police administrators should expend great effort in making the best use of the existing staff complement, especially the group of sworn officers. Many sworn officers have the potential to perform a wide variety of tasks proficiently but most often are labelled as being able to adequately perform the duties inherent in being a patrol officer. Their abilities to perform specialized duties are

often overlooked and never given the chance to develop fully. Opportunities to develop and demonstrate specialized skills must be offered to the sworn officer contingent of any police department.

Human cultures and societies are continuously in a state of flux and are constantly changing and evolving. The police department as a government agency providing specialized services to the communities in which they exist must also be open to change if they are to provide service efficiently. The process of civilianization appears to be one category of change which must be integrated into the police organization. The ultimate objective of any effort to change the police organization must be to improve the quality of the services it provides to the community. An increase in the amount of civilian community control over the maintenance of order and control can only be seen as a positive move in that direction in a democratic society such as Canada.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. American Personnel and Guidance Association, "HRD (Human Resource Development) Approach to Police Diversion for Juvenile Offenders" Personnel and Guidance Journal, Vol. 54, No 8, April 1976, pp. 1-3.
2. Anon. "Volunteerism: Key to Fighting Crime", Law and Enforcement Assistance Administration Newsletter, No 6, March 1977.
3. Anon. "Rochester's Teens on Patrol Program" Law and Order, December 1979, pp. 45-46.
4. Association of Central Oklahoma Governments, Project Crime (Community-Based Research to Improve Methods OF Evaluation - Project Report 5 - An Evaluation of a Police Diversion of Youth Project, Washington, DC: United States Department of Justice, 1976.
5. Bahl, R.W., D. Greytak, A.L. Campbell and M.J. Wasylenko, "Inter-governmental and Functional Aspects of Trends in Public Employment in the States, Public Administration Rev. 32, (November/December), 1972.
6. Barber, John C. and Rich Vorie, "University of California Blind Dispatcher Program", FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, March 1979.
7. Bayley, David H., "A World Perspective on the Role of the Police in Social Control", in The Maintenance OF Order in Society, edited by Rita Donelan, Canadian Police College, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1982.
8. Bennett-Sandler, Georgette, "Citizen Participation in Policing: Issues in the Social Control Agency", in Critical Issues in Criminal Justice, edited by R.G. Iacovetta and Dae H. Ching, Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1979.
9. Bergman, R.A. The Crime Detection Laboratories: Police or Civilian? Essay, see Verticle File, Canadian Police College, Ottawa, 1976.

10. Berkley, G.E. The Democractic Policeman, Boston: Beacon Press, 1974.-
11. Bibby, Leon O. "The Seattle Police Special Activities Section: How to Provide Maximum Police Service at Minimum Cost", FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 47:9, 1978, pp. 16-21.
12. Bird, B.B. Involvement and Use of Senior Citizens in The San Diego, California ICAP (Integrated Criminal Apprehension Program), Washington, D.C.: Public Administration Service, 1978.
13. Bordua, David J. and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Law Enforcement", in Paul F. Lazarsfield et al. editors, The Uses of Sociology, New York: Basic 1967.
14. Bouza, Anthony, V., Police Administration, Organization and Performance, New York, New York: Pergamon Press, 1978.
15. Bouza, Anthony-V. and John J. Kennedy, "Will the Police Ever Understand Modern Technology?: in Police Magazine, Volume 2, Number 5, September 1979, pp. 36-38.
16. Brandstatter, A.F. and A.A. Hyman, Fundamentals of Law, Beverly Hills, California: Glencoe Press, 1971.
17. Brannon, C.D., Denver, Colorado Police Department - Special Attack Team (SCAT) - A Demonstration of Directed Patrol Procedures - Final Report, Washington D.C.: United States Department of Justice, 1976.
18. Brown, Lorne and Caroline Brown, An Unauthorized History of the R.C.M.P., Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1973.
19. Chapman, Samuel G., "Developing Personnel Leadership, The Police Chief, March 1966.
20. Cirel, P., P. Evans, D. McGillis, and D. Whitcomb, An Exemplary Project: Community Crime Prevention Program, Seattle, Washington: National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1977.
21. Cizanckas, V.I., "Prescription for Vandalism - Junior Housing Inspectors", Nation's Cities, Vol. 12, No. 3, March, 1974, pp. 16-18.

