

**LEARNING AND THE CHANGING POLICE ROLE:
FROM PATROL OFFICER TO CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER**

by

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**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Education
Department of Adult Education,
Community Development & Counselling Psychology
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
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ABSTRACT

Learning and the Changing Police Role:
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Doctor of Education

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The primary focus of this study pertains to how society should better go about selecting the right chief of police who possesses the skills, knowledge, experiences, and abilities to provide the best police service possible to the residents of the Province of Ontario. This study addresses knowledge factors, learning, and training issues, rather than testing procedures and selection methods. In addition, it addresses the role of chief of police and what makes it different philosophically from that of the members of the "rank and file." Important differences exist not only in terms of duties, obligations, and responsibilities but also in working relationships, affiliations, and personal values.

Chiefs in Ontario started their careers as police constables and through various career activities and by their own initiative became chiefs. With few exceptions, formal levels of education, certification, or specialized training did not play a major part in the selection process.

In this study, the chiefs were asked three key questions:

- "What did you think you needed to know to become a chief?"
- "How did you learn it?" and;
- "What advice would you give to someone who had the ambition to become a chief in the future?"

Their answers were compared with the literature pertaining to issues of executive development, leadership, and the administrative practices of successful police and business organizations. How today's changing society impacts on policing is also discussed, along with recommendations for improving the chief selection process.

Comment is provided about the most important subjects that should be addressed in police executive training, including attendance at the various police colleges, executive programs at universities, and self-directed reading programs. During their careers those who wish to be chiefs should work and become proficient in at least two of the major areas of policing: "patrol," "investigations," or "administration." "Would-be" chiefs should take advantage of opportunities to work at an executive level, in areas outside policing, and take leadership positions with volunteer agencies. They should read widely and if possible visit police agencies in other countries. Early career training should include material pertaining to the philosophical and theoretical aspects of policing.

Anyone who accomplishes anything of significance has more confidence than the facts would justify. It is something that outstanding executives have in common with gifted military commanders, brilliant political leaders, and great artists. It is true of societies as well as individuals. Every great civilization has been characterized by confidence in itself.

John W. Gardner. (1965).
Carnegie Corporation: Annual Report.

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The completion of a doctoral dissertation requires far more work and the assistance of more people than I ever imagined when I started this project. I suspect also that there is a major difference in completing a dissertation after being in the work force for many years than there is in completing one at the beginning of one's working life. In my case, with years of work experience, I feel indebted to so many people throughout the world who have been part of my learning over a lifetime. It is impossible to name them all.

Of those I must identify are first the members of my committee. Dr. Alan Thomas, the committee chair, provided invaluable assistance and support both with this dissertation and through many long discussions about adult education and learning in, and outside, the classroom. Dr. Edward Hickcox set high standards for research and pushed me towards greater and greater effort. Dr. Howard Russell helped draw this project together, after replacing a committee member who withdrew near the end of the project for health reasons. It is the committee that makes the project and I was lucky to have the members whom I did. My deepest thanks to these outstanding men.

Outside the teaching faculty at O.I.S.E. the office staff, building custodians, and librarians always had the time to help solve problems and provide assistance in any way they could. If there was one group who made me feel like I was on the road to becoming an adult educator, it was my fellow O.I.S.E. students in the 1987 DHR class. Ten years later, we are still friends and in frequent contact. An extraordinary and caring group.

As the subject of this dissertation is the police and police leadership, it is to the police that I am most indebted — first, as colleagues in an interesting and worthwhile career and — as people interested in learning and public service. Second, as subjects of this research, their cooperation was above expectations. Within my own organization, Commissioner Thomas O'Grady provided both encouragement and support by opening doors throughout the police community. The chiefs of police who took part in my survey and those fifteen chiefs who also freely answered questions during the interviews provided invaluable information. I am proud of them all.

Numerous other police officers and their support staff from police departments, training institutions, libraries, administrative units and the federal and provincial office of the Solicitor General gave freely of their time. This same level of support was also provided by members of the police community throughout Canada, the United States, and England.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CACP	Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police
IACP	International Association of Chiefs of Police
IPA	International Police Association
MSG	Ministry of the Solicitor General
MSG & CS	Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Service
NCO	Non Commissioner Officer or Non Commissioner Member
NDC	National Defence College of Canada
OACP	Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police
OPC	Ontario Police College
OPP	Ontario Provincial Police
OPPA	Ontario Provincial Police Association
OAPSB	Ontario Association of Police Services Boards
PA	The Police Act
PPA	Provincial Police Academy
PSA	The Police Services Act
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RSC	Revised Statutes of Canada
RSO	Revised Statutes of Ontario

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

On June 30, 1995, I retired from the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) after serving twenty-seven years in various parts of Ontario and at General Headquarters in Toronto. During this period, I spent one year on security and public relations duty at "Expo 70" in Japan, and a year at the National Defence College (1992-93). Within a competitive promotional system, based on supervisor assessments, written examinations, oral boards and assessment centers, I rose through the ranks from probationary constable to superintendent: an executive position within the top one percent of the rank structure.

Prior to joining the police service, I spent eight years in the printing and manufacturing industries, followed by three years traveling the world. During my years of travel, and while studying Judo at the Kodokan in Tokyo, I taught English for a number of private sector companies in Japan. This previous work experience, in Canada and Japan, exposed me to managers in work environments other than policing.

After police recruit training, and six years on detachment duty, I spent the remainder of my career in administrative roles. I was assigned to policy development, supervisory and management positions in planning and research, staff development, audit, and systems support. My major field of interest during these administrative assignments was in staff development and the promotional process. To further my knowledge of training programs for senior police officers and other ranks, I took numerous police management and personnel courses in the private sector and at various police colleges. I started university, as a mature student, on a part-time basis in 1974. Although I took a wide

variety of courses, in a range of subject areas, I frequently had opportunities to focus on police and government related subjects.

To keep current in police operations and law enforcement issues, which I thought was necessary to support my own career plan, I visited detachments throughout the province. I spoke frequently with officers involved in these activities and read extensively in the fields of law and police operational issues. I also visited police and military colleges and other security training institutions in North and South America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and in the South Pacific. Noteworthy were the differences in lengths and types of systems, or in some cases, lack of systems, for the selection and development of future police executives, and in particular, future chiefs of police.

My career in policing, enhanced through years of part-time university studies, foreign and domestic travels, and visits to numerous police organizations has left me with a growing interest in the training and development side of the police service.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

This research focuses on the career backgrounds of the men and women who are chiefs of police of Ontario police departments. It starts with the assumption that all chiefs in Ontario entered the police service as constables (the "shop floor" level of the police service) without professional qualifications, received their police training after they were appointed probationary constables, and through their own initiative, rose to positions of chiefs of police. Formal levels of education did not appear to be factors in the selection of the current chiefs of police as only two of the ninety-five chiefs taking part in this study had a university degree before they joined the police service (see Tables 5-06 & 5.07, p. 131). The research suggests that this present selection process is not an acceptable system for the selection of future chiefs of police due to a changing situation.

THE PROBLEM

Range of Issues

Ontario has a system of police forces that range in size from less than twelve employees, for example, La Salle, and Aylmer Police Services, to the Metropolitan Toronto Police Service with over five thousand uniformed members. The people in command of these organizations are selected, by competition, from pools of police officers and former police officers, without a legislated reference to a required level of formal education, command experience, or management training. Yet changes in demographics, social diversity, a more mobile population, changing crime patterns, and more levels of civilian oversight increasingly complicate the job of chief of police. Moreover, on-going efforts

by governments to cut spending resulting in reductions in police budgets, and a corresponding reduction in the number of supervisory and management personnel strain the police system. If citizens are to continue to live in a safe, free society, protected by "a humane and people oriented police service," it is paramount that candidates with the right qualifications and skills are selected to provide leadership to the police services.

Changing Needs

In the past, the person chosen to be chief of police was expected to function within an organization based on the "Military Model," to emphasize law enforcement, and maintain a high level of discipline and control. The chief was seen as the organization's "top cop". Improvements in the quality of police service were made, in part, through improvements in the quality of police operational training. Quality training was the basis of what became known as the police "Professional Efficiency Model. " The trend, however, in the last twenty years is for police organizations to move away from authoritarian command structures towards team building, the delegation of decision-making, and the creation of "learning organizations" (Boose, 1995; Campbell, 1992). Today the emphasis is on a "Community Policing Model" — or as will be suggested models — with the police functioning as a protection and service organization(s). Within this model(s), the emphasis changes from law enforcement and the apprehension of offenders alone to include a greater emphasis on community service and victim assistance. Under this new model police officers are expected to listen to the view of the wider community and include public input into the planning process.

Within the "Community Policing Model" operational training is still important, if not critical, however, this research suggests that there will be an additional emphasis on higher levels of formal education to the graduate and post graduate levels, particularly for those in senior command positions. This assumption is based on the dual role of the police executive. They are both operational officers who must understand the functions and legalities of the police service, and senior executive officers who have business and administrative responsibilities equal in complexity to those of many other executives in government and the private sector. This need for advanced levels of education is supported by a trend to fewer but larger, more complex, police services requiring more effective, multi-skilled executives who can function in times of rapid change.

Purposes of this Study

The purposes of this study are to identify criteria used to select, train, and develop persons to be chiefs of police within Ontario. It will answer the question, who is best qualified to be chief of police in terms of work experience, behaviours, education, and personal characteristics. For those now serving as chiefs of police, the study suggests key elements that should be included in an ongoing training and development program to ensure the chiefs can provide the best leadership possible. For "would-be" chiefs of police, the study examines the best career patterns to follow and the type of training that will probably be required. For those responsible for selecting chiefs of police, the study provides both opinions of current chiefs of police as to what is required to fill the position successfully and, from the literature, a synopsis of a wider view of executive requirements. The social backgrounds, education, career patterns, leadership and

management styles of the men and one woman, who are the current chiefs of police, are discussed. The study also examines how chiefs adapted to changes in the role from being operational police officers to being chiefs of police. In addition, this study identifies some of the changes in society, and in the administration of policing that may affect the future role and functions of chiefs of police. As a result of these changes and increasing social demands, it may be necessary to change current and future executive developmental programs for chiefs and future chiefs of police. Based on an analysis of the trends in organizational change, three primary issues are to be considered. First, how to select the best person to be chief of police? Secondly, what programs should a chief be expected to implement in order to provide the type of police service that a community wants and needs? Thirdly, how should the policing system best be restructured to meet these wants and needs? The concluding Chapter suggests both an ideal system for the restructuring of the police service in Ontario and what is possible in light of economic, political and personal pressures. Understanding these issues will be the key factors in developing processes to select and train the right persons to be chiefs of police

Research Model

In part, this study is patterned on an earlier work conducted in England and Wales (see page 50) by Reiner (1991), pertaining to the chief constables (the equivalent term for chief of police) in those two countries. Based on Reiner's research model, personal background material was collected from the chiefs of police in Ontario, by mail survey and through structured interviews. In addition, material was collected through informal discussions with the teaching staffs at a number of police colleges and academies.

Research Questions

The research questions are:

1. What did the chiefs think they needed to know to become chiefs of police? What does the literature say about this?
2. How did the chiefs learn what they thought they needed to know?
3. Did the chiefs have a plan that led them to the chief's position?
4. If the chiefs had known when they were constables that one day they would be chiefs, what might they have done differently in their careers?
5. What advice would chiefs give to a person who wanted to be a chief of police in the future? What does the literature say about the requirements of the future chief?
6. What are the differences in the role between being a chief of police and being a member of the police service at a lower rank?
7. How do the career paths and patterns of chiefs of police in Ontario compare with those of chief constables in England and Wales?

THE BACKGROUND: DILEMMAS AND INFLUENCES

A Century of Change

As we approach the end of the twentieth century, it is possible to look back one hundred years and realize that the world in terms of organizational development and management systems has probably changed more during this period than in any other (Hersey & Blanchard, 1993). In terms of leadership, the changes are most noticeable. At the start of this century, only the church and the military had established leadership development programs (Montana & Charnov, 1987). Most companies were privately owned and leadership was a matter of inheritance. Governments were small and depended mainly on paternalism for leadership identification (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Drucker, 1973). Today, leadership, management, and organizational development are widespread subjects of research and academic writing. Additionally, the pace of change together with cultural and social issues are important considerations for the chief executive.

A Public Oriented Police Service

The police service in Canada is by definition a small "c" conservative entity — hierarchical, rank structured, and authoritarian (Grant, 1981; McDougall, 1988). Police officers have both privileges and responsibilities. They are protected by law and, because they are appointed by a legally elected government, they gain public acceptance and are seen as legitimate users of force. Wearing uniforms and operating marked vehicles the police are one of the most recognizable of public servants. Police officers usually work shifts, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, including statutory holidays and are available to meet public demands for assistance when other government

agencies are closed. They have the power to restrict another person's freedom, and when necessary to use force in the performance of their duties. Frequently, they are seen on the evening news as the principal actors responding to a violent criminal act, conducting a search for a missing person, or investigating a traffic accident, often involving serious injury or death. Occasionally they are the object of violence themselves (Grant, 1981; Hicks & Gullett, 1976; McDougall, 1988).

Since the 1960s and early 1970s, when the majority of today's chiefs of police started their careers in policing, (see table 5.01, p. 127) there have been major changes in the role of the chief and in the society that they are sworn to protect. Society is more mobile, more multi-cultural, better informed and more demanding of rights and freedoms (Naisbitt & Aburdene, 1990; Sparrow, Moore, & Kennedy, 1990). The police service is held more accountable for its members' actions and for the money it spends than in past decades. Technology plays a larger role in how the police investigate occurrences and in the management of resources. Chiefs of police are less involved than their predecessors with the direct investigation of crimes and apprehension of offenders, and more involved with the management and administration of their increasingly complex organizations. This requirement is even greater in the larger departments (Bizzack, 1989) where chiefs need to spend the majority of their time with administrative activities such as budget management, strategic planning, attending administrative meetings, and responding to political and personnel problems (Campbell, 1992; Hernandez, 1993; Stamper, 1992).

There are two additional change considerations that are of paramount importance to chiefs of police. First is internal and external pressure to modify the historical military

model of command and control of the police service to a more participative organization(s). Second, is the demand to change the philosophy from a "law enforcement" focus of policing to a public service focus through "community based policing" (see pp. 10 - 13). These will change the fundamental concept of policing.

In addition to administrative complexity, chiefs of police control organizations where culture plays a significant part in how decisions are made and how people learn (Bouza, 1990; Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 1974). In part, an understanding of the changes in the role from being a constable to being a chief of police is rooted in police culture. In their eighteen weeks of basic training, constables are trained to do the job of constables but not in the philosophical or theoretical sides of the police service (McCreehy, 1981). Much of what is learned in the early years of a police career is learned on the "streets" from senior constables (Goldstein, 1990). What constables learn, at this stage of their development, is significant in how they relate to other police officers and to the public in the performance of their duties (Goldstein, 1990). According to Reiner (1985) and Bouza (1990), police recruits are people from working-class backgrounds, in their early twenties, fresh out of school with little work experience in other sectors of society. They are not taught to appreciate the functions of the wider police service, its role in the government system, and thus, to appreciate the role and responsibilities of the chief.

Staffing Problems and Costing Issues

A key point in understanding the problems of all police forces, particularly the smaller ones, is the issue of staffing. Because the police service is on call twenty-four hours a day, year round, whether there are twelve or even five thousand members does not mean

that all these police officers are on duty at any one time. Shift schedules, designed to cover three shifts a day, seven days a week, must also allow for coffee and meal breaks, rest days, vacation and sick time, special leaves, and contract obligations such as overtime restrictions, time off between shifts, and restrictions on the lengths of shifts. Working agreements also call for two people to be in one vehicle, particularly after dark, and back-up for occurrences that are considered dangerous. In addition, numerous people are frequently assigned to major investigations on a full-time basis, or seconded to other organizations, or assigned to administrative activities, such as report writing, court preparation, and mandatory training time. The result is that it takes six or more officers to put one officer on patrol twenty-four hours a day. The smaller the force, in terms of numbers of uniformed members results in less staffing flexibility. In fact, many small forces do not provide twenty-four hour a day patrols, but depend on assistance from neighbouring forces and/or the OPP.

Military Connection

Police officers, with a history rooted in the military, are often referred to as members of a para-military service who continue to mirror the military in terms of organizational structures, ranks, rules, regulations, uniforms, training systems, and leadership styles. Chiefs, who when in uniform wear elaborate rank markings, are clearly identified as the leader of a police service in the same manner senior officers are identified in the military. Both types of organizations demand member loyalty and commitment. Being the enforcers of the municipal, provincial, and federal laws, chiefs of police and their officers are subject to additional laws, rules, and regulations themselves in the same

manner as military officers are to their regulations. The police service is bound by the laws of Canada, the provinces, and in some cases the municipalities. Laws state what police officers may and may not do, and govern their conduct through such acts as the Police Services Act or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act. The legal system and the police connection to the military remain important factors in a study of career paths and patterns of chiefs of police. The military model still provides a structure to policing.

The structure may be about to change. According to Berndt (1982), outside influences dictated by social demands and values, in addition to constraints imposed by the political and economic milieus, are playing a larger part in police leadership. These demands include new legislation and high profiled public concerns for safety and operational fairness. The dilemmas become far reaching when chiefs of police have to manage within the bounds established by either popular, controversial, or legislated programs that have not been fully tested — community policing for example. Chiefs and future chiefs are going to have to take a position on which is the better system and possibly contend with pressures to provide both law enforcement and community service programs.

Community Policing

A key point in the Police Services Act (1990) is a new requirement that police forces provide "community oriented policing" (see p. 39). Community policing represents a major shift in the way police service is provided and may require different administrative skills. The military model may not be the most appropriate police structure for this new concept. In addition, the lack of a clear mission statement, the difficulty of implementing the program on a city or province wide basis, and a misunderstanding of

what is meant by community based policing adds to the difficulty of selecting and training the right person to fill the role as chief of police.

I do not intend to provide a complete review of the merits and pit falls of community based policing; I merely suggest that as a mission statement of policing, the PSA is obscure, especially since it lacks a clear definition of "community oriented policing" (also called community based policing). Part of this problem is defining "community." Is it simply a geographic area or a community of interests, or both? Understanding the dynamics of community is critical to the prevention and control of crime and disorder. The difficulty is that "community oriented policing can mean different things to different researchers" (Trojanowicz & Moore, 1988, p. 1).

In 1994, the Metropolitan Toronto Police Restructuring Task Force published a report Beyond 2000, supporting the concept of community based policing and recommended restructuring the Metropolitan Toronto Police Service along these lines. In principle, this report has been accepted: thus, Ontario's largest police service, which in the past had experimented with the concept, is moving toward a complete implementation of community policing without a clear or common definition of what this means. Similarly, the OPP and a number of other forces have also adopted community based policing as their principal philosophy. All other police forces in Ontario, which have not so far implemented community based policing, are now expected to follow suit.

According to Fantino (1996), the myth of community based policing is that it will solve the majority of social problems facing the society's underclass. However, if these

problems are not addressed in more positive ways than simply changing the police system, problems of street crime and other forms of violence, including riots are likely to persist. Community based policing is not a panacea (Hoover, 1992).

Community based policing is more than having officers walking the beat or smiling at children. In its widest sense, it is community management (Hoover, 1992). Police officers are expected to be major players in neighbourhood improvement. For example, they are expected to work with the sanitation department to ensure garbage is removed from the streets; with the road maintenance department to ensure streets are in good repair; with the parks and recreation department to ensure activities are provided for young people who otherwise might "get in trouble." The police are expected to redeploy many of their resources from law enforcement and traffic control to community improvement. According to Fantino (1996), the concept is "resource heavy" at a time when police departments are "resource light." In theory, although police departments may support community based policing, most communities would probably be satisfied if the police could simply reduce the level of crime and maintain a semblance of orderly behaviour (Fantino, 1996; Geller, 1985).

Community based policing works best when one or more police officers are assigned to a specific area of a town or city and work with and get to know the local residents and merchants. It is personalized police service. The difficulty, reported by detachment and station commanders in Canada and the United States, is that of staffing (see p. 8). In addition to shift requirements, operational police officers are usually responding to crimes in progress, investigation traffic accidents, attending court or completing the

required paperwork associated with these activities. Many police officers claim that these activities keep them busy and they do not have the time to get involved with the personal service required of community based policing. A further difficulty is that police officers work shifts and are frequently not available for their community based policing patrols the same time each day. Assigned to a area on day shift, for example, a police officer might work ten to twelve hours per day for four days and have four to six days off before changing to another shift. That officer may only be in his or her assigned area — on the same shift — four or five days per month; not enough time to be an "active player" in the community or to provide personal — community — police service .

A key issue is that police officers have traditionally been in the crime prevention and law enforcement business and not in the social service business. One chief who was interviewed for this research stated that if unemployed people are driving around in vans and breaking into houses during the day while the home owners are away at work, the problem is as much an issue of lack of jobs as it is of law enforcement. He does not think community based policing alone will solve all economic and social problems. Certainly, trying to prevent crimes in the first place — including such issues as domestic violence and drug abuse — is better than repeated visits by the police to the same location attempting to restore order. The concept, however, is not limited to "Community Based Policing. "

Other models available, such as the "Professional Efficiency Model" and "Problem-Oriented Policing," have a great deal of merit (Hoover, 1992). However, community oriented policing uses terms that are politically correct and sound progressive.

Terms such as neighborhood involvement, public communications, breadth of input, shared responsibility, responsiveness, long-term commitment, and my favorite — coproduction — all have a wholesome, democratic ring. Contrast this set of terms with those describing crime-specific interventions — covert operations, electronic eavesdropping, stings, decoy squads, stop and question, and, last but certainly not least, special weapons and tactics. (Hoover, 1992, p. 20).

Hoover (1992) suggests that there are certainly serious political implications to placing uniformed armed government agents with arrest authority in charge of neighbourhood management. In addition, a further problem is that the chief may only be giving the concept "lip service," or has a very different idea of what community based policing is all about than the respective police services' board. This is a new role for chiefs of police.

Community based policing has its supporters, particularly in the academic world (Brown, 1989; Hastings, 1993; Sparrow, et al. 1990). In addition, the Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services and the US Department of Justice have taken a supportive view (Understanding community policing: A framework for action, 1994; Skolnick & Bayley, 1986). Articles published in favour of community based policing exceed negative articles. The benefits cited include a commitment to crime prevention, public scrutiny of police operations, a police service accountable to the public, a customized police service, a greater degree of public involvement in problem solving, greater job satisfaction, better internal relations, and greater support for organizational change (More, 1992; Skolnick & Bayley, 1986).

Still, the concept leaves room for misunderstanding, especially when it comes to defining "community," and "community interests." In trying to provide the type of service communities want, the police service needs community input and support: Thus

community policing will probably remain a factor in policing. (Community Policing: Shaping the Future, 1990; Guyot, 1991; Sparrow, et al. 1990). A key point is that community based policing is popular with the political leadership and the police services' boards, thus, to be considered every serious contender for the position of chief of police is forced to state that he or she supports community based policing. However, what will be the results if community policing is only a passing fad? This overlying issue is reflected in the literature review and interviews with the chiefs of police.

Outside Influences on Policing

Since its inception in 1972, the Ministry of the Solicitor General, currently the Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services (since 1993), has been increasing its role in the administration of the police services in Ontario. The Ministry has grown from a unit of twelve people, who acted as consultants and support personnel for the Minister, to an organization of hundreds of employees with numerous branches and programs designed to provide support and even control of the policing services within Ontario. The political objectives of this Ministry that led to its increase in size have been: to raise the quality of policing in Ontario and to standardize police administrative practices (Goals and Objectives of the Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1972; McDougall, 1988; Ministry of the Solicitor General, Annual Report(s), 1972 to 1993; Task Force on Policing in Ontario, 1974).

The Ministry of the Solicitor General with responsibility for the administration of the Police Services Act, has the power through legislation, and through control of transfer payments from the provincial budget, to impose its will on the policing services. Chiefs

of police must assign members of their staff to accommodate administrative changes imposed on their departments by the Ministry. The Solicitor General of Canada is also placing an increased work-load on the policing services through such acts as the Firearms Act (RSC, 1995), and the Young Offenders Act (RSC 1985). Police departments must accommodate these legislative changes often without federal funding for the programs. Police chiefs then must respond to direction not only from their own local government(s) and police services' boards but also to the provincial and federal authorities. The trend in the last few years is for the latter two governments to develop not only a greater number but also more complex and expensive programs to be implemented (Courts & Durivage, 1992; Police Act (RSO, 1946); Police Services Act (RSO, 1990).

Department Reductions

Governments in Ontario and in England and Wales (the subject of Reiner's study) are reducing the number of police administrative centres by decreasing the number of small police departments. This represents a saving in direct operating costs and salaries for chiefs of police, other senior officers, and support staff. Smaller departments are also under siege because they are unable to provide adequate services, partly because of the high cost of purchasing and maintaining modern, sophisticated equipment such as computers, radio systems, and video units (Ahern, 1972; Campbell, 1992). Smaller departments, in Ontario, are strained because they must form additional units from existing resources to meet the requirements of new or amended legislation such as the Freedom of Information and Privacy Act (RSO, 1990) and "the public complaints system" demanded by the Police Services Act (RSO, 1990).

A review of Ontario police forces' annual reports from 1970 to 1994 indicates that in 1970, approximately one hundred and forty police forces existed in the province. Some, such as the former Virginiatown Police Force, were as small as two person organizations, with one member acting as chief of police and the other as constable, in contrast to the larger forces with hundreds or thousands of members. Over the past twenty-five years, the number of forces in Ontario — as of April 1995 —has been reduced to one hundred and four (Directory of Corporate Security Administrators and Chiefs of Police, 1995). The number is being reduced further each year. In the same period, police forces in England and Wales have been reduced from one hundred and forty-three and now stabilized at forty-three (Grant, 1981; Reiner, 1991).

Small departments are being absorbed by the OPP under contract, amalgamated with other small departments, or are being absorbed into regional forces. To accommodate these growth and program changes, chiefs of police in the larger departments must restructure their organizations by allotting more time to develop strategic plans geared to the future changes, necessitated by the larger unit, and to responding to directions from the Ministry of the Solicitor General. This is adding to the increasing complexity of the job, the magnitude of the tasks, and the increasing workloads of the chiefs (OPP Annual Report(s), & Ministry of the Solicitor General, Annual Report(s), 1972-93).

In January 1996, the Ministry of the Solicitor General established a task force to report on the structure and financing of police forces in Ontario with the objective of reducing policing costs by cutting the number of departments as quickly as possible. The first

proposal suggested that possibly the number of police forces could be reduced to sixty or less (Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police: Newsletter, 1996, Spring).

Increasing Difficulties

With fewer police forces, there will be a corresponding lack of opportunities to become a chief of police. The chief's role itself will change and become more complex. Chiefs of larger departments will have less time for direct control over operations and less contact with the majority of their officers. They will have to spend more time managing complicated administrative initiatives together with larger budgets, increased staff, and other resources. They will have to overcome the difficulties of implementing community based policing or establish a more effective model. Chiefs will also have to contend with larger, more diverse civilian police boards and other political overseeing entities appointed by larger governments. The political and administrative factors may even be more difficult to contend with if the current trend in budget cut-backs, staff reductions, and program reviews continue, as all managers are being asked to do more with less. Newer ways of providing a police service, in differently structured, managed, and trained organizations, may have to be found. Under these difficult and changing conditions, chiefs of police may have to become even more effective administrators, change managers, public relations specialists, and political lobbyists, as well as better police executives (Ahern, 1972; Bizzack, 1989; More, 1992; Sparrow, et al. 1990).

Terminology

A number of terms preceded by the word "career" and the term "career" itself pertain to this study and will be used in later chapters.

The terms are:

- career paths;
- career planning;
- career ladders;
- career streams;
- career patterns and;
- career development.

The term "career" refers to:

a sequence of positions or jobs held by one person over a relatively long time, usually ten or more years (Stone, 1988).

The term "career planning" pertains to programs consisting of four distinct elements.

Effective career planning programs provide opportunities for employees to engage in all four elements (Stone, 1988). The four elements are:

1. individual assessments of abilities, interests, career needs, and goals;
2. organizational assessments of employees' abilities and potential;
3. communication of information about career options and opportunities with the organization; and
4. career counseling to set realistic goals and plan for their attainment (Stone, 1988, p. 13).

The terms "paths" and "ladders" are used interchangeably in much of the management literature. In the police system, "paths" are movements through the rank structure from probationary constable through the sergeant ranks to senior officer to chief of police. It

is possible for a path to be modified in that a person may skip a rank, or come from an outside organization, and start at a rank above probationary constable. In Ontario, skipping one or more ranks is a common practice. However, all serving chiefs of police who took part in this study started their police careers as constables (Table 5.05, p. 130).

"Patterns" or "streams" (also used interchangeably in the management literature) refer to the movement within the system, such as assignments in field operations, administration, or special (criminal) investigations. A police officer may stay in one stream during his or her entire career or move back and forth among the streams.

"Career development" refers to formal education programs such as those provided by universities and colleges, training provided by the police service, self initiated learning, and the skills, knowledge, and abilities obtained from police experience, on-the-job training and secondments outside the police service.

Police Terms

In Ontario, the head of the provincial force, the OPP, is referred to as "commissioner." The head of the federal force, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) is a commissioner. This term is used throughout the (British) Commonwealth for the head of a provincial or national police organization. The heads of the other police forces are called "chief of police" or "police chief." Both terms are used interchangeably: the shortened form is "chief." In some of the literature, the chief is also referred to as "chief constable." This is the term used for the heads of British police services, with the exception of Metropolitan London, whose head is a commissioner. Specific information

about the rank structure, uniform markings, and reporting relationships of members of the police services is included in Appendix "E," p. 256.

The term "force" is being replaced with the term "service." The purpose is to put the emphasis on the police entities as service organizations rather than as organizations that use force in the performance of their duties, although both terms are still used interchangeably. Many police officers refer to their own organization as the "force." Police organizations are also called police departments or police entities.

In addition to a central headquarters, or general headquarters (GHQ), medium and large police departments provide police services through deployed "stations" or "units." The OPP and RCMP refer to these deployed units as "detachments." The OPP manages its detachments through six deployed regional headquarters. In support of community based policing, a number of detachments and stations are opening "store front offices" — in locations such as shopping malls and recreation areas — which open for a few hours at a time, usually at busy periods or by appointment.

Varying Sized Departments

Ontario supports over one-hundred various sized police departments which, for the purposes of this study, will be referred to as small, medium, and large. The structure of the OPP with its provincial responsibility and deployment offers a basis for comparison. The OPP is divided into six regions, each commanded by a superintendent or chief superintendent, to supply a police service to a particular area of Ontario. Within each region are from ten to eighteen detachments, most commanded by a staff sergeant. In

this study, any police service smaller than the larger OPP detachments, approximately 100 members, will be referred to as a small department. In most cases they are the town police departments. Any department larger than a detachment but smaller than the smallest region, approximately 500 members, will be referred to as a medium size department. These include many of the city police departments. Any department larger than the smallest OPP region (500 members) will be referred to as a large department. These include some of the regional departments, such as Metropolitan Toronto, and include the OPP itself.

Chapter Summary

This study analyses the careers of the men and women who are the chiefs of police of the cities and towns of Ontario and makes a comparison with the careers of chief constables in England and Wales. The overall purpose of the study is to identify criteria used to select, train, and develop persons to be chiefs of police within Ontario and thereby determine who is best qualified to be a chief of police in terms of work experience, behaviours, education, and personal characteristics. It is a study of people in highly structured organizations who have developed their own customs and traditions — in other words, they have created a unique organizational culture — which impact on how they learn, the way they do their work, and the way they react to changes in their environment. The criteria for selecting chiefs of police will have to accommodate leaders who can function outside the military model, who can adapt their style to manage legislated programs such as community based policing and who can function in a rapidly changing society. The need for higher levels of education will also be considerations in developing career programs that lead to the position of chief of police.

Among the issues affecting the role of the police service and its leaders are government restructuring, changes in demographics, technology, reduced budgets, two career police families, police officers who want more from their careers than a job, legislated training, and a more demanding public in terms of rights and freedoms. The trend is for chiefs to manage larger, more complex organizations, staffed with a better educated work force. By necessity chiefs are required to become managers of change and practitioners of organizational development. It is expected that concepts such as leadership principles and management skills are becoming more important to the training and development needs of chiefs of police than operational training and field experiences alone.

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

An Overview

To understand the role of the chief of police in Canada, it would be useful for the reader to have a basic understanding of the historical, legal, and structural factors pertaining to policing responsibilities and governance. This Chapter provides an overview of the policing system in Canada with additional information provided through a comparison with the police service in England and Wales. This comparison is made through referral to an earlier study conducted in these two countries by Reiner, (1991).

Historical and Legal Framework

The men or women who hold the positions of chiefs of police are the latest in a line of people who have been responsible for the enforcement of society's laws and the apprehension of criminals since the beginning of recorded history. In the past, the person chosen may have been the strongest person in the village (and thus able to enforce the law), a relative of the sovereign, or other government official, or the longest serving person in a company of people responsible for maintaining the public peace (Becker, 1986; Kelly & Kelly, 1976; Talbot, Jayewardene, & Juliani 1985).

Prior to the early 1800s, the police existed to protect the rights of the propertied class and, more often than not, left the common people to fend for themselves. The police focused on the protection of life, property, and the maintenance of public order. Common offenses included, sedition, murder, assault, arson, counterfeiting the coin of the realm, theft of and damage to property, smuggling, and poaching. To do the job well, the leader required enough physical force to apprehend offenders and the strength —

both physical and inferred — to maintain the respect, or fear, of those under his command (Creasey, 1974; Grosman, 1978; Seabrook, 1987).

Policing in Ontario, in fact in most of Canada, had its beginnings within the military establishment. In the early colonial period the army was the peace keeper. Town constables or provincial detectives had their basic training in the military before they joined a police force. The first official unit organized for law enforcement purposes, in this province, was "Butler's Rangers," a military contingent established on the Niagara Frontier following the war of 1812. Out of this military establishment grew the first police entities with military organizational structures, a rank system for identifying leaders, and a code of discipline based on written orders and regulations (Forcese, 1992; McDougall, 1988; Talbot, et al. 1985).

The military is like the police service in that it is a tapestry of tradition, vision, and inertia (Thompson, 1991). Training for action is revered but training for change is considered stressful and suspect. Thompson quoting Col. Michael D. Wyly, head of professional military education at Quantico's Marine Corps University, states:

Organizations under stress of change naturally revert to rules. People rise to the defense of the status quo. People find reasons not to change, not to consider new ideas, to quietly push supervision up the chain of command (p. 55).

According to Burns and Sherman (1978) and Hansen (1991), current police management practices had their roots in the authoritarian military practices used to control unskilled factory workers following the industrial revolution and had an unethical political influence on policing in the early parts of this century. The first two commissioners of

one of Ontario's larger police forces, the OPP, had both been major generals in the army during the First World War (Higley, 1984). The police command structure was patterned on the military model of an authoritarian style of leadership, based on strict regulations, a hierarchical organization, and a rank system. This counter force to participative management was in part brought into the police service by police officers who had served in the military.

This, along with the low education level of most officers and the existence of a structure-oriented society, made the authoritarian leadership style both appropriate and effective. However, authoritarian leadership practices do not meet the needs of today's better educated and more technically competent police officers (Hansen, 1991, p 5).

The military connection led to much of the military type "police culture," which was firmly adhered to following World Wars I and II. Returning members of the allied forces were given "veterans preference," for employment within the civil, public, and municipal services of Canada (Hodgetts, 1973). (This policy remained in effect until the 1960s). Within the police service, chiefs — many of them veterans themselves — could function comfortably within an authoritarian leadership style to control their officers, most of whom were used to the demands of military leadership (McDougall, 1988). The police service attracted a large number of veterans, mainly from the non-commissioned ranks — privates, sergeants, sergeant-majors, or the air force and navy equivalent— although a few had been commissioned officers at the lower end of the rank scale — often captains in the Provost Corps (provost marshals).

The military "sergeant rank" is a key to understanding the leadership style that developed in the police service for most of its history and particularly in the years after 1945.

Sergeants and other non-commissioned officers (NCO s) in the military are trained to be supervisors and managers; not executives. They were trained to be "linear" decision makers, managing tasks that may be decided and then implemented one at a time. The time to complete these tasks runs from hours to a few days. Commissioned officers (executives such as colonels and generals) were trained to take a broader perspective, managing numerous connected and unconnected tasks which may take from days to years to complete (Forcese, 1992; Jaques & Clement, 1991; Morton, 1985; Vuono, 1990).

First Municipal Police Forces

The first modern city police force in the English-speaking world was the Metropolitan Police, London, England, established in 1829 by the British Parliament through the efforts of the then Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel. In Canada, the first police force based on the British system, was the Toronto Police, established in 1834 — Montreal followed in 1843 and Quebec City in 1847. Other Canadian cities established police forces as the need arose (Forcese, 1992; McDougall, 1988; Talbot, 1985). As in Canada, Britain commonly employed former military officers to command the police force and men from the lower ranks to act as constables. Where greater force was needed to augment the police the army could be employed (McDougall, 1988; Seabrook, 1987).

Police officers who, in the past, owed their appointments to politicians were expected to follow the party line. With little training and relatively low pay they were more susceptible to bribes and graft and the unnecessary use of force. A major result of this was the anti-union, anti-labour activities of the police during the 1920s and 30s, and corruption in terms of some police officers ignoring gambling operations, bootlegging

and prostitution. This was called the "political era" of policing (McDougall, 1988).

Modern Eras of Policing

The "political era" (also called political model) of policing was overlapped with the "professional era" of policing which had its beginnings in the United States in the 1930s. Police operations and management in the professional era were based on "scientific principles." Appointments were made on merit and open competition (McDougall, 1988; Wilson, 1968). The professional era itself is now slowly being replaced by the "community based policing" era (or model). This new era emphasizes "community relations and crime prevention" rather than "law enforcement and the quick apprehension of offenders." Today, as a result of the development of the police services and the professional and community based models, there is an additional emphasis on higher standards of police conduct required by regulation, and improved working partnerships with the justice system (More, 1992; Pogrebin & Regoli, 1986).

Delegation and Command

Chiefs of police in larger departments have the option to delegate direct command for operations and investigations to their deputy chiefs depending on differences in organizational structure and administrative practices of many departments in Ontario (see pp. 163-165). The common division is to have one side of the organization responsible for field operations (uniformed members on patrol) and the other side responsible for criminal investigations and intelligence (detective bureaus). Each side is commanded by a deputy chief or other senior officer. Administration is either divided between the two sides or established as a third element in the structure often under the command of a third

deputy chief. The larger the force, usually the clearer the divisions (Bizzack, 1989; McDougall, 1988; Hoover, 1992).

Chiefs of police of medium and smaller departments take a more active role in operations. Smaller and medium departments are often organized into four or five platoons with each platoon providing a complete police service on a different shift. Smaller departments, however, often lack the staff and other resources to maintain specialized functions such as planning and research, special investigations units, or their own training facilities. Chiefs of smaller departments are likely to use a more "hands on" approach, depending on larger forces for technical assistance (usually the OPP) in the management of complex investigations, and on the police colleges for most of their training needs (Bizzack, 1989; McDougall, 1988; Hoover, 1992).

Level of Service

In the past, the police departments have tried to answer most if not all calls for service, and to provide a prompt response to even trivial problems. If the police did not provide a solution, at least they would make a visit, provide advice, or make a referral (Birch, 1990). With budget cut-backs, downsizing, changing social values, and changing work ethics, this level of service, may no longer be possible. According to Birch (1990), it is expected that the key to the future of police leadership will be to provide quality service, in a more limited format, in partnership with the public, the government, and other police and public safety organizations.

Complex Organizations

The police chief's job as executive manager is far more complex than it appears on the surface, which leads to misunderstanding of the role of the police in society by both the public and members of government bureaucracy. According to Phillips (1990), the popular press, television news and drama, movies, and the detective novel have reduced the concept of the great enterprise of maintaining the peace to accommodate limited print space or a particular time slot. In addition, many of the portrayed images of the police have little to do with reality. What is left for public consumption is the police as melodrama and a few misleading catch phrases: "the man on the beat," "local accountability," "the original authority of the constable," "community policing," "the great chase" and "the outstanding arrest" (Phillips, 1990). However, police management systems and operational practices cannot be reduced to the clichés proffered by the media.

Policing is about national security, it is about serious crime, organized crime, the investigation of death, the management of disaster, the unrelenting provision of a 24 hour service to a public in need, the regulation of traffic, the management of a large work force with sophisticated training and administrative needs, an educative role, countless specialisms and more (Phillips, 1990, p. 126).

Executive responsibilities for this complex business are set-out in the Police Services Act, in other provincial and federal statutes, and in local municipal policing agreements (see pp. 34-39).

SUB-SYSTEMS

Police, Courts, and Corrections

The police service is a sub-system of the criminal justice system. The other sub-systems are the courts and corrections (Sheehan, 1995). Chiefs and future chiefs of police must understand this system, the needs of the local community, and wider government issues, pertaining to public safety. In doing so, the objective is to develop cost effective programs by sharing resources and simplifying overlapping management programs. Chiefs must be able to manage an agency that is in partnership with this larger system and the local government. In addition, they must be prepared to provide leadership to organizations that require a diverse set of skills and knowledge, including an understanding of management and leadership principles, the law as it pertains to police operations, policing programs, including department rules, regulations, law enforcement techniques and traffic safety (Bogdan, 1992; McDougall, 1988; Schembri, 1983).

Accountability

According to Sheehan (1995), the accountability of chiefs of police to political leadership and the public must be unchallenged. An additional consideration is that much of the chief's authority to act in operational matters is derived from the law (Reiner, 1985). Thus chiefs are answerable to the political leadership, the law and the public. In this "they must exercise great care in assuring the legality of their actions" (Sheehan, 1995, p. 107). To do so, chiefs must obey both the letter, and the spirit of the law, and ensure to the best of their abilities that their employees do so as well. In addition to the requirements of the law, for police departments to function effectively the chiefs must be

the bridge between the police service and "city hall." It is the government (city hall) that provides both funding and policy guidelines for the police service.

Staffing Issues

The constables are the "doers" or the front line workers of the police service. Members of higher ranks, particularly those up to the rank of inspector do become involved with major investigations and are often in command of the larger occurrences. Members of sergeant rank are supervisors and managers of the smaller units, platoons, and detachments. Inspectors and superintendents are the station, division, region, and bureau managers, while those of a higher rank, including a few senior superintendent positions, are referred to as the executives of the police services (Grant, 1981; McDougall 1988).

Police Associations and Member Participation

Police associations (unions) are becoming directly involved in the management of police organizations (see p. 90). Working agreements and grievance procedures have given them an increased influence on administrative procedures and limit the chief's freedom to manage (Bower, 1975; More, 1992). The average educational level of police officers has risen and there are more legislated requirements for police operational training. The results are that better trained and more educated police officers want to become directly involved in the decision-making process (Krimmel, 1996; Pogrebin, 1986; Rodriguez, 1995).

Chiefs of Police Associations

The majority of Ontario's chiefs of police are members of one or more executive organizations such as the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (OACP), the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police (CACP) and/or the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP).^{*} These organizations act as lobby groups supporting legislation that the chiefs believe is favourable to a safe society; they interact with manufacturers and suppliers of police equipment to obtain the best equipment possible at the most economical price; they also give chiefs the opportunity to network with other chiefs; to see demonstrations of police programs and equipment; and to attend lectures and seminars of interest to them (The Police Chief, 1990-1995). In England and Wales, the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) is the only chief constable's association (Reiner 1991). Other police associations that exist are for members of lower ranks.

A second (unofficial) international police organization that does exist is the International Police Association (IPA). This organization fosters "police friendship" for members of all ranks through social events and international travel. It is funded through private membership fees with some public relations support from the various police entities. It has become a police social organization with an educational component.

^{*} The IACP has a world wide membership but is predominately a United States of America organization.

THE LEGAL STRUCTURE OF POLICING

The Constitution

Since Confederation, the provision of police services in Canada has generally been regarded as a provincial responsibility. It would appear that the Fathers of Confederation intended Canada would have a uniform, nation-wide system of criminal law; yet at the same time, allow municipal authorities to administer the law to meet local needs (Grant, 1981; Grosman, 1975).

The powers pertaining to the creation of criminal law are set-out in section 91 (27) of the British North America Act, (BNA) (Victoria 1867) (now the Constitution Act, 1982).

The Federal Parliament has the power to make laws in relation to:

The Criminal Law, except the Constitution of Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction, but including the Procedure of Criminal Matters.

The provincial powers are set-out in section 92 (14) of the BNA Act. Each provincial legislature has the power to make laws in relation to:

The Administration of Justice in the Province, including the Constitution, Maintenance, and Organization of Provincial Courts, both of Civil and of Criminal Jurisdiction, and including procedures in Civil Matters in those Courts.