22. Clark, Doug , "The Balding Boys in Blue - Burnout, Not Bullets, Makes the Case for Early Retirement, Legion, January 1985, pp. 17-18.
23. Cohan, M., Iowa - Department of Public Safety - Personnel and Training Assistant - Preliminary Evaluation, Washington, DC: United States Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1976.
24. Copp, W.C., "Manpower Alternatives", Law and Order, May, 1979.
25. Devlin, Daniel J., Police Procedure, Administration and Organization, London: Butterworth and Company, 1966.
26. Dewhirst, Frank, "Civilianization - Report of the Working Party on Police Operational Efficiency and Management", Criminologist, Vol. 5, No. 15/16, January, 1970.
27. Durkheim, Emile, The Division of Labour in Society, translated by George Simpson, New York: Free Press, 1964.
28. Fagin, James A. "Why the Police Cannot Stop Crime: A Call for Police Reorganization", in Critical Issues in Criminal Justice, edited by F.G. Iacovetta and Iacovetta and Dae H. Chang, Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1979.
29. Fink, Joseph and Lloyd G. Sealy, The Community and the Police - Conflict or Cooperation?, Toronto, Ontario: John Wiley and Sons, 1974.
30. Fisher, L., "Civilian Police Workers Rated Highly". Law Enforcement Journal, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1977.
31. Forsyth, Raymond W. and Orbie L. Adams, "Investigative Aide - Extension of the Paraprofessional", The Police Chief, May 1979, pp. 28-29.
32. Fosdick, Raymond, European Police Systems, New York: Century, 1915.
33. Fosdick, Raymond, American Police Systems, New York: Century, 1920.

34. Garmire, Bernard L., "The Police in an Urban Society", in The Police and the Community, edited by Robert F. Steadman, Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1972.
35. Goldstein, Herman, Policing a Free Society, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1977.
36. Gregg, Phillip M. Impact of Civilianization in the Police Service - Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University Press, 1977.
37. Greisinger, George W., "The Use of Civilians in Police Work", The Police Chief, July 1976, pp. 28-31.
38. Greenberg, Martin "Police Volunteers: Are They Really Necessary" in Critical Issues in Criminal Justice, edited by R.G. Iovetta and Dae H. Ching, Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1979.
39. Griffiths, Curt T., John F. Klein and Simon N. Verdun-Jones, Criminal Justice in Canada: An Introductory Text, Toronto: Butterworth and Company, 1980.
40. Guyot, Dorothy, "Bending Granite: Attempts to Change Rank Structure of American Police Departments", Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1979, pp. 253-284.
41. Hargrave, Barry Community Contact in the Greater Manchester Police Department, Manchester, England; Greater Manchester Police Headquarters, 1979.
42. Hegarty, William G. and C. Samuel Kissinger, "A Proposal to Improve Police Services Without Increasing Municipal Operating Costs", Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1977, pp. 309-392.
43. Heininger, Bruce L. and Janine Urbanek, "Civilianization of the American Police: 1970 - 1980", Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1983, pp. 200-205.
44. Hennessy, James J., "The Use of Civilians in Police Work", The Police Chief, April 1976, pp. 36-38.
45. Hill, M.A. "Civilianization in the Police Service", Criminologist, Vol. 10, 35-36, 1975, pp. 22-38.

46. Hobbs, R., "T.O.P. (Teens On Patrol)", R.C.M.P. Gazette, Vol. 41, No. 7 & 8, September, 1979.
47. Institute for Local Self-Government, Alternatives to Traditional Public Safety Delivery Systems, Berkeley, California: 1977.
48. Jayewardene, C.H.S., The Police, Ottawa: A Crimcare Publication, 1982.
49. Juliani, T.J., C.K. Talbot and C.H.S. Jayewardene, Urban Centurions: The Historical Development of Municipal Policing in Canada, Ottawa: Crimcare, 1984.
50. Kelly, William and Nora Kelly, Policing in Canada Toronto: Macmillan, 1976.
51. King, Everett M., The Auxiliary Police Unit, Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1961.
52. Korczynski, James "Civilians in the Police Function", Law and Order, April 1978.
53. Lee, Melville W.L., A History of Police in England, Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1971.
54. Lewin, David and John H. Kieth, "Managerial Responses to Perceived Labor Shortages - The Case of the Police" Criminology, Vol. 14, No. 1, May 1976, pp. 65-92.
55. Lundman, Richard J., Police and Policing: An Introduction, New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1980.
56. (Her) Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland, The 1979 Annual Report, Edinburgh, Scotland: Scottish Home and Health Department, 1980.
57. New York Times, April 27, 1916, p. 8 and July 6, 1916, p. 9.
58. Norrgard, D.L., San Luis Obispo Country (California) Sheriff's Department Analysis of Information Requirements for Determining Manpower and Staffing Needs - Police Technical Assistance Report, Washington, D.C.: Public Administration Service, 1976.
59. Parks, Evelyn L., "From Constabulary to Police Society; Implications for Social Control", in William J. Chambliss and Milton Mankoff (eds.) Whose Law? What Order? A Conflict Approach to Criminality, New York: Wiley, 1976.