In turn, the provinces through the Police Act (s), various municipal act (s), and the power imposed through transfer payments, put responsibility for the establishment of police forces at the municipal level. The provinces assumed responsibility for policing in the rural areas and unorganized townships. By the turn of the century, most provinces had established some form of municipal police force and a provincial police force or appointed provincial detectives (Grant, 1981; Grosman, 1975; Higley, 1984; Lederman, 1962-63).

With the entry of other provinces into Confederation, they too established their own provincial police forces. However, during difficult financial times of the 1920s and the depression of the 1930s, all provinces except Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia relinquished direct policing operations. In a special agreement with the federal government, these provinces contracted with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to provide a police service in the rural areas and to further contract with some of the cities and towns to provide a police service at the local level. The federal government agreed to fund ninety percent (now thirty percent) of the cost of policing in these provinces. In 1950, partly because of corruption scandals and overall poor management of the British Columbia Provincial Police Force (BCPPF) the Government of British Columbia disbanded the BCPPF and contracted with the RCMP to provide the province with a police service leaving only Ontario and Quebec with fully functional provincial police forces. Newfoundland has a provincial type police force, the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, which provides a municipal police service in the capital, St. John's, and has officers stationed in Corner Brook. The RCMP, under contract since 1949, has provided police services to the remainder of the province (Forcese, 1992; Kelly & Kelly, 1976; Talbot, et al. 1985).

Areas of enforcement jurisdiction, in the non-contracted provinces, between the RCMP and other police entities have not always been clear. An RCMP member can enforce any federal statute anywhere in Canada; become involved nationally in the collection of criminal intelligence, and the investigation of criminal activities that cross provincial boundaries or national borders. In an effort to increase their efficiency, they have

formed partnerships or in police terms "joint operations" with other police forces. In such cases, they share information, human and other resources, in a directed effort against a specific crime or criminal(s). Joint drug law enforcement units are one of the more common types of partnerships. In support of these operations, the RCMP maintains liaison officers in other countries and is involved with international police organizations such as the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL). The RCMP also provides the national computerized Canadian Police Information Center (CPIC) and supports police training through the Canadian Police College (CPC) in Ottawa (Forcese, 1992; Kelly & Kelly, 1976; Talbot, et al. 1985).

Police Acts and Legislation

In Ontario, the first Act that referred specifically to the establishment of police forces was the Constables Act of 1877 (40 Victoria), which enabled a legislative basis for city and town forces that had been established earlier through by-law. It also paved the way for the establishment of the provincial force to be set up by permitting the Lieutenant Governor in council to appoint provincial constables. The OPP was established by Order in Council dated October 13, 1909, and was ratified by revisions to the earlier Act and issued as the Constables Act of 1910 (10 Edward VII). Policy pertaining to the duties of police officers in Ontario was expanded in the Police Act (RSO, 1946) and amended through the years until it was replaced with the Police Services Act (RSO), Dec. 1990. The Police Services Act, sets-out the duties and responsibilities of police officers, chiefs of police, the commissioner of the OPP, and of municipalities to maintain their own police service. The PSA encouraged police forces in Ontario to use the more politically

correct term "service" rather than force. For similar reasons, it also required police services to support the concept of "community oriented policing" and to establish employment equity plans. The PSA sets-out the requirements of a police constable and outlines the duties and responsibilities, in general terms, of all police officers, other than members of the RCMP. However, the PSA does not set standards of selection or training for any of the ranks above constable, including chief of police.

The PSA states that municipalities with a population of five thousand or more are required to maintain their own police force or contract with another force to provide this service. Municipalities with a population of less than five thousand may maintain their own police force, but where this option is not exercised, the OPP will provide a policing service. The OPP is required to maintain a police service in the remainder of the province and provide support to other departments on request.

The OPP's First Nations and Contract Policing Bureau has reported that, as of January 1, 1997, thirty seven municipalities have contracted with the OPP for police service. Others, in confidence, have requested a costing proposal. The commissioner of the OPP has assigned members who are either staff sergeants or inspectors to command the municipal detachments. These detachments use OPP equipment and follow OPP administrative procedures. The detachment commanders, who function very much as chiefs of police, work closely with the cities or towns in accordance with the policing contracts to provide the type of police service required.

The PSA does not refer to the role of the RCMP in Ontario. Members of the RCMP are

governed throughout Canada by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act (RSC, 1985). As previously stated, their primary duty in provinces that maintain their own provincial police service, is to enforce the law as it pertains to offenses committed directly against the Government of Canada. Crimes of federal jurisdiction include infringements relating to immigration, the postal service, income tax, and customs. Members of the RCMP are active in all provinces in the investigation of fraud and drug investigations, and are also responsible for the security of internationally protected persons within Canada, such as visiting heads of foreign governments and diplomats.

Legislated Duties of the Chief of Police

Legislated duties and responsibilities of chiefs of police in Ontario are set-out in rather general terms in the Police Services Act allowing both the chief and the community to establish the type of police service they want. In addition to the requirements of the Act, performance assessments of chiefs will focus on community needs, provided within budget, and in accordance with provincial standards established by the Minister of the Solicitor General. Within this framework, success will be measured in terms of outcome rather than by process alone (see pp. 110-111). Non-legislated traits such as self-confidence, optimism, caring for others, and character are becoming key factors in the selection process for identifying chiefs of police to meet the requirements of the Act (Bizzack, 1989; Burns & Shuman, 1988; Campbell, 1992).

The Police Services Act (RSO, 1990)

Section 41. (1) The duties of a chief of police include:

(a) in the case of a municipal police force, administering the police force and overseeing its operation in accordance with the objectives, priorities and policies established by the board under subsection 31 (1);

(b) ensuring that members of the police force carry out their duties in accordance with this Act and the regulations and in a manner that reflects the needs of the community, and that discipline is maintained in the police force;

(c) ensuring that the police force provides community-oriented police services;

(d) administer discipline in accordance with Part V;

(f) implementing the employment equity plan established under section 48 and the regulations: (suspended by the current government)

(g) in the case of a municipal police force, reporting to the board at regular intervals on public complaints and on the implementation of the employment equity plan.

(2) The chief of police reports to the board and shall obey its lawful orders and directions.

Section 27 of the PSA sets-out the composition of police services' boards. Board members are appointed by both the municipal council and the Government of Ontario. Municipalities with a population less than 25,000 have three members and municipalities with a population over 25,000 have five members.

In addition to the requirements of Section 41 (2) of the PSA, chiefs are subject to any working contracts or agreement they negotiate with their police services' board. The Ministry of the Solicitor General has also developed a Policing Standards Manual (1992) that outlines performance standards for each police service within the Province. Chiefs

are responsible for ensuring that their individual departments meet these standards. Apart from these legislated and administrative requirements, chiefs appear to have considerable freedom to administer their departments.

Limitations within the Act

The PSA does not provide information about the personal characteristics, types or levels of skills, training, education, or certification needed to be a chief of police. In terms of the selection and training of chiefs of police, the Act does not take into consideration the differences in size, structure, or deployment of the various police forces within Ontario. No differentiation is made between the role of chief of police (executive work) and members of other ranks (doers, supervisors and managers). The Act neither states whether the chief is leader, manager, or both, nor does it provide information about the characteristics or skills that would best meet the needs of a police chief. These decisions are apparently left to each individual police services' board for consideration in selecting a new chief of police.

Mandatory Educational Levels and Training

The PSA sets-out mandatory requirements to be a police officer in this province. The basic level of education is grade twelve or equivalent (until 1972, it was completion of grade ten, The Police Act as amended 1972). In addition, during a member's probationary year, he or she must successfully complete the sixteen-week recruit course at the Ontario Police College. This course is the only reference to mandatory training for any member of the police service from the rank of probationary constable to chief of police. Other courses are available but none of them is mandatory for promotion.

In the recruiting process, for a person competing to be hired as a police officer, it is a departmental option as to whether points are given for an educational level above grade twelve. (This system is currently under review by the Ministry of the Solicitor General). Anyone completing a two year "law and security course" at a community college, or any level of university education, including a law degree, for example, must still attend basic recruit training at the Ontario Police College. Formal education appears not to have played a part in the selection and development of police officers in Ontario, even for those who will rise through the ranks to become chiefs of police.

POLICE COLLEGE TRAINING

Provincial Differences

The provinces have different ways of providing basic training to police recruits and differences exist in the curriculum at each college* and in the length of the training programs. In the Atlantic Provinces, for example, a person who wishes to become a police officer would apply to The Atlantic Academy, in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, pay a fee, and after completing a course of study, join a city or town police service as a probationary constable. In the other provinces, one applies to a police service first: and successful applicants are then sent to a provincial police college at government's expense.

In provinces other than British Columbia, (where the police college is a section of the Justice Institute which also trains members of the courts, fire service and corrections), police training is kept separate from other public service courses. Ontario uses the facilities at a number of police colleges to train its recruits and a recruit's training may be interspersed with actual work experience with a police service. Larger departments operate their own colleges. The OPP sends "new hires" to the Provincial Police Academy at Brampton, (moving to Orillia in 1997) for one to three weeks for processing, outfitting and indoctrination into the larger system. The OPP recruit is then sent to the Ontario

* Information pertaining to police college programs and training, was obtained from visits to and briefings by college staff at eight police colleges/academies. These included the Canadian Police College, Ottawa, the Provincial Police College, Brampton, the Ontario Police College, Aylmer, the Justice Institute, Vancouver, the New York State Police Academy, Albany, the Boston City Police Academy, Boston, the New Hampshire State Police Academy, Concord and the Police Staff College, Bramshill, Hampshire, UK.

Police College at Alymer, Ontario, for basic recruit training. The Metropolitan Toronto Police Service has a similar system using the C.O. Bick Police College in Toronto. Most other departments send their recruits directly to the Ontario Police College. People joining the RCMP from across Canada are sent directly to the Training Center in Regina for six months' basic training and then to their respective detachments.

During their first year of service, following recruit training, "new hires" receive further on-the-job-training at their respective detachments or stations. Senior constables who are trained as "coach officers," act as mentors to provide operational training for the new police officers during their first year of service, and further guidance for an additional two years, until they become first class constables. Police recruits in Ontario and in the RCMP receive basic salary, benefits, and all training expenses from the day they start their recruit training* (Campbell, 1992; Kelly & Kelly, 1976).

Operational Training

Individual officers, throughout their police career, are generally required to maintain and enhance their efficiency in the traditional police skills such as a knowledge of weapons, investigative techniques, communication systems, criminal and provincial law. Advanced and refresher courses are offered through in-service-training at the detachment or station level, and at the various police colleges. This general form of operational training is being expanded throughout Canada and the United States to include more traditional management skills for officers of all ranks. New or enhanced subjects include

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problem solving, oral and written communication, cultural awareness and sensitivity, group dynamics, research methods, analytical thinking, and personal computing (Rodrigues, 1995), all of which should benefit every member of the police service, including those who will be promoted to management and executive positions. As a result, each chief of police should have a better management team reflective of wider, more advanced, and comprehensive training.

Refresher Training and Updates

After five years' service, and every five years thereafter, constables are scheduled to return to a police college for a two or three week refresher course. (For some, the time between refresher courses is much longer due to financial restraints.) Throughout their careers police officers may attend one and two days of in-service training, at their detachments or stations, several times a year in addition to special courses such as personal safety, use of force, firearms, crowd control, and first aid training updates. Major changes in the law, or the acquisition of new equipment may also necessitate further in-service training. Individuals with a special interest may apply to work in areas that require extensive specialist training — "identification officer," "marine operator," "dog handler," "breathalyzer operator," or "motorcycle rider." These courses, provided, and for the present, funded by one of the police colleges, run from several weeks to several months.

Police College: Management Courses

A review of the course calendars from the three major police colleges in Ontario — Alymer, Toronto/Brampton, and Ottawa — reflects a pattern following current

management trends developed for the private sector from the early part of this century to the present. The management buzz words appear in many of the subject headings along with the names of the more popular business and management school writers, including an historical review of Max Weber's, Bureaucratic Model; Frederick Taylor's, Scientific Model; Henri Fayol's, Management Principles; Elton Mayo and the Hawthorne Studies; and The Human Relations School of Management. The Behavioural Sciences School — Maslow, Herzberg, and Douglas McGregor— were also included in the curriculum. The material from the 1970s and 80s focused on "Results Oriented Management" with the work of Blanchard, Drucker, Myers, Odiorne, Ouchie, and Peters & Waterman. The trend in the 1990s has been towards the works of Peter Senge, the learning organization, and situational leadership (a concept carried forward from the 1980s). Leadership is also taught as part of a team management system, in support of such programs as community based policing, change management, and race relations (police college calendars and course schedules).

Course Development and Instructors

Police officers, former police officers, private consultants, and university professors under contract, teach courses at the various police colleges. Management courses, ranging in length from two to five weeks, are developed for recently promoted officers or those on the list for promotion. Courses are provided at two levels, "supervisor courses," for members of sergeant rank and "management courses," for senior officers of inspector and superintendent rank. Material from leadership and executive development programs

in business and industry has also been included as part of the reading programs at police colleges in Canada, Britain, and the United States.

In Canada, courses have not been developed for members of executive rank, or for members who were expected to be promoted to chief or deputy chief. However, single module courses — usually one week or less— on such subjects as the budgeting process, strategic planning, leadership, and the Police Services Act, are provided to more senior officers. Larger forces such as Toronto, Ottawa, and the OPP reported that they send a few members with high promotion potential to such programs as the three week executive development courses at the University of Toronto, Queen's, Western, and York Universities.

The RCMP maintains the Canadian Police College (CPC) in Ottawa in the national interest as a source of advanced technical and leadership training. Police officers from across Canada who are interested in becoming, for example, "identification officers," "fraud investigators" or "instructor trainers" may attend this college. In addition, the college offers supervisor courses, such as the Senior Police Administrator Course, (SPAC) for members of sergeant rank and management courses such as the Executive Development Course, (EDC) for inspectors and superintendents including on occasion, police officers from foreign countries. Seminars and conferences on subjects of special interest to police officers are conducted at CPC. The other police colleges in Ontario offer similar supervisor, management and specialist courses, but none of the colleges has a course or a training program specifically for police officers above the rank of inspector. Senior police officers do, however, attend some of the seminars and a few attend more

advanced courses in other countries. The fourteen week long FBI National Police Academy Program at Quantico, Virginia, is particularly popular, especially among members assigned to senior positions in criminal investigation. Most Canadian members attending this program are of inspector or equivalent rank. Police officers may also attend any public college or university but, with few exceptions, they do so on their own initiative and not as part of an officer development program. This is not the case in Western Europe, much of the United States and the economically developed parts of Asia where advanced management training for senior police officers and recruitment directly from universities for people with the potential to become senior executives is common practice. Police recruits with a university degree are often put on a "fast track" for development and promotion, and many universities in Asia, Europe, and the United States offer graduate programs in police studies. Senior officers are encouraged to attend these programs, including law school, on a full and part-time basis (Campbell, 1992; Carter, 1989; Fairchild, 1988; Reiner, 1991).

A New Generation of Police Recruits

Beginning in the late 1950s and particularly from 1970 onward, the educational levels of police officers and management practices of police organizations have gradually changed. Police recruits are from a generation that is more likely to question authority; fewer of today's recruits have had military experience; wages and training are better. A code of "police conduct" in the Police Services Act and oversight organizations are in place to foster desirable levels of police behaviour to meet the increasing public demands

of police officers, in terms of both conduct and effectiveness, simply because they are police officers (Grant, 1981; McDougall, 1988; Small, 1991).

In an attempt to provide a more appropriate style of leadership to this new generation of police recruits, police managers have been turning towards universities, research institutions, and private consultants for advice on how to manage and train their police officers. Police management associations have established research centers to study police administration and executive development. Some of the police colleges, in Canada, the United States and Britain, started to include advanced management training as part of their curriculum (Carter, Sapp & Stephens 1989; Hoover, 1992; Osborne & Grebler, 1993). Police forces are encouraging their uniformed members to attend college or university part-time and hiring more post secondary school graduates through the recruitment process (police annual report(s) to the Solicitor General, 1970 to 1993). The number of police recruits with post secondary education is increasing each year adding to the total of university graduates in policing. I was told by a member of the teaching staff, at the Ontario Police College, that seventy percent of the January 1997, recruit class, have a college diploma or a university degree.

A Police Learning System

In the fall of 1990, the Ministry of the Solicitor General formed a "Strategic Planning Committee," on police training and education to address systematically the long term issues in police training. The Committee, chaired by D. Scott Campbell, after extensive research in Canada, Western Europe, and the United States presented its final report, A Police Learning System for Ontario, in September 1992. The report and twelve earlier

support documents, set out a training plan for police members of all ranks, with emphasis on the selection and training of new constables and the training of members of sergeant ranks. To date, the system has not been implemented. However, some funding has been provided by the Ministry of the Solicitor General and a small steering committee has been established to involve public colleges more directly with the Ontario Police College as the first stage in training recruits.

While A Police Learning System for Ontario does not address specifically the role and functions of the chief of police, it sets out a list of the areas of knowledge, skills, and abilities identified as desirable for senior police managers. Nineteen items (not in order of priority) recommended as requiring greater emphasis in the future are:

1. Communication skills
2. Interpersonal and sensitivity skills
3. Knowledge of human behaviour
4. Ability to accept and work with community diversity
5. Ability to serve victims
6. Ability to initiate, promote, and facilitate community policing
7. Knowledge of the effective application of technology
8. Analytical skills and problem-solving ability
9. Advanced knowledge of and ability to work with political systems
10. Ability to create an environment that fosters motivation
11. Ability to manage a diverse workforce
12. Leadership changes
13. Change management skills
14. Knowledge of modern management philosophies
15. Ability to link operational tasks to corporate objectives
16. Advanced operational and strategic planning skills
17. Knowledge of financial planning and management
18. Networking skills
19. Organizational planning and design

The report recommended that the above be included in courses for future senior officers, including officers who will be future chiefs of police (Campbell, 1992).

COMPARATIVE STUDY — The British Police System

Chief Constables: Bobbies, * Bosses, or Bureaucrats

A study of the police service in Britain conducted in the late 1980s by Dr. Robert Reiner, Faculty of Law, Bristol University and published in 1991 by Oxford University Press as Chief Constables: Bobbies, Bosses, or Bureaucrats, investigates many of the areas of officer selection and development that pertain to this thesis. The purposes in making a comparison with Reiner's study were first to establish a tested framework for a smaller study of the careers of police chiefs in Ontario. In effect, the Reiner study provided cues of what to look for in a study of police careers and the basis of the methodology used in this study. Secondly, it allowed for an interesting comparison with the highly controlled and standardized careers of police officers in England and Wales, with the less structured careers and random training system in Ontario. Where there are major differences in the two studies, logical reasons are given. Reiner's study describes the career patterns and backgrounds of chief constables in England and Wales and their strategies for improving crime control, order maintenance, and managerial efficiency. The entire study has been valuable as a comparative document and as a check against the information provided by the Ontario chiefs. Chapter five, "The Way to the Top: Chief Constables' Career Patterns," and Chapter ten, "Bosses in Blue: Chief Constables and Police Management," is directly related to the issues of this study. However, there are significant differences in the two studies not only because they pertain to different countries with different government structures but also because of differences in police career patterns, training

*Police officers in Britain were known, in popular parlance, as "Peelers" or "Bobbies" after Sir Robert Peel, and colloquially, "Bobbies" is still one of the more polite nicknames for British police officers.

methods and management systems. Reiner was aided by a number of research assistants, and supported by a financial grant when he conducted his in-depth study of the police services of England and Wales. The study of the police services in Ontario is somewhat limited in terms of range of subjects covered and in the number of police chiefs selected for interviews. Reiner interviewed forty of the forty-three chief constables in England and Wales, whereas I chose to interview fifteen of the one hundred and four chiefs of police in Ontario, (see Chapter five, p.126). The last five interviews provided similar information to the first ten; thus interviews were not extended beyond this number. To gain the cooperation of the chief constables, Reiner made his initial contact through the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO). With my police background, I was able to make direct contact with the Ontario Chiefs. However, as a courtesy, I spoke with the President, at the time, of the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (OACP) and explained to him my proposed methodology and the purpose of my research. Both Reiner and I received excellent cooperation from the chief constables and chiefs of police respectively.

Reiner's research questions were to discover:

- (i) The career patterns and backgrounds of chief constables;
- (ii) An idea, derived from interviews, of chief constables' philosophies of policing, and their strategies for improving crime control, order-maintenance, and force management efficiency. In short, how has the role of chief police officer as manager of a complex and vital organization developed in recent years? (Reiner, 1991, p. 355).

Chiefs in Ontario, England, and Wales

Fifty years ago, in England and Wales, there were one hundred and eighty police forces. Twenty-five years ago there were one-hundred and twenty. Today there are only forty-three police forces (Reiner, 1991, p. 4). Ontario has also been reducing the number of its forces and is continuing to do so. In the last two years (1995-97) the number has dropped by another six from one-hundred and four to ninety-eight (OACP Members Directory, 1997). The trend in both countries continues towards fewer but larger police forces: the smaller forces are being amalgamated with the larger ones. Reiner (1991), even speculated that one day, in the not too distant future, England and Wales may have only one police force. The number of forces in Ontario is expected to be reduced to something in the fifty to sixty range; possibly less.

For a "would-be" chief, the reduction in the number of forces has important implications:

- more competition from more members who want to be promoted;
- a greater range of responsibilities, requiring greater experience, and higher levels of skills and knowledge;
- fewer forces with a corresponding need for fewer chiefs.

This reduced opportunity for police officers to be promoted to chief is true both of Ontario and England and Wales.

Working-class Backgrounds

Reiner found that all of the chiefs he interviewed came from working-class backgrounds.

...nearly two-thirds had fathers who were in skilled manual work for most of their lives, and 70 per cent came from manual working-class origins. Almost another quarter came from routine, clerical level non-manual backgrounds (Reiner, 1991, p. 57).

The fathers of all fifteen Ontario chiefs interviewed also came from working-class backgrounds. A few in both countries had followed military careers or been employed in other areas of government. Fifteen percent of the fathers of the chief constables from England and Wales had been in the police service. Many of the chief constables themselves (ninety percent) had served some time in the military primarily because when these men first left school, Britain still had the draft (national service). National service ended in 1958*. In Ontario, only one of the fifteen chiefs interviewed had served in the military as a first career. The present trend in Britain is more like Ontario, with less than two percent of police chiefs serving in the military as a potential first career. Even though English and Welsh chief constables were from working-class backgrounds, forty-three percent of their fathers had been upwardly mobile during their careers (Reiner, 1991, p. 57). The chief constables themselves must also be considered in the upwardly mobile group. Although chiefs of police in Ontario can be described as upwardly mobile, they reported that their fathers appeared to have stayed at the same basic career level throughout their working lives. Chief constables, educated in Britain in the 1940s and early 50s, have done better in terms of years at school than other people from working-class backgrounds. Over half the chief constables went to grammar school, compared to twenty percent for the average population. People outside the police service were not included in the Ontario study. Twenty-five percent of chief constables in England and

* Reiner collected his data in 1986/87. Most of the chief constables at the time would have joined the police service before 1958. Today most if not all would have retired. The present chief constables in England and Wales, joining the police service after 1958, would not have been subject to National Service.

Wales now have a university degree. However, all obtained a degree after joining the police service. Half of these degrees resulted from a scholarship program supported by the National Police Staff College, Bramshill. In Ontario, thirteen of the chiefs, or fourteen percent, of the ninety-five who responded to the survey, have a university degree, (Table 5.07, p. 131). Five, or thirty-three percent, of the fifteen chiefs interviewed have a university degree. Two or two percent of the ninety-five chiefs had a university degree before they joined the police service, (Table 5.06, p. 131). In Ontario, one of the chiefs interviewed was granted leave with pay from the police service to attend university full time. The remainder of the chiefs interviewed who obtained a degree after joining a police service did so through part-time study without course credit from any of the police colleges. In England and Wales, forty-three percent of deputy chiefs had a university degree suggesting a trend to higher education for future chiefs. Deputy chiefs were not included in the Ontario study. However, four of the Ontario chiefs interviewed stated they were encouraging their deputies to obtain a university level.

In England and Wales, the most common reason for joining the police service, cited by 55 percent of the chief constables, "was the belief that it offered interesting, varied work, with the prospect of some excitement, and the opportunity to mix with people" (Reiner, 1991, p. 63). Similar reasons were given for joining the police service in Ontario. Such things as interesting work, variety of tasks and adventure were cited by 80 percent of the Ontario chiefs interviewed, (see p. 141). The other 45 percent in England and Wales, and 20 percent in Ontario, cited more instrumental reasons for joining the police service.

Reasons for entering an occupation may be categorized into "instrumental" ones, referring to the extrinsic, material aspects of a job such as pay, status, security, or career prospects, and "non-instrumental," indicating intrinsic features of the work itself, such as the interest or the social utility of the role. Some may offer mixtures of both types of motive. (Indeed all work is to some extent instrumentally motivated in a market economy, so the difference is really one of emphasis (Reiner, 1991, p. 62).

None of the chiefs in Ontario, or in England and Wales expressed dissatisfaction with their careers. Over 78 percent of the chief constables in Reiner's study stated they would choose policing again as a career if they had to live their lives over again. Chiefs of police in Ontario were not asked this question, however, they all appeared to be enthusiastic about policing as a career.

Career Patterns of English and Welsh Chief Constables

Reiner's analysis of the career patterns and tactics of chief constables illustrates the factors that set them apart from their colleagues who were less successful in the promotional system. Most chiefs entered the police service at a younger age than other police officers of their generation. Most chief constables had served on England's largest force, the Metropolitan (London) Police. Many had started their careers with this service. They had moved rapidly up through the ranks. They had served on different forces. (It is a requirement of the promotional system that before a person can become chief of one department, he or she must have served in an executive position with another force.) The chief constables are generally not specialists in a particular police field; however, many have served in "CID" (criminal investigations division).

Few of the chiefs had ideas of becoming chief constables when they joined the police service, but their ambitions were fueled by earlier successes. They became part of a national policing body supported by attendance at numerous police training courses at the National Police Staff College, Bramshill. Most had been in office for five years and were appointed chief at age fifty. They had a balance of police operational and administrative experiences. It is noted that they would often take a job they did not really want just to gain a different type of experience. Their career patterns overall exhibited a "blend of luck, effort, drive, and self-confidence." They had the desire to succeed.

Bobby or Bureaucrat?

According to Reiner, chief constables in England and Wales have been forced to take up more of the language and style of professional management theory. They are more bosses and bureaucrats than bobbies. In Ontario, because of the differences in sizes of police services, with different job description for chiefs of police, there is a greater mix of leadership types. Many of the chiefs are part bobby, part bureaucrat.

Career Advantages

Six of the chiefs in Ontario who were interviewed stated that they and many of their colleagues had served on larger forces at some time during their careers. The RCMP, OPP, Metropolitan Toronto, Peel, and Halton Regions provided many of the leaders who became chiefs of other forces. Peel alone has provided fourteen chiefs. Service with these larger forces allows for the development of a career pattern that includes assignments to most of the different areas (field, investigations, and administration) of policing, and knowledge of various sophisticated management systems developed and/or

used by these departments. Finally, the larger departments usually have the funds to send promising members on a variety of non-police management courses. Most of the medium and particularly the smaller departments do not have as many career enhancing opportunities. Thus, members of larger departments, with their wider range of career experiences and additional training, often have an advantage in competitions for chiefs' positions over members of smaller departments.

Promotional Time Tracks

Reiner includes a number of charts, illustrating the time in rank and age that each chief was when promoted, for each rank, between constable and chief. The first promotion, from constable to sergeant, was the longest period with an average time of eight years as a constable. Promotions after the first promotion, to sergeant, were usually every three years. To be successful in the promotional process that led to a position of chief, it was necessary to keep on this time track. This would allow time to progress through the seven levels of rank and still be considered within the age range (average age fifty) to be promoted to chief. In Ontario, with its different sized departments, this time track is not so relevant, although it may be for a career with a larger force such as Metropolitan Toronto and the OPP.

It is possible to be appointed chief of an Ontario small or medium sized service, without holding all the ranks between constable and chief. As reported in Table 5.02, p. 128, for example, nineteen of Ontario's chiefs were promoted directly from constable to chief. Thus, the promotional time track would not apply. Two of the fifteen chiefs interviewed, who were from smaller services, were in their mid-thirties. In one of the medium sized

services, the chief was over fifty-five when appointed. This age range for promotion would not apply in England or Wales.

Changing Departments

In England and Wales, in order to be promoted to chief constable, a candidate must have served with another police service as an assistant or deputy chief constable. The rationale is that an outside candidate will have wider experience, and to increase the chances that he or she will not be burdened managing close friends and former colleagues. In Ontario, candidates for chief of police do not have to serve with a police department other than their own. "Career bound" officers who are seeking promotion to chief are more likely to change departments when the present chief looks secure in his or her position, and is not required to retire because of age. "Place bound" officers have to wait their turn and, as often happens, many qualified candidates are never promoted chief (see p. 107).

Policing Differences: Ontario and England and Wales

What the chiefs of police in Ontario reported about the structures and functions of their forces are in many ways different than those of England and Wales. For example, police officers in Ontario wear a firearm and must be proficient in its use. This requires annual firearms training. In England and Wales police officers are not armed, although many of their black and white patrol vehicles — "panda cars" — carry firearms in the trunk. Permission to use firearms must be obtained from a senior officer. Ontario supports twice as many police departments as England and Wales but there are no small forces in England and Wales. Both countries have similar systems of criminal laws based on

British common law, although Canada has three or four levels of government — federal, provincial, regional, and city — while England and Wales has only two — national and municipal.

Differences in Training and Development

The primary difference between the subjects of Reiner's study and this study relates to training and development. The police training system in England and Wales can be described as controlled, highly developed, and internally administered, whereas in Ontario, chiefs depend on minimal management and leadership training plus some independently acquired education (Campbell 1992, Reiner, 1991).

In England and Wales, there is a structured system for the development of police officers. At various levels in the promotional system, officers attend a course of study at the National Police Staff College. Each course is an advancement on the previous program of study. The final step in the program is the twenty-three week course designed to teach chief superintendents the academic material they will require to function as effective chief constables. The primary focus is on "strategic management." Students are taught to recognize what are the strategic issues in police administration. (Non-strategic issues do not belong in the chief constable's job description.) In Ontario, there is no apparent system to police management training. Officers may be promoted with or without management courses, even without the Executive Development Course. Courses are not sequential, and students in the class may be from various sized forces with major differences in their educational backgrounds and management training. Courses are kept at a level to be understandable by all in the class regardless of their backgrounds.

Accelerated Promotions

The National Police Staff College, Bramshill, in England, will accept a few outstanding officers, identified early in their careers, for a one-year course leading to accelerated promotion. Candidates to this program are usually constables, in their mid twenties, with a university education, and with four or five years' police experience. Following successful completion of a one-year leadership course, they are usually promoted to inspector, which gives a few British officers approximately a ten-year advancement in their promotional time track. In Ontario, the range in ages of newly promoted chiefs of police usually depends on the size of their police force. The younger chiefs being on the smaller forces while in England and Wales, the younger chief constables are usually the product of an accelerated promotional process. The Bramshill system also encourages a few outstanding and ambitious university graduates, interested in leadership positions, to join the police service when there is an opportunity for accelerated promotion. They may not have joined if the only option was to spend approximately eight years as constables and many more years to progress through all ranks. The secondary result of this accelerated program is a mix or range of ages for officers at the senior levels.

Future Leadership Model

Reiner's ideal model of the future chief constable favours "someone who combines intellectual mastery of professional management skills with operational experience and street credibility to command the confidence of the troops and the public" (p. 348). As departments in Ontario become larger and more complicated, the same model will probably provide the best leadership possible to the police services in this province.

The key comparison between Ontario and England and Wales pertains to career development programs. Members of forces from all three countries enter the police service from working-class backgrounds. Their police experience and operational training gives them the opportunity to become effective and efficient law enforcement officers. However, for chiefs of police and chief constables, who must function in other fields of administration, often working with highly educated executives, this level of development is frequently insufficient. Educational programs in England and Wales are designed to overcome this problem by taking senior officers into a wider field of expertise. Not only are courses in Britain longer than in Ontario but they are also sequential — with junior courses being prerequisites for more advanced courses — and cover a wider range of subjects. The primary focus for senior officers is on building skills in strategic management and understanding the strategic process. Training and secondments often include travel to foreign countries. An additional factor in support of officer development is that many British universities offer post graduate programs in police studies. (Canadian universities do not.) Police officers are encouraged to participate in these programs both as students and teachers/researchers.

Section Summary

The key factors in the Reiner study pertain to career streaming and accelerated promotion programs for English and Welsh police officers and the noted differences in numbers and sizes of British police forces. The British system is more focused, in part, because of the efforts of a single senior officers association; the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO); whereas Canada has eleven associations. The ACPO, through support of

training and by establishing high standards of conduct and performance, has moved the British police service a long way towards professionalism. Senior officer training is coordinated with established levels required for promotion; formal levels of education have been factored into the system, while Canadian police forces, associations, and colleges have splintered their efforts and are, thus, less effective.

Chapter Summary

The material presented in this Chapter would indicate that changes in the present Canadian policing system — for example, the emphasis on a community based policing model — may require changes in operations and training methods, increased time commitments for candidates for chief, and increased cost. As indicated in the course calendars and manuals for the various Ontario police colleges and the Ontario Association of Police Services Boards, staff development personnel are expanding their activities to include a greater emphasis on improved administration programs. In the past, police colleges were limited to operational training, and elementary supervision courses. Training is becoming more sophisticated with greater input from the colleges, universities and through private consultants. In addition, increasing political and public demands for police accountability, rising costs, greater media focus, and the need to implement technology has brought the issue of chief of police selection to greater public prominence and far greater importance. The Ontario policing system is highly structured through both the legal system and by tradition. Changes in society and in the type of recruit joining the police service are affecting this system. The British system may offer solutions to senior officer development that could be applied in Ontario.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

Purpose of Chapter

The purpose of this Chapter is to review the relevant literature pertaining to the research questions from Chapter one, p. 5 with a focus on the selection, training, and development of men and women to be chiefs of police in Ontario. This review is not concerned with whether selection boards, psychological tests, written examinations, or assessment centers are used, rather the focus is on the level and type of knowledge and other factors that appear to be important in selecting, training, and developing chiefs of police, including elements of leadership and career development.

Focus of the Review

The majority of the literature devoted to the role of the chief of police consists of autobiographies written by former chiefs, commissioners, and colonels, outlining their careers (Gates, 1992; Mark, 1978; Rivett-Carnac, 1965). The authors usually focus on their more important criminal investigations and major occurrences, and frequently, give an opinion on various police related topics such as the death penalty, or the legalization of drugs. They do not appear to be intended as career planning or management books. A second type of literature pertaining to the role of police chiefs is management and leadership books and articles under such headings as "the effective police chief," or "police command." They are written as a "how to do your job" manual, for someone in a command position, but offer little advice as to how to become a chief executive. However, a person with ambitions to be a chief should have a basic understanding of this

type of material. The third type of literature relating to the chief's position is set out in legislation, local employment contracts, departmental regulations, and government and private studies of the police service. A fourth area of interest is the material developed by the police colleges in support of police training, supervision and executive development courses, programs, and seminars.

The vast majority of the published executive development material pertains to leadership, administration, and management, in government, private, and the volunteer sectors. These are the books and articles not intended for any one business or industry but are subject specific. There are thousands of items in this category. A few of the writers such as Bennis, 1985; Blanchard, 1988; Block, 1991; Burns, 1979; Clemmer, 1989; Deming, 1982; Drucker, 1973; Gardner, 1984; Handy, 1994, 1995; Jaques, 1989, 1991, 1994; Nanus, 1985; O'Toole, 1994; Peters and Waterman, 1982; and Senge 1990, 1994 are often on the best sellers' list and commonly quoted in material used in police training programs. Material of particular interest are references to the patterns of leadership that have developed to support the latest fad in management practices. This includes comment on such programs as "community based policing," "total quality management," "management by results" (or objectives), "semi-autonomous work groups," and the latest program in vogue in police and business organizations, the concept of "the learning organization," (Ontario police college calendars, 1968-93).

Sources of Material

No source of published material pertaining to the backgrounds, career paths, or learning opportunities of Ontario's chiefs of police, that would support the focus of this thesis,

seems to be available. A vast literature referring to leadership development and management of organizations in general, pertains to profit and loss factors in the private sector and production and investment strategies in business but does not apply as well to management of highly controlled and tightly structured government agencies like the police service. There were, however, some interesting studies of career planning in the social services, education and the volunteer sector that did provide some relevant information. I obtained what additional information I needed directly from the chiefs through a written survey and through personal interviews with fifteen of the respondents.

Section Summary

This Chapter refers to both private sector and government studies about the selection and training of senior police and other executives. While there are hundreds of documents pertaining to the requirements for excellence in administrative practices and numerous definitions of leadership, these subjects are beyond the scope of this Chapter. However, some of the main concepts, have been included to illustrate trends, highlight essential issues, and thus, provide a base for the analysis of the written survey returns and the content of the interviews.

EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

The Role of the Executive

It may be helpful in understanding the nature of executive work to compare and contrast it with the work of a mid-level manager (sergeant rank). The following taken from the publication, The American Law Enforcement Chief Executive, illustrates some key differences (Witham, 1985).

MANAGEMENT	EXECUTIVE
task oriented	goal oriented
short-term planner	long-term planner
program oriented	mission oriented
works in present	works in future
recommends	decides
looks in (organization focus)	looks out (environment focus)
represents unit	represents institution
sees part	sees whole
operates in internal politics	operates in internal & external politics
data oriented	concept oriented

The behaviour of the executive as described above points out very clearly the conceptual nature of executive thinking that allows one to act according to the objectives of the total organization and the relationship to outside influences. The ability to conceptualize requires a different orientation; to be successful, an executive must think and act differently than when he or she was a manager (Witham, 1985).

The executive must let go of the management tasks, focus on the future, on strategic planning, on strategic technology, on creating a vision, and selling that vision to the members of the organization and to those to whom they are accountable (Emshoff, & Denlinger, 1991; More & Kenney, 1986). For a chief of police this means focusing more on the external factors affecting policing in Canada. Executives must be able to see "the big picture" and understand the integration and linkages of programs. They must also be able to analyze and interpret information, not just summarize it, for purposes of making decisions (Witham, 1985).

According to Bower (1975), the primary activity of a chief of police is to attend meetings — with both groups and individuals — pertaining to policy making, the budgeting process, staffing, and operational planning. Friedman, (1986) quoting Mintzberg and Kotter suggests other management activities, in most cases are extremely brief (lasting only a few minutes) highly fragmented, and interrupted frequently. According to Kotter (1982), the two most fundamental dilemmas which executives must face are:

Figuring out what to do despite uncertainty, great diversity, and an enormous amount of potentially relevant information.

Getting things done through a large and diverse set of people despite having little direct control over most of them (p. 160).

Police Professionalism

The concept of the police service being a profession is the subject of numerous articles. In the simpler meaning of the term, police officers can call themselves professional, they are paid for what they do as opposed to being volunteers and they are generally good at what they do (Price, 1977). According to Drennan (1996), they are also involved in a

high cost, life and death, essential service, twenty-four hours a day, every day of the year. Learning is a never ending part of the police culture, as is internal and external scrutiny of their activities. This Drennan (1996) in a letter addressed to the members of the OPPA, claims is justification for calling police officers professionals. However, it is stretching the concept to call police officers "professionals" in the same category as lawyers and physicians. A central feature of professionalism is the relationship between a commitment to certain principles of conduct and the necessity to exercise discretionary judgment (Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 1974, p. 41). This is not evident in the police service. In the police service, training is minimal and almost values-neutral (Potts, 1981). The police services do not have a self-regulating body nor a body involved in research into theory and practices of policing (Small, 1991). A failure by members of the service to establish their own rule of conduct has led others to do it for them. "Everybody it sometimes seems, makes rules for the police except the police themselves" (McGowan, 1972, p. 667).

According to Wilson (1968):

The patrolman is neither bureaucrat nor professional, but a member of a craft. As with most crafts his has no body of generalized, written knowledge nor a set of detailed prescriptions as to how to behave it has in short, neither theory nor rules. Learning in the craft is by apprenticeship, but on the job and not in the academy. The principal group from which the apprentice wins (or fails to win) respect are his colleagues on the job, not fellow members of a discipline or attentive supervisor (p. 283).

Although not a profession nor a professional learning organization, the police service is probably a fraternal one. "Rules are passed on by street-level police officers engaged in 'real' police work, thus, their significance to the recent recruit is enhanced and

legitimated" (Goldstein, 1990 p. 95). Learning as a group is an ongoing activity. Comradeship developed through recruit training is maintained through the common purpose of law enforcement. This bonding is fostered through a shared history, customs, and traditions. The majority of recruits who join a police service join for a career and not just as a first step in getting another job or a better job. They follow orders, work under difficult conditions, and often do more than is required by their job descriptions because of this belonging to a larger organization. Police officers are also accustomed to obeying orders. When the government or the chief tells police officers to do something, or to implement a new program, they can be expected to do it without question. When required they put their lives on the line to protect others or to accomplish a task or mission (Bouza, 1990). This is the nature of the police service and the basis for strength in police leadership (Brown, 1981; Deakin, 1988; McDougall, 1988).

Occasionally there is rivalry among forces and even among individual members. However, willingness to cooperate and a sense of being part of a fraternity of police officers is more common. Various police associations and police clubs exist to foster this fraternity, bringing members together helping them engage in various sports, social gatherings and even international travel where visiting police officers are usually made to feel welcome by their hosts who frequently cooperate to further an investigation, share training facilities, and social activities. This comradeship is particularly evident during a police funeral where officers from numerous forces attend to pay respect to the fallen, even though they may have never met the deceased. It is often an advantage for a leader, who wants to get things done, to be in command of an organization such as the police

service, that responds well to direction (Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 1974; Reiner, 1985; Seabrook, 1987).

Leadership Theory

In terms of the selection process and performance measures, leadership becomes a key issue that can best be examined from a variety of theoretical and practical perspectives. Three theories of leadership have been applied to the police service — trait theory, behavioural theory, and situational theory — which have provided the foundation for much of the leadership training at the various police colleges in Ontario (Ontario Police College calendars). Trait theory is probably the simplest form, and the most commonly used, to describe the attributes of chiefs of police and others in the promotional systems. Trait theory goes beyond its earlier foundation based on such physical attributes as height, weight, race, or sex, and includes more abstract concepts.

Leadership Traits

According to Kelly (1974), traits that are as most associated with leadership ability are: intelligence, initiative, extroversion, sense of humour, enthusiasm, fairness, sympathy, and self-confidence. Self-confidence in the leader is seen as extremely important. The self-confident leader can inspire confidence in others (D'este, 1995). Self-confidence allows a person to take risks, to try-out new ideas, be innovative and to defend his or her personal beliefs and values. Burns and Shuman (1988) see the effective leader as being imaginative, with the ability to make good decisions. Whisenand and Ferguson (1973) identify the successful executive as having intelligence, experience, originality, receptiveness, teaching ability, personality, knowledge of human behaviour, courage,

tenacity, and a sense of justice and fair play. Stamper (1992) suggests the executive must exhibit honesty, integrity, and ethical behaviour. Adair (1984) provides one of the most extensive lists of the qualities and skills of leadership by referring to those items in a number of Western military college training manuals and in the writings of senior military officers. Some of the more common of these traits are: authenticity, integrity, knowledge, initiative, enthusiasm, courage, justice, loyalty, tact, vision, passion, conviction, persistence, and willpower. The executive must be respected and, at the same time, care for others. In more subjective terms, the effective executive must also exhibit a sense of "class" or "style" (Beene, 1985; Boyer, 1985; Diamond, 1989).

Three "Cs" of Leadership

In addition to a list of single traits some writers have identified the best in leadership as a grouping of characteristics or a clustering of traits. Sorrell (1991) claims that there are three "c"s required of the successful executive: "courage, competence, and compassion." Courage to trust your instincts, competence to produce quality results, compassion in that a person has an innate respect and fondness for the other person. Whisenand's (1981) three "c"s included "commitment" to a leadership style and theory, "conviction" to obtain measurable results and "courage" — courage to control the stress of the job, and control of self and others. Bennis and Nanus' (1985) three "c"s are: "commitment, complexity, and credibility" — commitment to do the job, ability to manage in complex times, and credibility to withstand public and government scrutiny.