60. Peat, H., and M. Marwick and Partners, Review of the Current and Potential Future Usage of Support Personnel in the Waterloo Regional Police Force Vol. 2, Kitchener, Ontario: Waterloo Board of Commissioners of Police, 1978.
61. Plummer, C.C., K.A. Merrit and A.G. Leach, "Family Counsellors and Law Enforcement - Hayward's Approach to Domestic Violence", Crime Prevention Review, Vol. 6, No. 2, January, 1979, pp. 10-16.
62. Polio, John V., "Civilians in the Police Function - A Rebuttal", Law and Order, September, 1978, pp. 26-27.
63. Polis, Henry, J., "Police Administration: A Fresh Approach", The Police Chief, March 1976, pp. 14 & 82.
64. Poole, Robert W., Cutting Back City Hall, Massachusetts: Duxbury Press, 1977.
65. Quarles, Chester L., "Police Manpower Alternatives", Law and Order, Vol. 5, 1977, pp. 44-50.
66. Quinney, Richard, Criminology, Boston: Little, Brown, 1975.
67. Radelet, Louis A., The Police and the Community, 2nd ED., Encino, California: Glencoe Press, 1977.
68. Radziniwicz, Leon A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750, Vol. 3, New York: MacMillan, 1957.
69. Randall, Frank, "Holding On - Union Resistance to Civilian Employees in the Boston Police Department" in Richard C. Larson, editor, Police Accountability - Performance Measures and Unionism, Lexington, Mass.: Heath Lexington Books, 1978.
70. Richardson, James F., "Evaluating the Cleveland Police Department: 1920 - 1970", in The Police in Society edited by E.C. Viano and J.H. Reiman, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974.
71. Richardston, James F., The New York Police: Colonial Times to 1901, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

72. Rubin, Jesse, "Police Identity and the Police Role", in The Police and the Community, edited by Robert F. Steadman, Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1972.
73. Schofield, G.A., Fort Lauderdale Florida Police Department - Final Report Community Service Aide Project, Fort Lauderdale, Florida: Fort Lauderdale Police Department, 1977.
74. Schwartz, A.I., A.M. Vaughn, J.D. Waller and J.S. Wholey, Employing Civilians for Police Work, Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Publications Office, 1975.
75. Shimberg, Benjamin and Robert J. Di Grazio, "Promotion" in Police Personnel Administration, edited by O. Glenn Stahl and Richard A. Staufengerger, Massachusetts: Duxbury Press, 1974.
76. Silver, Allan "The Demand for Order in Civil Society", in David J. Bordua (ed.) The Police: Six Sociological Essays, New York: Wiley, 1975.
77. Skolnick, Jerome H., Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966.
78. Skolnick, Jerome H. and J. Richard Woodworth, "Bureaucracy, Information, and Social Control", David J. Bordu (ed.) The Police: Six Sociological Essays, New York: Wiley and Sons, 1967.
79. Skousen, Cleon W., "What About A Civilian Peace Corps?" Law and Order, Vol. 21, March 1973.
80. Smith, T.S., J.E. Williams, and R.L. Smith, Police-Civilian Foot Patrol - An Evaluation of the PAC TAC (Police and Citizens - Together Against Crime) Experiment in Rochester, New York, Washington DC: United States Department of Justice, 1975.
81. Solicitor General Canada, Impact: Costs of Criminal Justice, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, Vol 2, 1984.
82. Statistics Canada, Juristat Service Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 2, December, 1983, pp. 1-5.

83. Task Force Report on the Police; The Presidents' Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administrations of Justice, The Police, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.
84. Tien, James M. and Richard C. Larson "Police Service Aides: Paraprofessionals for Police", Journal of Criminal Justice, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1978, pp. 117-131.
85. Wagner, J. "They are (Handicapped) Police Technicians" Worklife, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1976, pp. 7-11.
86. Wertheimer, Roger, "Are the Police Necessary", in The Police in Society, edited by Emelio C. Viano and Jeffrey H. Reiman, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974.
87. Wilson, I.W. and R.C. McLaren, Police Administration-Fourth Edition, New York, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977.
88. Wilson, James Q., Varieties of Police Behavior: The Management of Law and Order in Eight Communities, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.
89. Yin, R.K., M.E. Vogel, J. Chaiken, and D. Both, Patrolling the Neighborhood Beat: Residents and Residential Security, Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 1976.