Leadership Study

Turriff (1990)* tried to identify the most important skills and characteristics of senior police officers with the purpose of identifying skills that might be transferable to second careers in other parts of government or the private sector. He conducted a review of the table of contents of one-hundred management books in the Canadian Police College library for key words that pertained to skills, abilities, knowledge, and traits of executive managers. He collected a list of sixty-three relevant items. The list, as part of a management survey, was administered to sixteen senior Canadian police officers attending the Executive Development Course in the fall of 1989. The officers were asked to rank the items as "essential," "very important," "important," "some importance," "not important." The majority of items were marked as "essential," or "very important," with only a few in the "important and some importance," blocks. It was interesting that only one person marked one item as "not important." Turriff expected that police officers of similar rank, doing similar work, might value some of the management skills and traits differently and some equally. He was surprised to note that with the one exception, they thought all the traits and skills were of some importance, if not very important or essential. Although this was too small a sample to draw any definite conclusions, it would suggest that a person may need, or at least think they need, a wide range of skills to provide executive leadership in a complex organization. An ideal short list might be difficult to isolate.

* Study conducted while completing a Qualifying Research Paper (QRP) at O.I.S.E., and attending the Executive Development Program, at the Canadian Police College.

Some modification to the methodology could have been tried to obtain more concrete results. If a "forced choice" system had been administered with the study instead of a "free choice," a better ranking of the leadership factors might have become evident. The importance of other factors in leadership identification such as the legislated mandate of the organization, the type of community being served, the personality and management style of the chief executive, and the political environment of the day, could have been considered at the same time.

Behaviours

Trait theory is only a start to the process of leadership identification and used alone it is often seen as a failure in the selection of chief executives. According to Whisenand (1973), traits can tell you who the leader is but not how the leader will behave under certain operational conditions or how the leader will influence subordinates. Behavioural theory takes a more practical approach and is the second applicable theory to police college leadership training. What leaders do (behaviours) or have done, rather than what leaders are, is a more effective indicator of future performance (Wexley & Yukl, 1977).

Leadership and Behavioural Characteristics

Lynch (1978) also sees leadership not only as a list of characteristics but as a style of behaviour in that a leader is "authoritative," "democratic," "participative," or "symbolic." Tjosvald and Andrews (1983) also see three distinctive styles of leadership: cooperative, competitive, and individualistic. Cooperative leaders try to overlap their goals with those of their subordinates. This is an expansion of the behavioural approach taken by Blake and Mouton (1964). Behavioural theory provided a number of definitions of leadership

style within two major divisions, task orientation and employee orientation. Leaders either focus on tasks, or on employees, or some combination of both.

Coutts and Durivage (1992) identify some of the important behavioural characteristics and qualities of effective executives as the:

ability to discern patterns and relationships, propensity to see things in a global and long-term perspective, openness to new ways of thinking about the organizational environment, ability to deal with the ambiguous and the undefined, desire to operate from a foundation of clear personal and organizational values, ability and desire to promote collaboration and sharing, and the ability to get things done (p. 48).

Leadership Groupings

Clemmer and McNeil (1989) divide the subject of leadership into four key groupings: personal leadership, coaching leadership, team leadership, and cultural leadership — personal leadership, working with others; coaching through support and feedback; team leadership through empowerment; and cultural leadership founded on common values and beliefs that can be either direct or indirect. Cultural leadership is an important factor in understanding police command and police executive assessment (see p. 94-99).

Group Dynamics

A new focus to the police college curriculum in support of leadership development is on "group dynamics." Leaders must understand and work with the group. The group becomes the center of organizational effectiveness (Burns & Shuman, 1988). The police service, however, is pulled between the need to build teams and empower employees and the need to maintain an authoritarian structure to take command during periods of crisis. Tighter control is also necessary when inexperienced police officers are learning what

they need to know through on-the-job development programs. The literature seems divided between these two concepts; empowerment versus tight control. Team leadership and empowerment seem to be the more popular trends (Block, 1993). This, however, may lead to major problems for the police service if it is the wrong focus.

Situational Theory

In the late 1960s, researchers expanded on much of what had been written about trait and behavioural theory and began to develop a new theory focusing on the "situation," to be managed. This focus is now a major part of leadership development and training provided at the Ontario police colleges. According to Whisenand (1981), the effective leader is seen as a person who could adapt leadership style to a particular situation. Leaders in this category allow subordinates to play a major role in the administration and leadership of the organization. However, they take back total command and control when the situation warrants. According to Dimma (1989), what is often required, in situational leadership is the right person in the right place, at the right time.

Although situational leadership is apparently popular with many police leaders and trainers, as a concept, there may be deeper problems. This concept is what O'Toole (1995) calls "contingent leadership" or "it all depends leadership." This he suggests may cause problems for the leader who will be seen as inconsistent.

...a contingent leader who acts tough even once will be seen as inconsistent, thereby destroying the trust that is essential to win people over to change (O'Toole, 1995, p. 8.)

O'Toole (1995) suggests that being consistent is seen as the more important leadership virtue. However, the question is: how consistent can you be in life and death situations? When it is necessary, for example, to clear a building, that may be about to explode, or exchange gun fire, the democratic leader might get his or her staff killed. Sometimes orders must instantly be obeyed. Mistakes must be corrected and foolish conduct eliminated. These issues make police leadership a complex business.

Energy, Values, and Determination

In a study at the Western Business School, students were asked to "research the characteristics of outstandingly successful contributors to Canadian life" (Hodgson, 1987). After developing an extensive list, the students found that three factors stood out: "energy," "values," and the determination to be "top gun." These people did not have time for a regular routine of hobbies, sports, physical fitness, or other outside activities. They slept an average of six hours a night and worked at things they liked to do, from 60 to 80 hours a week, 50 to 52 weeks a year, year after year, decade after decade. Other patterns of characteristics did not seem to be important.

Superficial Actions

Friedman (1986) suggests that the primary danger faced by managers conditioned to such a fast pace and long hours is superficiality. The ideal chief of police must avoid this superficiality by being able to identify the relevant issues — the strategic — from the less important issues and take appropriate action quickly. Chiefs must also remain apolitical yet still function in the worlds of policing and politics without becoming bogged down by conflicting values or overwhelmed with unnecessary details (Ahern, 1972).

Leadership Skills

Katz (1955), in a classic work, reiterated by Handy (1994), described leadership as a set of skills, including, technical skills, human skills, and conceptual skills. Technical skills can be taught: they are the things of courses, books, examinations, and apprenticeships. Human skills, though, are more difficult to acquire: experience, being mentored and coached best facilitate this type of learning.

Conceptual skills were the toughest of all, and the most necessary because they were the skills that discerned the way, that defined the problems which technical skills could solve, that glimpsed the opportunities and the unsuspected niches. It is no good doing things right using the technical and human skills if they are not the right things in the first place (Katz, p. 16).

Handy (1994), referring to Katz, stated: "Conceptual skills are what leaders need, the wit to see what needs to be done and the ability to articulate it so that others get excited" (p. 162). According to Katz (1955), to learn and develop conceptual skills requires more personal focus and greater management support. Superiors mentoring juniors through difficult and complex problems is essential. Juniors should also trade jobs with other juniors to gain an appreciation of the wider business. Where possible, they should become involved with special projects, particularly the kind that involve inter-departmental problems.

Nanus (1989) provides a systematic format for examining the role of the "future-creative" leader. Like Katz (1955) he breaks leadership into three concepts: "action skills," "roles," and "conceptual skills." Action skills, or behaviours provide the organizational design, initiative, and mastery of change. The role of the leader is to set directions, to be a change agent, a spokesperson, and a coach. Conceptual skills include farsightedness,

the mastery of interdependence, anticipatory learning and high integrity. All of these skills are interrelated, mutually reinforcing, and provide the creative leader with the tools to shape a positive future for his or her organization.

Successful Leadership Characteristics

"Leadership itself is a style, a persona; it is how someone in a leadership role goes about his or her job and gets things done....Having a mission and communicating it effectively is essential" (Clemmer & McNeil, 1989, p.18). However, according to Clemmer and McNeil (1989), an exact definition of leadership is difficult if not impossible to find. They suggest that, at best, it is the human dimension within an organization. A person who is a leader successfully marshals human collaborators to achieve a particular end. "A great leader is one who can do so day after day and year after year in a wide variety of circumstances" (Clemmer & McNeil, 1989, p. 30). The difficulty for the police learner is that, character and vision cannot be taught, it is more the product of life's experiences (Becker, 1986). Experience "leading" appears to be an essential factor.

The leader must have a strong self image, be able to take charge and interact with others, (Levinson & Rosenthal, 1984). The leader must be a thinker and a manager of other thinkers (Heirs, 1987). The leader is the director, coordinator, and facilitator of a cohesive management team. The role is to envision and to coach (Por, 1991). The leader is audacious, a motivator, a risk taker, an agent for change. The leader also has high standards of personal conduct, is fully accountable for the actions of self and subordinates and sets high standards of personal performance (Auerbach, 1990). The leader sees the total organization as one entirety functioning within a complex

environment (Bennis & Nanus, 1985). The leader must be highly competent and must possess ethical sensitivities, and institutional sense (Schembri, 1983). Clemmer and McNeil (1989) note the importance of the leader having a vision and being a team builder.

Leaders are driven by definite values, principles, and ethics. To lead means to gather people around a problem, to coach their efforts and inspire action. To lead is to empower teams and team members to get things done...Leaders work to gain participation and commitment, to harness diversity, and to build consensus (Clemmer & McNeil, 1989, p.113).

Powell and Persico, (1995) see leadership as simply the ability to solve problems. Peters and Austin (1985) see "the leader (not manager) as cheerleader, enthusiast, nurturer of champions, hero finder, wanderer, dramatist, coach, facilitator, builder" (p. 265).

Conflicting Needs

Police forces in Ontario are caught between two conflicting needs: for managers to keep a balance of operations, and for leaders to create the vision and guide the organization into the future. "Management is about coping with complexity, while leadership is about coping with change" (Coutts & Durivage, 1992, p. 47). Coutts and Durivage further suggest that management and leadership are two distinct systems. Managers achieve their goals by effectively using resources: leaders achieve their goals by effectively aligning people and communicating their ideas. It is imperative that leaders get other people interested in doing the work and doing it well (Kotter, 1990). The question to ask is: can both exist in the same organization or better still in the same person? Zaleznik (1977) referring to society in general and business in particular would argue that they cannot. Managers and leaders, he suggests, are basically different types of people.

According to Zaleznik (1977), the conditions favourable to the growth of one may be inimical to the other. The literature supports his point in that leadership and management are featured in different chapters and described and treated as different subjects. Some writers, however, suggest that a leader must also be a manager (Geneen, 1984). He suggests that management and leadership are inextricably intertwined. At the same time he sees management as something objective. "You want to accomplish an objective, to get from here to there, and your performance can be measured" (Geneen, 1984, p. 127). Geneen (1984) further suggests that management is something that can be taught. He would suggest that leadership on the other hand is purely subjective; is difficult to define, virtually impossible to measure and cannot be taught: it must be learned. According to Grosman (1975), the trend appears to be for all chiefs to spend more of their time on administration, less time on issues of leading and operations. (The trend described by Grosman in the 1970s appears to have continued into the 1990s.) Chiefs of police must still ensure that their organizations are properly led as well as managed. In real terms, bureaucratic demands on the system seem to be drawing the leader into a management role. The result is less time to provide leadership.

Zaleznik (1977) has described the essence of management as, "persistence, tough-mindedness, hard work, intelligence, analytical ability and perhaps most important, tolerance and good will" (p 68). Whisenand (1981) appears to support Geneen in that he states leadership can be learned, that is if one is interested in leading. Leaders should be:

optimistic, be perceptive, emphasize the agency's goals, make the work as easy as possible, allow free communications, support others' needs, resolve conflicts, and have a sense of humor (Whisenand, 1981, p. 17).

Levitt (1976) emphasized the essential characteristics of management as rationale and control:

Management consists of the rational assessment of the situation and the systematic selection of goals and purpose (what is to be done?) the systematic development of strategies to achieve these goals; the marshaling of the required resources; the rational design, organization, direction, and control of the activities required to attain the selected purposes; and, finally, the motivating and rewarding of people to work (p. 73).

Miller (1984) sees the qualities of an effective leader as being wider reaching than those of a manager alone:

Effective managers and effective leaders share some important characteristics. Both must be concerned with tasks and people; both must be results-oriented and know how to delegate. But the qualities that are especially important for leaders to possess include: a demonstrated sense of responsibility, persistence and consistency, the ability to focus efforts; a vision of what can be that goes beyond the immediate into the future; lofty ideas and high ethical standards; dedication to excellence; a deep caring for people; moderate risk-taking; high energy levels; spontaneity and enthusiasm; commitment to continued learning; a high degree of self-knowledge (p. 86).

Miller (1984) also sees leaders as change agents:

They devise new alternatives and approaches to old problems. They think in long range terms to shape the organization's goals and develop its mission. Managers on the other hand maintain the status quo. Their job is to get things done and get them done now (p. 86).

Leadership Balance

According to Clemmer and McNeil (1989), the effective executive should possess a balance of knowledge in the areas of technology, management, and leadership. In terms of technology, executives should understand the business they are in (Collins & Porras, 1994; Mintzberg, 1994). They need an understanding of management practices such as planning, controlling, organizing, the effective use of resources, budget development,

record keeping, marketing, agenda setting; and in the theories and techniques of modern management (York, 1970). They also need the skills described by Katz (see p. 77) and exemplified by team building and coaching skills (Grosman, 1975). The leader must understand his or her power position, the characteristics of followers and the situation that must be managed (Odiome, 1969). The executive must be able to get things done in different situations with different people (Becker, 1986; Blanchard & Hersey, 1993).

Chiefs of police are accountable for the conduct of their officers who are often the centre of controversy. Situations involving police use of force, crowd control, murder investigations that involve several departments, the pursuit of a suspected criminal or a high speed car chase can put chiefs in conflict with the public they are sworn to protect, the government that employs them, and the officers they command (Sheehan, 1995).

Section Summary

A vast number of traits, behaviours, and leadership capabilities and theories appear to be applicable to the position of chief of police, including technical, human, and conceptual skills. However, it is most unlikely that any one person would possess all the traits. What chiefs of police do is seen as more important than who chiefs are in terms of executive leadership. There is also the question of police officers being "professionals" or members of a "craft." The literature would suggest that some chiefs see themselves either as professional or are trying to move themselves and their organizations to this status level through promoting higher levels of education and advanced training for all police officers. Other chief see themselves as the heads of professional organization based on what the police service does rather than on professional qualifications.

It is suggested that chiefs of police are faced with a dichotomy; finding the appropriate balance between an authoritarian style of leadership to maintain control and obtaining the best from employees through more participatory management practices. This is the essence of "empowerment" or "situational leadership." There are also major differences between being a mid-level manager and an executive as there are differences between being an executive manager and being a leader.

MANAGERS OF CHANGE

The Effects of Economic, Political, and Social Change

Canada is currently experiencing a period of unprecedented economic, political and social change that is greatly influencing the work of the police and this may require the police to undergo radical and innovative change and all that would entail. Police forces in Canada, and probably throughout the world, however, do not have a reputation as being change agents. On the contrary, police forces are agents of the government in power, organized and operated to maintain the status quo (Bizzack, 1989; Gibbons, 1995; Hoover, 1992). In keeping with public and political demands, the police are interested in the protection of life and property, the safe and orderly movement of people and vehicles, the prevention of crime and the quick and safe apprehension of offenders (Forcese, 1992). While police departments do change to accommodate changes in society, they seldom bring about those changes (Oakley & Krug, 1991; Small, 1991). However, if police officers do not lead, then they must follow: as mere followers they may not get the changes they desire.

The primary resistance to change comes from fear of change and the loss of what is comfortable, loss of power and having the will of others imposed on people who are members of a working structure (O'Toole, 1995). The problem for police chiefs is that the status quo they are trying to maintain is itself changing and even the pace of that change is increasing (Bizzack, 1989). Chiefs are frequently questioned by members of their own departments. Police officers themselves are "better educated, more diverse, and much more willing to question both the organizational status quo and efforts to

change it" (Stephens, 1992, p. 307). Chiefs of police must learn how to manage complex organizations in times of change. They must also learn to manage numerous related and unconnected activities at the same time (More & Kenney, 1986; Scott, 1986).

Hernandez (1993) suggests that police chiefs will have to become masters of change because of changes in society:

Changing work force ethnicity and values, community partnerships, economic constraints, and technological advances will require a greater degree of creativity and innovation from law enforcement leadership. New leadership styles incorporating flexibility and tolerance of diversity must eclipse the traditional mind-set of maintaining the status quo (p. 7).

Grainger (1993) also stresses the importance of recognizing changes in society. He states that Canadian police chiefs must be sensitive to factors affecting public policy brought about by these changes. Grainger's list of factors influencing change are:

- increased ethnic diversity and cross cultural needs;
- aboriginal demands and native self-government;
- aging, lifestyle, and health requirements of the Canadian population;
- new crimes and advancing technology, especially in information processing;
- constitutional changes, institutional rationalization, and disentanglement among and between all levels of government and all programs;
- economic restructuring, globalization, and severe budget restraints;
- the implementation and development of community-based policing;
- changing clientele with differing needs requiring a more contextual and humanistic approach to law enforcement and;
- a more cooperative relationship with the community.

Chief of police selection should focus on the need for these changes in the police service.

If Hernandez (1993) and Grainger (1993) are correct, the next generation of police chiefs will probably be very different from the present.

Organizational Change

Small (1991) referring to policing in Australia suggested that:

The changes that are considered most likely to occur are: (1) the traditional bureaucratic organization with many levels in the hierarchy will probably disappear as it becomes less relevant; (2) commissioned police officers will be expected to acquire formal professional qualifications, recognized and valued externally, which will become a prerequisite for promotion; and (3) specialized officers with expertise in business and finance to combat the incidence of 'white-collar' crime will be in great demand (p. 318).

These changes are not unique to Australia. Becker, (1986); Campbell, (1992); McDougall, (1988); and Hoover (1992) see similar trends in policing in North America. However, a key factor is that the less structured, team oriented organization has not been tested. This new focus should be tested to ensure that its long term effects will provide more cost effective organizations, as well as organizations that have the proper levels of control. The extraordinary power that police officers have to affect the lives of others and control their activities must be recognized. Police officers on patrol or conducting investigations cannot be allowed to do as they like.

Jaques and Clement (1991) and Jaques and Carson (1994) suggest that such changes in organizations such as the military and the police — if not the majority of public and government organizations — are major mistakes. Structure should be based on specific principles that use formulae to establish levels of responsibility within the organization. Clear definitions of important words used within the system should be established. Jaques (1989) even suggests that pay levels should be based on leadership responsibilities that pertain to time factors for the completion of projects. The police service with a

reduced command and control structures might be creating new problems for itself — far greater than the ones it is trying to correct.

Executive Partnership

In a counter-argument to Jaques (1989) Block (1987) suggests that organizations should have less command and control and more partnership. Effective leaders in the 1990s need the will and the ability to empower employees to be the best they can be and to grow and develop in their careers. Block (1993) also sees the effective executive acting as a steward or practicing "stewardship" in the management of an organization. In effect, leaders hold the organization in trust and must leave it in better condition than when they took over. Leaders should look on their employees as partners to whom they will hold themselves accountable. They will support the continuation of long term quality management, year after year and recognize the importance of succession planning (Collins & Porras, 1994). Continuous learning and improvement becomes paramount (Deming, 1982). Senge (1990), Senge, Roberts, Ross, Smith, and Kleiner (1994) suggest that new concepts such as "the learning organization," in combination with a team building approach to leadership, may offer promise for improved performance.

Transformational Leaders and Change

Burns (1978) Bennis and Nanus (1985) see the most effective leaders as being able to transform or change the organization, thus the concept of the "transformational leader." Such leaders realize that a decision made in one location, or a change made in a program may affect programs in other locations. Transformational leaders can see the entire organization and understand the linkages and interaction of its various parts (D'este,

1995). They also have a vision of where their organization is going and are able to articulate it to others (Collins & Porras, 1994; Hersey & Blanchard, 1993).

Witham (1987), referring to the writings of Burns, Bennis and Nanus, also describes leaders as those who can transform their organizations:

the distinguishing talent possessed by transformational leaders is the ability to envision. They are capable of seeing the entire organization, the complex environment, and the interaction of the two as a single entity. Further, they are able to project this view into the future and describe a favorable future for the organization. They articulate this vision to others and provide them with a sense of meaning (Witham, 1987, p. 2).

What leaders are, however, is often more difficult to define than what leaders do.

Decentralization of Decision-making

According to Nanus (1989) Block (1988) Deming (1982) Naisbitt (1990) Peters and Austin (1985), the major change in management and leadership is the move towards decentralization and to decision-making at the lower ends of organizations. As they see it, the era of hierarchy and the bureaucratic model is over: organizational structures will be flatter. The best organizations will develop a "team approach" to decision-making and problem solving (Block, 1987). It will be essential that leaders provide an opportunity and an environment that allows people to enjoy their work while setting expectations for high performance and continuous improvement (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; Deming, 1982; Reichheld, 1996).

Issues of Control

A looser style of leadership might appear superior to an authoritarian one but after there is a riot, a major criminal investigation gone wrong, or a police shooting, who stands

accountable, the team or the leader? Of course, it is the chief who must answer for the conduct of his or her police officers (Bunyard, 1978; Gates, 1992). The style of police leadership and the ability to meet the demand for greater involvement by an increased number of officers in the decision-making process will remain an important factor in the provision of a high level of police service (More & Kenney, 1986). The ability to demonstrate flexibility in leadership will be a determinant in the police chief selection process (Glen, 1985; Grainger, 1993).

A Vision to Change

Chenault (1987) Glen (1985) Slivinski (1990) support the concept that the effective leaders have both strong personal values and a vision of where their organizations are going. They stress that leaders see issues in global, long term perspectives. Effective leaders are able to deal with ambiguity and are open to new ways of thinking about organizational problems. They support sharing and collaboration in problem solving. They have a tendency to rely on their own judgment. Finally, they are able to get things done with and through other people (Bizzack, 1989; More & Kenney, 1986).

Bennis and Nanus (1985) Coutts and Durivage (1992) also see the leader providing a vision of where the organization is going in the future. They note that leaders achieve their vision by motivating and inspiring others as to what that vision means to their common future. They provide the direction and draw others with them. According to Whitham (1987) Secretan (1986) Levinson and Rosenthal (1984) and Por (1991), the leader must articulate his or her vision and provide followers with a sense of meaning and purpose in work to create a climate for success.

A Vision for Action

Stamper (1992) in a survey of the chiefs of the major police forces in the United States, noted the importance of vision to police officers and to the possession of action oriented characteristics such as:

...sharing a vision of the future, encouraging and practicing openness and honesty, developing and challenging employees, creating an atmosphere of teamwork and open communication, helping employees get the job done, and recognizing excellence in performance (p. 93).

Stamper (1992) suggests effective leaders are able to turn their visions into reality by:

(1) standing for something; (2) charting an organizational course; and (3) communicating expectations and monitoring performance, so that those expectations become "structured" (p. 59).

Sense of Purpose

The leader must instil a sense of purpose in the organization (Peters & Waterman, 1982). According to Neuhauser (1993), leaders instil purpose by telling the stories of the organization and telling why their particular organization is more than just "ho hum." Csikszentmihalyi (1975) suggests that leaders will be far more successful if they can make the work fun. People are more likely to put forward their best effort if they enjoy their jobs. If they like what they are doing, they are more likely to be effective at work, and are less likely to take unnecessary time off.

Union Partnerships

Bower (1975) notes that the emergence of unions and collective bargaining has necessitated a redefinition of the police chiefs' role in the labour relations process.

Partnership with the unions may be a consideration. He would expand the 'partnership role' to include excellence in the management of "labour relations practices." Unfortunately for many of the chiefs, municipal governments over the years, in an attempt to avoid wage increases, have provided unions with many of management's rights. It is now difficult to implement many changes that would increase productivity because of limitations set out in collective agreements (Stephens, 1992).

Section Summary

Chiefs must have a positive vision of the organization's future and be able to communicate what they are trying to accomplish. By developing partnerships with other government agencies and police unions, they should become both "change masters," and "transformational leaders." Chiefs and future chiefs will need to be persons of character, with high energy and determination, who stand for something of value. Change will be the only constant in police leadership. Chiefs will also have to contend with the conflicting values of encouraging police officers to be creative, independent thinkers, and problem solvers — at the same time they are to obey the laws and follow orders. The same dilemma many other modern executives have with their employees and parents with children.

LEARNING AND CULTURE

Recruits to the Police Service

Recruits to the police service attend a training and indoctrination period at one of the police colleges in Ontario. Emphasis is on obeying orders, discipline, wearing a uniform, neatness, foot drill, understanding the basis of law and law enforcement. Police recruits must learn to recognize unlawful actions and conduct which are not acceptable to society in general and the police service in particular. They are taught to appreciate order in society, have a duty to maintain the status quo, and to correct the negative social behaviour of others, as they see it (Harris, 1973). The results are a body of men and women brought together as a team, a team whose members are in many ways different from the members of society whom they are sworn to protect. This system of training recruits is under review by members of Policing Services Division, Ministry of the Solicitor General (Ontario). Police college trainers and administrators are being asked by a few Ministry bureaucrats why police training does not follow the civilian college model. Finding the answer could be a major study in itself (Grant, 1981; McDougall, 1988, and Ontario Police College calendar(s) 1969-93).

The Learning Organization

Senge's (1990) basic concept pertaining to the learning organization, which is now in vogue in many police organizations is that both individuals and organizations continue to learn in their everyday activities (Boose, 1995). Senge (1990) builds his basic concept on "five disciplines," — personal mastery, mental models, shared vision, team learning, and systems thinking. "To practice a discipline is to be a lifelong learner on a never-ending developmental path" (Senge, 1990, p. 11). Learning, then, must be both continuous and

valued. According to Deming (1982), it is especially important that organizations learn from their mistakes. This he sees as the key to quality service.

According to Simon (1991), however, it is not organizations that learn, as suggested by Senge, but only individuals. "All learning takes place inside individual human heads; an organization learns only in two ways: (a) by the learning of its members, or (b) by ingesting new members who have knowledge the organization didn't previously have" (p. 125). Hedberg (1981) agrees that if organizations do learn it is through their members: "members come and go, and leadership changes, but organizations' memories preserve certain behaviours, mental maps, norms and values over time" (p. 6). Crossan and Hurland (1995) take the middle ground, suggesting that the preferred terminology should be "learning within organizations. "

Police organizations can be described in terms of Senge's (1990) learning organization in that they have a memory through written orders, manuals, directives, customs, and traditions. Many of these were developed by members long gone yet their past efforts still have influence. There is also a "police way," or the "organization's way," of doing things. As the recruit may expect to hear from the drill sergeant: "there is a right way and a wrong way and police way of doing things." The police way of shining shoes, marching, conducting investigations and writing reports, for example, follows tradition and past experiences. The police way is values based. Dedication to duty, personal sacrifice and loyalty to the organization is what is expected from each member of the service. Pride in the force and loyalty to each other are also important factors of being a police officer (Bouza, 1990; Ewin, 1990). Ritual is supposed to take the police service

from an average organization to something special in the minds of its members. These expectations are re-enforced through a code of conduct and peer pressure to conform (Bogdan, 1992; Geller, 1985). The result is a police culture that affects the way chiefs function, police organizations are managed, and the way police officers learn.

Police Culture and Leadership

Although the police service is made-up of individuals with their own personalities and characteristics, the literature suggests that there is a definite "police culture" that applies to the wider group (Bouza, 1990; Fairchild, 1988; Skolnick, 1969). One definition of culture from Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary (1984) is a "behavior typical of a group or class." According to Fairchild (1988), culture also includes the entire complex of structure, procedures, norms, and traditions that make up what we call an organization. "Police culture comprises a distinct body of values, attitudes, rules and practices which influence in various ways the manner in which police officers exercise their discretion" (Skolnick & Bayley, 1986, p. 219). "The elements of danger, conservatism, occupational isolation, and the need to maintain authority are a part of the police culture" (Fairchild, 1988, p. 194). According to Reiner (1985), the central feature of "cop culture" is a sense of mission. He suggests that within the service, policing is not seen as just a "job" but a way of life with a worthwhile purpose. The purpose is to preserve community values and protect the weak against the predator (Reiner, 1985 p. 88).

In carrying out the mission, the police officer sees himself or herself as one of the good "guys" in the fight against evil. According to Bouza (1990), police work is also supposed to be challenging, exciting, fun, a game of wits and skill. At times, it is all of these.

More often than not it is boring, messy, mundane, trivial, and venal. In carrying out the mission, the police officer may even develop a feeling of isolation from ordinary social activities (Strecher, 1992).

Reiner (1985) quoting Miller:

Certainly, many police officers report difficulties in mixing with civilians in ordinary social life. These stem from shift-work, erratic hours, difficulty in switching off from the tension engendered by the job, aspects of the discipline code, and the hostility or fear that citizens may exhibit to the police. Social isolation is the price to be paid for Peel, Rowan and Mayne's policy of elevating the British police as symbols of impersonal authority, and was to an extent a direct product of recruitment policies aimed at severing officers from their local communities (Miller, 1984, pp. 26-28).

According to Fortier (1972), one of the most typical characteristics of police culture is cynicism, which he sees as fully warranted because police officers, in a few short years of service, see "more examples of human weakness and vagaries than the average person sees in a lifetime." Police officers see child abuse, incest, bestiality, and such vagaries as theft, lying, assault, murder, and tragic and needless accidents. "In order to deal with hurt children, blood, human misery, and anguish, they unconsciously grow calluses over their emotions" (Bouza, 1990, p. 5). In addition, police officers' work is often confidential or secret and, thus, cannot be discussed with friends or even close family members, which increases the level of isolation and cynicism, when people outside the police service do not appear to understand why police officers do what they do and are critical of them (Goldsmith, 1990).

Police work and the demands on the individual police officer's time differ from the public norm. For example, police officers are technically on duty twenty-four hours a

day, year around; they are subject to the rules of conduct in the Police Services Act, at all times, even when vacationing in a foreign country. These are not the types of demands or restrictions that apply to the majority of others in the work force.

The secrecy and isolation of the police, however, is due mainly to two elements of police culture: distrust towards non-police officers and the need for confidentiality in the performance of police work (van Reenen, 1983). The problem becomes greater when the clash is between reporting inefficiency or corruption, or maintaining loyalty to a partner with whom one has shared hard times and moments of danger (Ewin, 1990).

In addition to cynicism, most police officers are suspicious, if not by nature then by training. They are suspicious of the public they serve and of the officers who supervise them. "Suspiciousness is a product of the need to keep a look-out for signs of trouble, potential danger and clues to offenses" (Reiner, 1985, p. 91). Public contact that puts people on guard against being questioned or accused increases the level of suspicion. Trouble for the constable can also come from supervisors who see it as part of their job to look for mistakes. Members of the public and the police service have almost a natural reluctance to admit their mistakes or wrong doings. It seems better to "make-up a good story" to describe why something happened. "Probably one of the more difficult things to become accustomed to is the fact that, more often than not, people do lie and do so quite well at times" (Fortier, 1972). Cynicism is increased when the police officers, who encounter the innocent victims of accidents and crimes, later in court, often see the perpetrators go free for lack of evidence, or on a technicality, or if convicted, get off with a warning, probation, or a short sentence.

Reiner (1985) quoting Skolnick, suggests that the police officers' working role combines "two principal variables — danger and authority — which should be interpreted in the light of a 'constant' pressure to appear efficient" (Skolnick, 1969, p. 44). Reiner (1985) even sees a pressure on police officers to produce, to be efficient, rather than legal, when the two norms are in conflict. Reiner (1985) and Skolnick and Bayley (1986) suggest that there are more dangerous professions resulting in a greater number of deaths and injuries per capita than police work; however, the problem for the police officer, is that the danger is constant and death or injury is often unexpected. Simply stopping a traffic violator, for example, may result in armed conflict with the possible death of the police officer or the violator. To minimize the need to use force, the police officer is projected as an authority figure acting on behalf of the state. With few exceptions, people obey the requests, orders, or instructions of the police officer without question or the need to use force (Deutsch, 1970; Schindeler, 1969; Van Loon & Whittington, 1976).

Performance measurements are a factor in the development of police culture that arises from attempts to provide close supervision to men and women, who for all intents and purposes, work on their own, or at least away from the view of supervisors. Unless assigned to a specific location, police officers patrol randomly in their assigned zones. In most cases, supervisors do not know where they are or what they are doing at any given time. This is the nature of the job. According to Bouza (1990), one of the comic opera aspects of this police supervision game is to impose endless restrictive regulations (of the Mickey Mouse variety) that have nothing to do with performance including assigning times to take meal breaks with no particular purpose for the time assigned, measuring the

length of side-burns, hair cut requirements, and restricting the types of jewelry worn. Within the game of minor rules, supervisors are trying to give the opposite impression that they support concepts such as "participatory management" and "officer empowerment." This game, with its rules and frustrations, also contributes to making members of the police service somewhat cynical.

Loyalty

Loyalty matters to police officers more than it matters to most workers. If one is to face considerable danger or to take chances in the interpretation of rules, one needs to know that one's partner will treat one's interest as his or her own (Ewin, 1990). The culture, or at least peer group pressure, demands a code of loyalty and silence (Avery, 1989) which makes it difficult to criticize another police officer, at least publicly. To break the code is to be left to your own resources and makes it almost impossible to function as a police officer (Ewin, 1990). The bond between officers provides reassurance that the other officers will back them up in difficult situations and cover for them in the face of external and even internal investigations (Goldstein, 1990). This bonding also allows for the development of strong personal friendship among officers. Retired officers, for example, report that what they miss most about their former job is the comradeship of fellow police officers. Loyalty requires police officers to assist fellow officers who are sick, injured, or otherwise in trouble. It brings them together as a team to do a difficult job and allows for outstanding levels of performance during a crisis. "Without ties of loyalty and trust between partners, police work would be much harder to do" (Ewin, 1990, p.10).

"In return for loyalty and solidarity, members of the police culture enjoy considerable individual autonomy to get on with the job" (Brown, 1981, p. 85). Moreover, in many respects, the values internalized by street-level police officers do not accord with the "rules of law" ideal in law enforcement. The "action" perspective of the police officer as "crime fighter" is really frustrated by imposed rules and procedures seen as unwarranted impediments to effective law enforcement. As Brown (1981) observed, "part of the police culture is the belief that 'aggressive' and often illegal tactics are necessary to maintain order and that due process must occasionally be sacrificed if those who break the law are to be apprehended" (p. 83). Solidarity, however, does not address the conflicts within the police service. According to Ewin (1990), the unwritten police code is a detrimental aspect of policing that lessens the overall effectiveness of the service. It almost eliminates concern of possible apprehension for police misconduct. It is in effect exaggerating the benefits of mutual loyalty and support. It would appear that police officers themselves are questioning the loyalty factor. Minor infractions may be overlooked by a fellow officer, but those that bring harm to others or discredit to the force are less tolerated (Bouza, 1990; Goldsmith, 1990). The times appear to be changing.

Police Powers

According to Bouza (1990), street cops exercise more power over our daily lives than the heads of government. "They not only have literally thousands of laws at their disposal but they also have the additional comfort of being able to rely on the substantial tolerance of a system that wants action and knows that it must be willing to tolerate errors in order

to get it" (Bouza, 1990, p.3). The police have the power to initiate an investigation or to ignore our apparent wrong doings: they have the power to search, seize, detain, question, arrest, charge, warn; they can even tell us when to stop and when to go (Bouza, 1990).

A special property of the police service is that within its ranks discretion increases as one moves down the hierarchy (Bouza, 1990; Wilson, 1968). This is a key point in understanding change in roles as one is promoted; police constables have more freedom to do their jobs than their superiors. The higher one is in rank, the more closely one must obey the rules and ensure other officers do so as well.

Fraternal Learning Organizations

Partly, because of unusual, often difficult, occasionally dangerous working conditions, the uniformed police service functions as a fraternity of like minded people. This fraternity affects both how police officers learn and how they operate (Adams, 1980). Based on their similarities, and a strong current of occupational empathy, police agencies can trade techniques, information, and innovative organizational experiences across units, organizations, and even national borders (Fairchild, 1988). This cooperation in support of the mission, in turn, leads to the concept of a police fraternity and overrides many of the negatives arising from social isolation, suspicion, and cynicism. As a learning organization, this bonding and culture appear to produce what could be called a "fraternal learning organization" which may be an additional strength of the police service (Carter, Sapp, & Stephens, 1989; Deakin, 1988; Green, 1988; Small, 1991).

Learning Opportunities

"Shop talk " — the discussion of investigations, personalities, organizations, policy and more — is often the most informative and interesting part of police conferences, seminars and courses. This exchange and interaction provides one of the most important learning opportunities for present and future chiefs of police (Johnson, 1986) and follows more of the concept of Senge's (1990) "learning organization," or the "fraternal learning organization" than Hedburg's (1981) counter argument that only people learn.

Developing Future Leaders

Gardner (1984) has pointed out that we do not know what skills will be required in the future. Training and development must have a wider focus to meet unexpected needs.

Only ability and sound education equip one for the continuous seeking of new solutions. We don't even know what skills may be needed in the years ahead. That is why we must train our ablest young men and women in the fundamental fields of knowledge rather than the hot specialist fields of the moment, and must equip them to understand and cope with change. That is why we must give them the critical qualities of mind and the durable qualities of character that will serve them in circumstances we cannot now predict (Gardner, 1984, p. 53).

Motivation to learn and keep up-to-date with changes in the police system is the most important factor in the identification of professional police executives (Whisenand & Ferguson, 1981). Such officers prolong their effectiveness and extend the time frame of their achievements in the top leadership position. They are more likely to move their organization forward and not just manage a static organization (Burns, 1978).

Developing Character and Vision

According to Emshoff and Denlinger (1991), leadership is improved through the right kind of experience. They recommend four key experiences — with managing employees, with customers (clients), with leadership roles, and with assuming risks (Emshoff & Denlinger, 1991). According to Witham (1987), additional factors should be considered such as "range of police and managerial experience, level of formal education, extent of professional development or training, and involvement with community groups" (p. 2). The objective should be to expose law enforcement executives to as wide a profile of positive experiences, views, and opinions, as possible to help them to develop an open and inquiring mind. With experience comes a success profile (Korn, 1988; Rogers, 1984). According to Korn (1988), this profile is enhanced when the leader knows what he or she can do well and plays to those strengths while at the same time is willing to work on correcting personal weaknesses. The leader is "values driven, lives according to principles, has an open mind, and a genuine concern for others" (Fetherolf, 1994, p. 50). Becoming an effective leader requires that a person become an integrated human being.

Developing character and vision is the way leaders invent themselves — a process born of experience, education and exposure to and contact with effective leaders. This generally takes place outside the classroom (Fetherolf, 1994, p. 50).

Positive character development then follows exposure to positive experiences. On-the-job development is a key factor in the development of future chiefs who may lack more formal academic backgrounds. According to Hargreaves and Fullan (1992), in reference to the development of teachers, there is more to development than changing behaviour.

It is also necessary to change who the teacher is. This concept could also be applied to police officers. As has been suggested, it takes more than "policing skills" or the "right traits" alone to be considered for the top job. Past accomplishments and wide experience, particularly in managing interpersonal relations, are seen as being paramount (Grosman, 1975). Those planning to be chiefs of police need to focus both on the position of chief and their own career development as needs change. The chief's job is changing and the competition for the position(s) is increasing since fewer chiefs are needed to lead a reduced number of departments. The necessity of higher levels of formal education, as a factor in the chief of police selection process, is beginning to have an impact as the percentage of chiefs with a post high school education increases.

Private Sector Learning

Private industry has some valuable lessons about executive development that could probably benefit the police service (Bower, 1975). A key element in the development of future chiefs seems to be a mix of promotions and lateral transfers. Job rotation among the different functions of the department seems to be important in the lives of successful executives. Ideally, Bower (1975) suggests that job rotation should be interspersed with attendance at seminars, conferences, and formal courses. Junior officers may also be given a top level project that stretches their decision-making ability. Workshops for senior executives should focus on corporate strategy, organizational design, productivity, and the political and social trends that may impact on the organization (Gysbers, 1984).

This zigzag mobility seems to produce executives with the adaptability and creativity to mold organizations into proactive rather than reactive postures (Gysbers, 1984, p. 53).

"The path to career success is different for every executive, but the fundamental need for continuous learning never changes" (York University, The Executive Program, 1996).

Higher Education and Police Executives

Historically, research pertaining to higher education and police officers has focused on the role of the line officers and not on senior managers or chiefs of police (Carter, Sapp, & Stephens, 1989). In the research, there is some suggestion that higher education may be valuable to all police officers; even a hope that it is, but nothing conclusive has been established. According to Carter, et al. (1989), there are two dimensions pertaining to the effectiveness of higher education for police executives. One dimension is behaviour, pertaining to performance and goal driven tasks; the other is attitudinal, which in terms of a relationship to education has been very difficult to measure. Any relationship that could be established was, "in the eye of the beholder."

The difficulty in measuring the success of higher education for police executives lies in the difficulty of measuring the effectiveness of police departments in general (Hansen, 1991). This is particularly true when there is an apparent lack of obvious faults within the department, such as the excessive use of force by members, or a corruption scandal. Ontario police officers can be seen on patrol and appear to be taking action. If their departments are operating within budget, and the leadership have plans for dealing with crime and traffic management problems, then they are generally seen as providing an acceptable level of police service. What more could be asked from chiefs of police who have a higher level of formal education? Possibly, positive attitudinal changes and a wider intellectual perspective?

Sheehan and Cordner (1989), quoting Sanders, note that "the most compelling argument for higher educational standards for the police is the steadily rising educational level of the general population" (p. 534). In more practical terms, they see the role of the police executive — indeed for all police officers — requiring tremendous discretion and judgment (Sheehan & Cordner, 1989). Higher education will impact positively on both factors.

Deakin (1988) suggests that a liberal education for police officers will help ensure the proper use of their discretionary power and should improve performance of their crime and control functions, giving them a better balance between social counsel and law enforcement and, thus, positively affect order maintenance. According to Halsted (1985), what is needed is a system of higher education that produces sensitive, holistic officers who can produce practical results without losing sight of the moral consequences of their actions. Attendance at a college or university will also bring police officers into contact with wider segments of the diverse population of this country.

According to Bracey (1990):

Education explains underlying assumptions; helps the student to understand the relationships among individual, society, and nature; provides the historical and cultural context for action; and supplies the tools for lifelong learning. Training alone may have been sufficient for the past; it is not sufficient for the future (p. 15).

Higher education for police officers was part of an Ontario Government study that led to the publication of A Police Learning System for Ontario (Campbell, 1992). Again, nothing conclusive was established. However, Carter, et al. (1989) in another study,

point out that the roles for senior officers are different and often more complex than those in the lower ranks. A university degree is probably as desirable for police chiefs as it is for any other senior executive in comparable organizations. The purpose of the degree is not just to have a certificate, but to acquire a body of knowledge, to develop reading and research skills, and to improve one's ability to think and reason. Universities and colleges also allow the student to benefit from properly equipped and staffed libraries, laboratories, and other facilities and to benefit from the interaction of the faculty and the wider student body (Dantzker, 1986; Halsted, 1985).

Section Summary

The literature would suggest that a career in policing can be an outstanding learning opportunity with a variety of different tasks to perform and opportunities to attend organizational sponsored training programs. In addition, close personal working relationships and the frequent need for teamwork provide learning opportunities through sharing of information and contact with officers who possess different skills. Chiefs of police are a product of this police learning system and their development is further shaped by police culture.

The literature would further suggest that police officers must continue to learn throughout their careers. As a fraternity of learners, from recruit training, through mentoring, to senior officer development programs, police officers have made notable progress in improving their organization's effectiveness. The outstanding educational question is whether future police officers should obtain the basics of policing at a community college or university before joining a police service?

CAREER PLANNING

Career Theories

According to Carlson (1972), careers can be examined from two perspectives — one is on the individual as the centre of interest, and the other is on the job as the centre of interest. In addition, Carlson (1972) suggests that there is a difference between "career" and "place bound" individuals. Career bound people are more loyal to their own careers than to the institution. They will change (police) departments to advance their careers. (They will also change departments for other reasons such as to accommodate a spouse, who is being transferred, or for life style reasons.) Place bound individuals will stay with their original institution regardless of the opportunities for promotion.

Most importantly as a consideration in the selection of chiefs of police, career bound leaders are more likely to bring changes to their new departments than place bound leaders (Carlson, 1972). By changing departments career bound chiefs are exposed to new and different ideas, procedures, and programs. If they think systems can be improved, they will have less loyalty to the status quo. This may account for the success of officers from large departments in the competition for the position of chiefs of smaller departments. Larger departments have the resources to research and develop, or buy various management and operational systems. Many of these programs can be implemented in the smaller department, at greatly reduced costs, by a chief from a larger department who has a wide range of experiences with different systems.

According to Gysbers (1984), most career theorists endorse some variation on the developmental process of careers. Career choice becomes a developmental process.

The major distinction among career theorists, then, is largely between those who emphasize the structure of personality characteristics (interests, abilities, and other personality traits) resulting from early developmental processes and those who emphasize the processes themselves as they unfold across the life span (for example, conceptualization of self as worker, the capacity to work). Theorists in the latter group focus on the stages and transitions that describe behavioral changes (Gysbers, 1984, p. 139).

The developmentalists focus on how people "grow up into" their work rather than on the structural perspective that focuses on personality characteristics. This is a key point in understanding the change in roles from being a constable to being a chief of police. It does not appear to be the original traits of the person that leads to the chief's office, but the growth that takes place during a police career (Gysbers, 1984).

Who Should be Chief of Police?

Recruits to the police service are trained to be constables and only after they have a number of years' service are they considered for promotion to sergeant. In Ontario, no fast track or special management training exists for recruits who show early promise of reaching senior rank or promotion to chief. No published government documents describe the skills, abilities, education, work experience, or other requirements necessary to be promoted to senior rank, including that of chief of police. With few exceptions, police officers are promoted one step at a time and only trained specifically for each new management position after being identified for promotion to that position (Coutts & Durivage, 1992, Ontario Police College calendar(s), 1968-1993).

While individuals may have their own promotional plans, their organizations do not support these plans through a career streaming process. The systems treats all recruits as though they have the potential to be chiefs of police and all receive the same basic opportunities for advancement. Education beyond the minimum requirement to join the police service (grade twelve) is not a consideration in the promotional systems. If education is a factor at all, it probably has more to do with how a person uses what they have learned and how they present themselves to a promotional board on a particular day, than the fact that a person has a university degree, or college diploma (Campbell, 1992; Carter, et al. 1989).

Without a career development plan that extends beyond the next promotion, it is difficult for individual police officers to develop a personal promotional strategy. It is not simply a matter of learning the right material and gaining the appropriate experience. To be promoted to chief of police, one must first succeed in a number of promotional competitions. Many police officers try for promotion but are never successful. Because the odds of ever being promoted to chief of police are slight, many officers see it as pointless to develop a plan that will lead them to the chief's office, or consider what they would do, if they were promoted to chief.

A key point is that police recruits are hired by a police service as constables to be constables. This is in contrast to people who join other organizations with professional qualifications such as a MBA, with the expectation that one day they will be executives, if not the chief executive. Moreover, since it takes most officers so much time and effort to be successful at each level in the process, it is only in the later years of their careers

that it is reasonable for a few officers of senior rank to start planning on how they would administer a police force if they did reach the top position. Exceptions to this process are in the smaller departments where, because of fewer rank levels in the organizational structure, some members are promoted from constable or sergeant rank directly to chief of police (Cooper, 1982; Small, 1991; Sorcher, 1985).

Chief of Police Assessment

To help ensure that the person with the right skills and abilities is appointed chief of police an assessment of the performance of other chiefs can be used as a guide. In assessing the performance of the chief, Vaughn (1989) states that:

The assessment should ascertain whether the chief is a strong leader who sets goals and leads towards them by inspiring employees and involving them in the development of department strategies. The chief should use people, equipment, and facilities to the best advantage within resource limitations. ...ability to establish and maintain productive and effective working relationships; to communicate ideas and information effectively; to provide information on departmental operations to the community; to develop constructive departmental values; to professionalize the department; and to develop appropriate crime strategies. Other issues that should be considered are creativity and innovation, integrity, management consistency, delegation of responsibility, and the development of subordinates (Vaughn, 1989, p. 2).

To be efficient and effective, the police chief should be known by the "most important figures in business, commerce, education, community groups, and the media. Equally, the chief should be known by spokesmen for the powerless" (Locke, 1984, p. 14).

According to Vaughn (1989), a community should judge its police chief on how well he (she) meets the needs of the community and in the quality of service expected and demanded by the taxpaying public. This means doing those things that are part of the

chief's mandate, in accordance with the rules of the governing authority, in accordance with the rules of the department based on the best in business principles (Sheehan, 1995).

Performance Measures

Typical with many public and social service careers, it is difficult measuring performance. For years performance has been measured by the police, politicians and citizens in terms of process rather than outcome (Stephens, 1992) — including the number of arrests made, crimes cleared, calls for service responded to, and response time. With a focus on community, process now includes schools visited, number of speeches given, and public meetings attended. However, the "process system" is a substitute for outcome or effectiveness measures. It is easier to count numbers rather than determine if this activity is having the desired results (More, 1992). In any case, it is probably too much to depend on police activity alone to affect the crime or accident rate. Poverty, unemployment, public values and respect for the rights of others must be considered. According to Guyot (1991), a department "can be distinguished by the excellence of services to the public and by the quality of the work life of its members" (p. 10).

The difficulty for chiefs of police using "outcomes measure" for assessing performance is that when crime and accident rates drop, it first appears that a community requires fewer police officers to investigate fewer occurrences. Police budgets will likely be reduced accordingly denying a crime and accident prevention (reduction) strategy of the police service. Reduced crime and traffic accident rates should be rewarded in the assessment of a chief because excellence goes beyond trends in the crime rate.

Standards of Conduct

As a guide to maintaining high standards of conduct, many police departments have developed ethical codes (Pollock-Byrne, 1988). To ensure these standards are met, chiefs of police are creating organizations that foster candid and open examination of police practices (Braswell, MacCarthy & MacCarthy, 1991; Skolnick & Bayley, 1986).

More Than a Top Cop

Vaughn (1989) suggests that one of the best descriptions of the characteristics and behaviours of the head of a good police department was given by Sheriff Sherman Block of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department and re-produced in his (Vaughn's) How to Rate Your Police Chief (pp. 5, 6). According to Sheriff Block, the modern police chief must be quite a bit more than his organization's "top cop." He or she must be an innovative, optimistic, self-confident person of character, who is sensitive to quality of life issues. The chief must also be able to manage budgets, understand the political, be a good communicator and respect tradition, but not hesitate to be innovative.

Section Summary

The literature would suggest that to have an effective system for the selection of future chiefs, it is necessary to understand the duties and responsibilities of the position, and the professional attributes of excellent police leadership. Police forces of different sizes, and structures, and with a mix of rural and urban populations will require police chiefs with many of the same basic leadership abilities and characteristics; but with the ability to adjust their style of leadership to meet local needs. Both process and results should be considered in assessing performance of the chief and his or her police service.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Chief of Police Selection Process

Little has been published about the selection or career paths of chiefs of police in Ontario or anywhere else in Canada. Abundant material is available about police operations, duties and responsibilities, police culture, leadership, and operating standards in general. However, no typical systems exist for selecting a chief, or standard management practices, or leadership style that a chief is expected to follow once selected (see pp. 78-83, 108, 110). Different styles of leadership and methods of selection seem to work under different circumstances for different types of organizations (see p. 79).

In Ontario, identifying the next chief just seems to happen without elaborate planning. On the death, retirement, or other circumstances creating a vacancy at the top of the police organization, an advertisement is usually placed in a newspaper(s) or a committee is formed to select a member from within the ranks of the police service to fill the vacancy. Until that time, little thought is given to whom will be the next chief or what sort of executive training program is needed. The common method for selecting a new chief in Ontario is to form a selection committee from members of a municipal police services' board and from other serving chiefs of police who are members of the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police. The board members usually develop their own questions to select a chief who most closely meets the needs of their community. A police services' board may decide to interview only deputy chiefs, or other senior officers from their force, or a board may advertise for candidates throughout the country. Some boards use outside consulting firms to direct the advertising process, conduct psychological

tests, conduct preliminary interviews, and then provide a short list of candidates. The police services' board members make the final selection from this short list (Small, 1991; Sorcher, 1985).

The larger the department the more likely a police services' board is to require some level of police management training, usually the Executive Development Course, provided by the Canadian Police College in Ottawa. This is particularly true when a police officer from an outside department is selected as chief. Smaller departments seldom require candidates to have the Executive Development Course or other courses (Ministry of the Solicitor General: Chiefs of Police vacancy file).

One problem with the selection process has been that police officers who have worked their way up through the ranks and who are particularly good "investigators," "record keepers" and "experienced detectives" score particularly high marks with fellow police officers (Grosman, 1975). Successful investigators also have a higher profile with the news media; are generally better known in the community and to board members; and as such have an advantage at a selection board. However, once promoted to chief, the work becomes less operational and more administrative with investigative skills taking second place to administrative skills. As police forces become even more complex, and funding the never ending problem, more will have to be done to select chiefs of police than to simply look at their records as investigators. Education, wider management experience, character, vision and leadership skills, founded on an understanding of human beings and a sensitivity to the interests of a multi-cultural community, will be essential (Coutts & Durivage, 1992; Grosman, 1975; Hansen, 1991). Police organizations may find it

imperative to support the concept of career streaming, and that individual police officers develop their own career enhancement plans, if they are going to be successful in chief selection or promotion processes.

With identifiable changes from an operational to a more administrative role of the chief of police, some consideration is being given to selecting non-police officers as future chiefs of police. This is becoming an important factor as improved pension plans and buy-outs allow so many senior officers to take early retirement, thereby reducing the pool of experienced senior police officers (Coutts & Durivage, 1992; Hernandez, 1993; Beyond 2000: Metropolitan Toronto Police Restructuring Task Force, 1994).

Similar Factors

Police officers with years of policing experience, holding similar ranks, can be expected to have many common characteristics; for example, they will have completed similar types of training courses, operational and administrative experiences, and possess comparable levels of knowledge about the police service. Each candidate for promotion to chief may also have an outstanding record of past performances. However, candidates may have distinctive differences in levels of formal education, work experiences outside the police service, reputation and personality (Forcese, 1992; McDougall, 1988). At issue is that past success and outstanding academic qualifications do not always guarantee future success. As with the identification of any executive, sorting out which of these will be vital to the selection of future chiefs of police is an important and difficult task.

According to Sorcher (1985):

...behavior required for effectiveness on the part of the chief is very different from the behaviors which have brought a person to the candidacy for it (p. 7).

For the selection board, the process can be boiled down to one simple question, "can he or she run things the way we want them run?" (Sorcher, 1985, p. 5). To make this determination two factors are important: (a) the types of questions asked at a promotion board and (b) the quality of long term assessments based on a formal performance measurement system. According to Sorcher (1985) and Janz (1987), board questions must be structured to anticipate as many situations and circumstances that the chief may be expected to face. Observable and comparable language should be used in developing and answering questions. Unstructured questions that ask for general information should be avoided (Weisner & Cronshaw, 1987). In addition, any long term assessment must use several reliable instruments, giving overlapping information at different times, from different perspectives throughout a person's career. Continuous assessment is the key to predictability of future performance, however, it is not a guarantee. According to Sorcher (1985), assessing a candidate one is looking for personal values, ways of managing and delegating, ways of exhibiting confidence in subordinates, the ability to build a team and the willingness to take risks when required. Both the board members and candidates must be aware of the type of process used and the type of information sought in any question asked. It is essential that candidates who have what it takes to be a chief of police must be able to communicate their abilities to the selection board.

Selecting the Right Person

Military leaders and some government agencies and private sector companies stress selecting the right person for the right job, regardless of weaknesses or flaws in character (Strozier, 1984). According to O'Toole (1995), if we insist on perfection of character then we will be unable to find many exceptional leaders. Whoever tries to place a man or staff an organization to avoid weakness will end up, at least with mediocrity (Drucker, 1973). In selecting a person to be chief of police, following the logic of Drucker, O'Toole, and Strozier, it would appear to be better to select someone with a number of strengths rather than a person who is without flaws. The police services' board would have to know how to take advantage of these strengths and how to compensate for any weaknesses. Many boards may consider a candidate's "political correctness" important.

Competence Based Selection

In 1994, Hay Management Consultants in conjunction with the Ontario Association of Police Services Boards (OAPSB) developed a list of "chief competencies," based on employees' professional insights, applied experience, and organizational learning to be used in the selection process (OAPSB Competency-Based Selection Manual, 1994). As part of a recruitment process, the OAPSB uses a form (which allows for some modification to meet local needs) that suggests appropriate questions for board members to ask potential chiefs of police. For a fee, the OAPSB will provide a training session for members of a municipal police services' board and help in developing questions to be used with their own format to ask potential candidates. The OAPSB material is not made available to potential future chiefs of police as a study document nor to police trainers to

be used in the development of learning programs. In Ontario, this is the only formal system for selecting future chiefs of police. As of September 1996, the OAPSB has reported that its system has been used seven times to select chiefs — six small municipal departments and one small regional department.

Some larger departments use personnel consultants outside the OAPSB system to assist in the development of their own local selection procedures. Other departments develop their own process without outside assistance. The OAPSB's system may become standard as it becomes better known and modified through use. Only one of the chiefs of police interviewed for this study mentioned the OAPSB System, which indicates that it is not well known within the police community.

OAPSB Chief Selection Process

The OAPSB uses four non-technical and eleven technical competence clusters. The non-technical competencies include: leading with vision, people skills, results orientation, and decision-making skills. Technical competencies or skills include knowledge of:

- the Police Services Act
- the Criminal Justice System
- the Criminal Code
- Race Relations
- Labour Relations
- Health and Safety Legislation
- Computer Skills
- Budgeting and Financial Management
- Employment Equity
- Standards in the Policing Standards Manual
- Government Monitoring and Audit Agencies

Candidates are expected to be able to draft policy, directives, and write and orally

communicate effectively (OAPSB Competency-Based Selection Manual, 1994).

Section Summary

With the reduction of the number of police forces in Ontario and the corresponding increase in competition for each opening for chief of police, understanding the promotional system(s) takes on growing importance. Being able to demonstrate competency in the clusters developed by the OAPSB is a minimum requirement. Character, image, and the ability to move from an operational mind set to a management one will also be paramount. Future chiefs will have to build on their strengths and improve their performance in areas where they believe they are weak.

Chapter Summary

There is a major difference between roles when the chief was a constable and now when he or she is a chief of police (see p. 112). Officers of lower ranks are more involved with the management of information and the apprehension of offenders: chiefs are involved with the analysis and interpretation of information and with such issues as strategic planning, financial management, and the acquisition of technology. Executive thinking is conceptual. Chiefs have an abstract nature to their job descriptions, working in both police operational and political environments.

There are numerous lists of traits, behaviours and conceptual skills that the ideal chief might be expected to possess. Those that are most recurring in the literature are: self-confidence, a high level of energy, drive, enthusiasm, determination, initiative, resilience,

the ability to get things done, and the ability to earn and maintain the respect of the members of the police service, government officials, and the wider community. The literature would also suggest that chiefs of police should also have a positive vision of the future of their department and be able to sell that vision to the members of the police service and the community (see p. 89). Chiefs should be community leaders who stand for something and have a strong set of personal values (see p. 90). Chiefs should be risk takers with the ability to manage many unconnected tasks at the same time; they should have a respect for tradition but be willing to change as required; they must be good communicators who can get things done with and through people. Chiefs should have confidence in subordinates, delegating work fairly, and have the ability to build teams. Chiefs must exhibit a deep caring for people, and have sensitivity to quality of life issues. Chiefs are responsible and accountable for what they do, and for what they fail to do, and for the conduct of their employees. These and other factors from the literature form part of the discussion with chiefs which follows in Chapter five, p. 126.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

Inputs and Sources of Information

The purpose of this Chapter is to identify the method used to select subjects for research and the sources of support information. In addition it describes the methods used to analyze the information received and to identify reasons for some of the commonalties.

Research Sample

The Directory of Corporate Security Administrators and Chiefs of Police: (Ontario Edition, 1995) lists one hundred-and-three members who are police chiefs of municipal departments, and one member who is the commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police. All the chiefs, but one and the commissioner are male. The lone female is the chief of a medium sized police service. Other people such as academics, police training staff, career placement personnel, and members of police governing bodies were contacted to obtain information that was not provided by the chiefs or available in the literature.

Computer Searches

Computer searches of the literature were conducted using a variety of word and word combinations pertaining to the research questions. Further information was obtained from five police and government libraries by discussing the research questions with librarians and having them recommend material from their collections. Considerable documentation, particularly about courses for senior police officers, was obtained from meetings with the teaching and administration staff at various police colleges in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. A personal reference file, with numerous articles and a collection of police books and manuals, developed over years of working in

the "police developing human resources field," was an additional source of information.

Survey and Interviews

In the spring of 1995, a survey form (Appendix "B," p 249) was sent to all chiefs of police in Ontario and to the commissioner of the OPP. The primary purpose of the form was to find out if the first step in the policing careers of these chief executive officers had been to join a police service as a probationary constable or a constable. The secondary purpose was to obtain a background profile of the chiefs, including years of police service, years as a chief, service with one department or more, formal education — both before joining a police service and after promotion to chief — other courses taken, career paths and patterns, and ranks held. This information, displayed in Chapter five, Tables 5.01 to 5.18, pp. 127-137, was valuable in selecting the fifteen chiefs for a personal interview.

The form, designed to be completed in approximately ten minutes, was tested on eight senior officers. Modifications were made to the design after the test. To ensure the highest return possible, forms were personally addressed to each chief of police and included a stamped, return addressed, envelope. Of the one hundred-and-four forms sent out, seventy-nine were returned from the original request and sixteen more from a follow-up letter — a total of ninety-five returns. Four forms returned from acting chiefs of small departments were included in the total.

Chief of Police Identification

From the one hundred-and-four chiefs of police services in Ontario, I identified fifteen from different size and/or types of police services in three regions of Ontario, east of Toronto, west and south of Toronto, and north of Toronto. Within this geographic range, I selected three different sized police services, which included town, city, and regional. I then identified at least two chiefs from each size of service, who had followed a "place bound" (same department for their careers) and a "career bound" (served on different departments) during their careers — giving me twelve chiefs to interview. I selected another three chiefs based on their apparent interest in part time education, after they joined a police service, by noting a pattern of increased levels of formal education on the survey form.

As there were more chiefs in each category than required for this study, I chose some of them whom I had met previously, and based my decision on their reputation as excellent police leaders. With a few of the chiefs whom I had not met before, I asked a number of colleagues (senior serving police officers) in confidence, to identify the chiefs in the three regions whom they thought had an excellent reputation for police leadership. From this list of chiefs of police, I choose fifteen to be interviewed. All the chiefs on this short list agreed without hesitation to an interview.

Code Names

To ensure confidentiality, each chief interviewed was given a code name, indicating the size of the department, "L" for large, "M" for medium, and "S" for small.

Large city or regional: Lawrence, Leo, Leslie, Lionel, Lowell, Luke, Lynn

Medium city or region: Mark, Martin, Max, Morgan

Small city, town or region: Sandy, Sidney, Simon, Stephen

Each interview, based on twenty-one questions (Appendix "D," p. 254) was intended to last one hour, although interviews continued well beyond the hour as the respective chiefs provided additional information about their police service and careers. Each interview was conducted at the chief's headquarters, either in his or her office or in a boardroom. I recorded each interview and later transcribed six myself. I felt that a number of comments made during these interviews were given in complete confidence, often referring to other people by name, and required even greater care. A colleague transcribed the other nine tapes for me. Each chief received a copy of the questions at the start of the interview and explanations by example of the types of information required. In addition to the recordings, I took notes of additional ideas I had while listening to the chiefs or of questions I wished to ask to clarify a point. I tried to avoid commenting about the questions while the chiefs were giving their answers to safeguard going off-topic, but I asked for clarification when required.

The twenty-one fixed questions with open responses (Appendix "D," p. 254) were developed to compliment the information from the mail survey sent to all chiefs in the province.

For purposes of analysis, the information was separated into five categories — personal background information; attitude towards formal education; opinions about what was necessary in terms of learning to fill the role of chief of police; specific problems of being a chief of police; and recommended knowledge, skills and abilities of future chiefs of police. The transcripts were coded based on the above categories and their relevance to the original research questions.

Common Management Perspectives

It was interesting to note that the chiefs spoke about many of the management concepts that I had identified in the literature review. There are a number of apparent reasons for this phenomenon. Firstly, the literature review included the calendars and course programs at the various police colleges and most of the chiefs had taken one or more of these courses. Secondly, although I started my review with the university library system, the police libraries had a much larger collection pertaining to police management subjects. I used police and other government libraries as the principal source for identifying material. Both the chiefs and the people who design police courses use the same sources. Police management programs also include material from the private sector to enhance the range of the courses provided. Thus, most of the chiefs are familiar with a wide range of management information, but there is no acceptable standard that applies to all police services within the province.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS

Data Collection and Display

The purpose of this Chapter is to analyze the information received from a mail survey (Appendix "B," p. 249) sent to all chiefs of police in Ontario and analyze the transcripts of interviews conducted with fifteen of the chiefs. The significance of these findings and their relationship(s) to the literature review are discussed in Chapter six, p. 169.

A summary of the information received from the mail survey is presented in table form followed by a discussion. This information was used to establish a working base on which to develop material to be used with the research questions.

The interview questions (Appendix D, p. 254) centered on the research questions from Chapter one, p. 5. They provided information about what chiefs of police thought they needed to know to become chiefs, and what skills and abilities they thought might be required by those who wanted to be effective chiefs in the future. To gain an insight into the chiefs' attitudes towards formal levels of education, chiefs were asked about their fathers' employment backgrounds, their own work activities after leaving school, and their reasons for joining the police service. The chiefs were asked about their plans to become a chief of police; at what point in their careers they started to formulate a plan; how they learned what they thought was necessary to be a chief; and if they had known when they were constables, that one day they would be chiefs of police, what additional career experiences, secondments, and training might have been useful.

Mail Survey Results

TABLE 5.01

Police Career Profile: Years of Service

(Total N=95 respondents)

<u>Year Respondent Became a Sworn Police Officer</u>		<u>Year Respondent Promoted to Chief</u>	
1950-55	N= 3	1950-55	N= 0
1956-60	N= 7	1956-60	N= 0
1961-65	N=20	1961-65	N= 0
1966-70	N=30	1966-70	N= 1
1971-75	N=24	1971-75	N= 6
1976-80	N=10	1976-80	N= 6
1981-85	N= 1	1981-85	N=11
1986-90	N= 0	1986-90	N=33
1991-95	N= 0	1991-95	N=38

Table 5.01 illustrates the range of years of police service for chiefs of police, from less than sixteen years to more than forty years. One person has been a chief for over twenty-five years. The majority of chiefs, or 68 percent, have less than ten years' experience as chiefs with 38 percent of the total having less than five years' experience. This differs from Reiner's (1991) study of England and Wales where, because of mandatory retirement at age fifty-five (sixty-five in Canada), both the total years of service and years of service as chief constables are a little less. The majority of British chief constables, at the time of Reiner's study, were also of a generation who as part of their National Service obligation, had to serve in the armed forces, before joining a police force. In addition, unlike the differences in career paths of Ontario chiefs who serve on various sized police forces, as illustrated in Tables 5.02, p. 128 and 5.05, p. 130 there are no small police forces in England and Wales. Thus, with few exceptions, all chiefs in England and Wales, who start their careers as constables, progress through all the ranks including an extra one, assistant deputy chief constable, not in use in Ontario.

TABLE 5.02

Rank When Promoted to Chief
(Total N=95 respondents)

Constable to Chief	N=19	Inspector to Chief	N= 2
Corporal to Chief	N= 4	Detective Inspector to Chief	N= 3
Sergeant to Chief	N=25	Staff Inspector to Chief	N= 0
Staff Sergeant to Chief	N= 7	Superintendent to Chief	N= 6
Detective Sergeant to Chief	N= 3	Staff Superintendent to Chief	N= 2
Identification Sergeant to Chief	N= 1	Chief Superintendent to Chief	N= 1
		Assistant Commissioner to Chief	N= 0
		Deputy Commissioner to Chief	N= 2
		Deputy Chief to Chief	N=15
		Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner	N= 1

Non police position to Chief N=2 (see p. 142)

Table 5.02 illustrates that chiefs have had different levels of command experience and often follow very different career paths. Nineteen Ontario chiefs had been promoted directly from constable to chief, four from corporal to chief, and twenty-five from sergeant to chief and so on. Smaller forces may only have three or four ranks between constable and the chief position. A person's career path, within their own small force, might be from constable to sergeant, to inspector, to chief or from constable to sergeant, to chief. Eighteen of these constable to chief promotions were within, or transfers to, small forces. In most of these cases, police officers usually leave small forces, to become chiefs of other small forces or leave larger forces to become chiefs of smaller forces. In the larger forces, chiefs usually hold most of the ranks between constable and chief. Career paths in larger forces, and most medium forces, are usually from constable to sergeant, to staff sergeant, or detective sergeant (equivalent positions in terms of pay), to inspector, to staff inspector, to superintendent, to staff superintendent, to deputy chief to chief.

TABLE 5.03

Rank When Promoted to Chief

(career bound: served on more than one department)

Constable to Chief	N=18	Inspector to Chief	N= 1
Corporal to Chief	N= 4	Detective Inspector to Chief	N= 2
Sergeant to Chief	N=14	Staff Inspector to Chief	N= 0
Staff Sergeant to Chief	N= 3	Superintendent to Chief	N= 4
Detective Sergeant to Chief	N= 1	Staff Superintendent to Chief	N= 2
Identification Sergeant to Chief	N= 1	Chief Superintendent to Chief	N= 1
		Assistant Commissioner to Chief	N= 0
		Deputy Commissioner to Chief	N= 2
		Deputy Chief to Chief	N= 5
		Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner	N= 1

Non police position to Chief N=2 (see p. 142)

TABLE 5.04

Rank When Promoted to Chief

(place bound: same department for their careers)

Constable to Chief	N= 1	Inspector to Chief	N= 1
Corporal to Chief	N= 0	Detective Inspector to Chief	N= 1
Sergeant to Chief	N= 11	Staff Inspector to Chief	N= 0
Staff Sergeant to Chief	N= 4	Superintendent to Chief	N= 2
Detective Sergeant to Chief	N= 2	Staff Superintendent to Chief	N= 0
Identification Sergeant to Chief	N= 0	Chief Superintendent to Chief	N= 0
		Assistant Commissioner to Chief	N= 0
		Deputy Commissioner to Chief	N= 0
		Deputy Chief to Chief	N=10
		Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner	N= 0

Non police position to Chief N=0 (see p. 142)

Tables 5.03 and 5.04 are a further breakdown of the information contained in Table 5.02, p. 128. Table 5.03 illustrates the career paths of career bound chiefs and Table 5.04 of place bound chiefs. In the "career bound" category, more police officers are promoted from the lower ranks to chief of police than in the "place bound" category. Career bound police officers appear to be taking advantage of increasing their opportunities to be promoted to chief by changing police departments.

TABLE 5.05
Ranks Chiefs Held During Their Careers

Cadet N=2 *	Prob. Constable N=95	Constable N=95	Corporal N=11 **
Sergeant N=67	Staff Sergeant N=25	Detective Sergeant N=23	Traffic Sergeant N=1
Ident. Sergeant. N=1	Other Sgt. Ranks N=0		
Inspector N=23	Det. Inspector N=7	Staff Inspector N=7	Other Insp. Ranks N=0
Superintendent N=17	Staff Supt. N=3	Chief Superintendent N=4	Assistant Comm. N=0
Deputy Comm. N=3	Deputy Chief N=15	Chief of Police N=94	Commissioner N=1

A person may hold a variety of ranks during a police career but not necessarily all the above ranks. There are numerous possibilities (see Table 5.02, p.128). Two chiefs had at one time been cadets before being appointed to probationary constable. The other ninety-three joined the police service as probationary constables. Eleven chiefs had at one time held the rank of corporal before being promoted to a higher rank. The other eighty-four never held this rank. Sixty-seven chiefs had at one time been sergeants and so on. Table 5.05 confirms that the ninety-five respondents to the survey joined a police service at the constable rank. In addition, it illustrates one of the more confusing factors in the examination of police career paths; chiefs do not move through the system one rank at a time. They may follow a variety of paths between constable and chief. For example, they may hold different sergeant or inspector ranks but not necessarily all the sergeant ranks or inspector ranks. It is even possible to skip all these ranks.

*Cadet is a person, who is between eighteen and twenty years of age and is training to be a police officer. This was a write-in as I did not have cadet on my survey.** The rank of corporal is no longer in use in Ontario's municipal or provincial police. Ident. Sergeant or I/Sgt. refers to identification sergeant & Det. Sergeant or D/Sgt. refers to detective sergeant, Det. Inspector or D/Insp. refers to detective inspector

TABLE 5.06
Education Level

When First Sworn as a Police Officer

(Total N=93 respondents) *

Less than Grade 12	N=18	University (part)	N=4
Grade 12 or 13	N=63	University Degree	N=2
College (part)	N= 3	Post Graduate (part)	N=0
College Diploma	N= 3	Post Graduate Degree	N=0

* two chiefs did not answer this question

TABLE 5.07

Education Level

When Appointed Chief of Police

(Total N=93 respondents)*

Less than Grade 12	N= 9	University (part)	N=18
Grade 12 or 13	N=38	University Degree	N=10
College (part)	N= 5	Post Graduate (part)	N= 2
College Diploma	N=10	Post Graduate Degree	N= 1

* two chiefs did not answer this question

The trend in Tables 5.06 and 5.07 towards an increased level of formal education for people after they had joined a police service was surprising. I had not expected that so many people who had demanding careers, that required extra time to study for promotion would also have the time to increase their formal education. This trend indicates that many of the chiefs believe higher education is a factor in the process that leads to promotion, and that future chiefs will likely require more than a high school diploma. If deputy chiefs and other contenders for promotion to chief are observing what the chiefs are doing, and obtain a college diploma or university degree themselves, it may become the standard for promotion.

TABLE 5.08**Changes in Education Level After Joining a Police Service****(Total N=93 respondents)**

<u>From Less than Grade 12 to</u>		<u>From Grade 12 or 13 to</u>	
Grade 12 or 13	N=5	College (part)	N= 0
College (part)	N=0	College Diploma	N= 8
College Diploma	N=1	University (part)	N=13
University (part)	N=2	University Degree	N= 5
University Degree	N=1	Post Graduate (part)	N= 2
Post Graduate (part)	N=0	Post Graduate	N= 0
Post Graduate Degree	N=0		

TABLE 5.09**Changes in Education Level After Joining a Police Service****(Total N=93 respondents)**

<u>From College Diploma to</u>		<u>From University (part) to</u>	
University (part)	N=0	University Degree	N=1
University Degree	N=1	Post Graduate (part)	N=0
Post Graduate (part)	N=0	Post Graduate Degree	N=0
Post Graduate Degree	N=0		

TABLE 5.10**Changes in Education Level After Joining a Police Service****(Total N=93 respondents)**

<u>From University Degree to)</u>		<u>From Post Graduate (part) to</u>	
Post Graduate (part)	N=0	Post Graduate Degree	N=0
Post Graduate Degree	N=1		

Tables 5.08 to 5.16 are a further breakdown of Tables 5.06, and 5.07, p. 131. Tables 5.08 to 5.10 provide information from all respondents, illustrating their formal level of education when they joined the police service, in six groupings, from less than grade twelve to a post graduate degree. These tables illustrate progress or changes in terms of formal levels of education of the respondents in each of the groupings.

TABLE 5.11

Changes in Education Level After Joining a Police Service

(place bound: same department for their careers)

<u>From Less than Grade 12 to</u>		<u>From Grade 12 or 13 to</u>	
Grade 12 or 13	N=1	College (part)	N=0
College (part)	N=0	College Diploma	N=5
College Diploma	N=0	University (part)	N=1
University (part)	N=1	University Degree	N=1
University Degree	N=0	Post Graduate (part)	N=1
Post Graduate (part)	N=0	Post Graduate	N=0
Post Graduate Degree	N=0		

TABLE 5.12

Changes in Education Level After Joining a Police Service

(place bound: same department for their careers)

<u>From College Diploma to</u>		<u>From University (part) to</u>	
University (part)	N=0	University Degree	N=1
University Degree	N=1	Post Graduate (part)	N=0
Post Graduate (part)	N=0	Post Graduate Degree	N=0
Post Graduate Degree	N=0		

TABLE 5.13

Changes in Education Level After Joining a Police Service

(place bound: same department for their careers)

<u>From University Degree to)</u>		<u>From Post Graduate (part) to</u>	
Post Graduate (part)	N=0	Post Graduate Degree	N=0
Post Graduate Degree	N=0		

Tables 5.11 to 5.16 are a further breakdown of Tables 5.08 to 5.10, p. 132 in terms of place bound and career bound respondents.

TABLE 5.14

Changes in Education Level After Joining a Police Service
(career bound: served on more than one department)

<u>From Less than Grade 12 to</u>		<u>From Grade 12 or 13 to</u>	
Grade 12 or 13	N=4	College (part)	N= 0
College (part)	N=0	College Diploma	N= 3
College Diploma	N=1	University (part)	N=12
University (part)	N=1	University Degree	N= 4
University Degree	N=1	Post Graduate (part)	N= 1
Post Graduate (part)	N=0	Post Graduate	N= 0
Post Graduate Degree	N=0		

TABLE 5.15

Changes in Education Level After Joining a Police Service
(career bound: served on more than one department)

<u>From College Diploma to</u>		<u>From University (part) to</u>	
University (part)	N=0	University Degree	N=0
University Degree	N=0	Post Graduate (part)	N=0
Post Graduate (part)	N=0	Post Graduate Degree	N=0
Post Graduate Degree	N=0		

TABLE 5.16

Changes in Education Level After Joining a Police Service
(career bound: served on more than one department)

<u>From University Degree to)</u>		<u>From Post Graduate (part) to</u>	
Post Graduate (part)	N=0	Post Graduate Degree	N=0
Post Graduate Degree	N=1		

Although not particularly surprising, police chiefs who had obtained a high school diploma before joining the police service appear to be more likely to go to college or university than chiefs who have not completed high school. Only four or 22 percent of the eighteen chiefs with less than grade twelve went on to college or university. Twenty-eight or 44 percent of the sixty-three chiefs who had a high school diploma when they joined the police service went on to college or university. What is important, however, is

that if they are interested, "would-be" chiefs can improve their formal level of education regardless of the education level they had when they joined a police service.

Completing high school may be seen as a burden that would not make much difference in the promotional process and those who had not completed high school may have considered themselves poor students lacking ability to go on to college. Serving police officers who attended colleges or universities may see these institutions as more "friendly" towards adult students than high schools. Colleges and universities have more options for course selection and probably more career related subjects. It is also noted that career bound chiefs are more likely to attend college or university than place bound chiefs. Of the fifty-nine career bound chiefs, twenty-eight or 47 percent attended college or university. Of the thirty-six place bound chiefs, only twelve or 33 percent attended. This is an indication that a higher level of education may be seen by the chiefs as an advantage when competing for a chief's job in a different police department.

In addition, although colleges and universities will accept "mature students" without a high school diploma, many people without a successful high school background lack the confidence to "give it a try." However, as all recruits to the police service now require at least a high school diploma, in the future this lack of a diploma will be a non-issue as it pertains to the careers of chiefs of police.

TABLE 5.17
Police Related Courses Completed

Recruit Training:

Ontario N=85
Quebec N=1 Saskatchewan N=9 * United Kingdom N=2

Management and Leadership Courses:

Senior Police Administration Course (SPAC) N=45
Executive Development Course (EDC) N=47
Ontario Police College Level I (formally Junior Command) N=59
Ontario Police College Level II (formally Intermediate Command) N=32
Ontario Police College Level III (formally Senior Command) N=44
Internal: Police Supervisors Course N=27
Internal: Sergeant Development Course N=9
Internal: Inspector Development Course N=7
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) National Academy Program N=6
Bramshill (UK) Junior N=0 Intermediate N=1 Senior Command N=0
Career Assignment Program (CAP) in Ottawa N=1
National Defence College N=1
Other Management Courses N=48
Secondments to Other Organizations N=20

Table 5.17 indicated that chiefs of police have attended numerous management and leadership courses. However, less than half the chiefs have attended the Executive Development Course, a program of study designed specifically for senior officers. There is no established order of courses that a person must complete before being promoted or appointed chief of police unlike the system in England and Wales where inspectors, superintendents, and chief superintendents must complete a course of studies at each level before being promoted to the next rank (Reiner, 1991).

* RCMP Depot Regina, Saskatchewan, provided recruit training to former members of the RCMP now serving as chiefs of police in Ontario. Seven of the chiefs who took recruit training at a location other than in Ontario, repeated the course in Ontario. One chief joined a police service before recruit training was mandatory and did not attend a recruit course at any time.

TABLE 5.18

Career Patterns

Total N=95 respondents

<u>1955-60</u> operations N= 10 investigations N= 4 marine N=0 training N=1 comm. services N=0 youth bureau N=0 administration N=1 communications N=0	<u>1961-65</u> operations N=24 investigations N=6 marine N=0 training N=2 comm. Services N=1 youth bureau N=0 administration N=2 communications N=0	<u>1966-70</u> operations N=46 investigations N=19 marine N=1 training N=4 comm. Services N=5 youth bureau N=3 administration N=3 communications N=0	<u>1971-75</u> operations N=52 investigations N=43 marine N=1 training N=6 comm. Services N=5 youth bureau N=2 administration N=6 communications N=3
<u>1976-80</u> operations N=58 investigations N=57 marine N=1 training N=7 comm. services N=12 youth bureau N=4 administration N=15 communications N=1 chief of police N=6	<u>1981-85</u> operations N=45 investigations N=38 marine N=1 training N=8 comm. Services N=13 youth bureau N=5 administration N=35 communications N=1 chief of police N=11	<u>1986-90</u> operations N=30 investigations N=23 marine N=1 training N=5 comm. Services N=9 youth bureau N=3 administration N=41 communications N=1 chief of police N=33	<u>1991-95</u> operations N=8 investigations N=9 marine N=0 training N=2 comm. Services N=3 youth bureau N=0 administration N=25 communications N=1 chief of police N=38

- operations includes traffic, general and foot patrol
 - investigations means full time role as criminal investigator in a special branch such as CIB, ARB, etc.
 - marine includes snow vehicle duties in the winter
 - training includes full time in-service trainer and duties at a police college
 - community service includes news bureau
 - youth bureau, includes juvenile crime and missing children
 - administration includes unit administration and such activities as planning and research, and budget
 - communications includes radio duty and records
-

For each five year period, chiefs were asked to check the area where they spent most of their time. If they worked in more than one area in any period, they were asked to select the two where they spent the most time. Tables 5.17, p. 136 and 5.18 indicate that the career patterns for chiefs of police included assignments to numerous sections or units within the police service and secondments to other organizations for developmental purposes.

In Table 5.18, p. 137 numbers in "operations" and "investigation" increased as more future chiefs of police joined a police service; these numbers dropped on promotion to chief, but all the chiefs worked for some part of their careers in one of these two fields. As might be expected men and women usually join a police service to work as operational police officers and/or investigators, but no particular pattern in other areas of police work appears. The table simply illustrates the variety of assignments possible in a successful police career. The information from this table and the corresponding sections of the survey form were primarily used to help identify the fifteen chiefs of police for in-depth interviews. Chiefs with differences in career experiences and levels of formal education were selected from various types and sizes of forces.

Mail Survey Summary

The information set out in the tables indicates that the ninety-five chiefs who returned the survey form all joined a police department at the rank of probationary constable and progressed through the ranks to chief of police or commissioner. A number of chiefs did not hold all ranks between constable and chief. A few chiefs jumped one or more ranks, some left a large department at a relatively junior rank, and became chiefs of smaller departments. One chief left a police department as a constable, worked in an area of government, and then joined a different police department as chief. A few others started their police careers as constables in other countries or provinces. After moving or immigrating to Ontario, they joined a police department in this province and then progressed through the ranks from constable to chief of police. Some chiefs had been senior officers, in smaller departments in other provinces, and successfully competed for positions as chiefs of larger departments in Ontario.

Thirty-four officers left one department at a lower rank to be promoted to chief in another department. Nine, who were chiefs when they changed departments, did so to become chiefs of larger departments. Two chiefs changed departments to become deputy chiefs with the expectation of later being promoted to chief. Two chiefs changed departments for more personal reasons. All the chiefs worked at a variety of different police assignments and the majority took some form of management or leadership training during their careers. It is noted from this survey that in Ontario, career paths and patterns are random, rather than structured as in the UK (Reiner, 1991).

INTERVIEWS

Backgrounds: Pre-Police Service

All fifteen chiefs interviewed came from working-class (blue collar) backgrounds. One chief's father had been a career soldier in the ranks. Eight of the chiefs had fathers who had served in the military during World War II but none had been a commissioned officer. Seven had fathers or other relatives who had been in the police service and three of their fathers had served in the fire service. The remaining fathers had been in farming, factory work, construction as labourers, or had worked as clerks. Only two chiefs said their mothers had worked full-time outside the home. Two other chiefs said their mothers had been more of an influence than their fathers in encouraging them to get a good job with a future.

Nine of the chiefs who had full-time jobs before joining the police service also started their career in "blue collar" jobs. One chief had served in the army as an apprentice; one had been in the fire service. Three chiefs had joined the police service directly from high school, two as police cadets, and one from a civilian position. Three of the chiefs interviewed had a post high school education before joining a police service (see p. 141).

PRE-SERVICE EDUCATION

Education and Employment

Of the fifteen chiefs interviewed, one had a college diploma and one a university degree before they joined a police service. Another chief was in a college program but did not graduate. Three of the chiefs who had not attended university stated they had been mildly encouraged to do so by their parents. Twelve of the chiefs, including the previous three, said they may have gone to university but did not look on themselves as particularly good students. These twelve chiefs said they were also more interested in action careers, involving people and adventure, rather than in what they saw as the routine of further formal schooling. Schooling was seen only as a means to a job and they could get the job they wanted without further years in the classroom.

All the chiefs interviewed stated they joined the police service because they wanted a job with some combination of variety and adventure, and to work in a field that was both interesting and worthwhile. Five chiefs said they liked the opportunity to help people. They also saw police work as a life of action. Financial security and good benefits packages were mentioned last, although considered important. Eight of the chiefs said they had good contact experiences with police officers in their teenage years which had encouraged them to consider policing as a career. Four chiefs said they had close friends who were police officers and their friends' enthusiasm about their new lives in policing influenced them to join the police force. Two chiefs said they were following a family tradition in that their fathers had been police officers. All the chiefs interviewed thought they had made the right career choice.

THOUGHTS ON BECOMING A CHIEF OF POLICE

Lack of a Career Plan

None of the chiefs had thought seriously about becoming a chief of police, nor did they have a specific plan to do so when they first joined a police service. Eight chiefs said they were interested in promotion, but realized it was necessary to be promoted one step at a time. Three chiefs of smaller forces had left larger forces to be promoted to chief without going through the normal promotional steps. One of the three, who had left a larger force to avoid a transfer to a location where he and his spouse did not want to live, saw quality of life as more important than promotion. Four chiefs who had left larger forces believed the operational and administrative experience they had gained in the larger forces was an advantage to them in the quieter and smaller forces. Two chiefs left the police service to hold executive positions in other government departments — one having worked at the municipal and the other at the provincial level — before rejoining the police service as chiefs.

Eleven chiefs said they had taken every opportunity to gain a wide variety of experiences throughout their careers. Two chiefs had benefited greatly from the guidance of a mentor. Eight chiefs said they had benefited from secondments to other agencies outside the police service. Three had been active in association (union) work which they saw as a benefit in developing problem solving skills, in understanding labour law, and in working with people who had particular problems dealing with management. Three chiefs believed their self-confidence had been enhanced by public speaking assignments. Six chiefs stated that increasing their formal levels of education probably improved their

chances of being promoted. Eight chiefs stated that formal courses pertaining to police operations and the law, and courses pertaining to financial management were the most useful to them in their roles as chiefs. Three chiefs who had studied marketing at a community college stated that these were among the best courses they had taken at any time, and were very useful to them as chiefs. One chief who had taken neither police management nor university courses said he was an avid reader. His readings included management and leadership subjects, history, biographies, politics, and law. He frequently referred to leadership theories and management practices when responding to interview questions. All of the chiefs interviewed appeared to have an understanding of modern administrative principles and exhibited an air of self-confidence in the administration of their departments.

Five chiefs stated that the early retirement or transfer to another department or agency of the previous chief created an unexpected opportunity for them to be promoted to chief. Two chiefs stated that they suspected that their policing services' board members wanted a different style of administration and, therefore, looked outside their own force. In these cases, chiefs reported that the serving deputy chiefs were seen by board members as being too rigid to bring about the required changes. Four chiefs, who had been hired from other forces, suspected that the board members thought that members of its own force lacked sufficient administrative experience to be promoted to chief. Two chiefs suggested that the board wanted the new chief to have a higher level of formal education. Both of these chiefs had a university degree whereas the former chiefs and their deputy(s) did not. Three other chiefs had started taking post graduate courses to help improve their

promotional prospects before they were promoted to chief. Seven chiefs suggested that they had the right kinds of experiences and training, within their own force, and were simply fortunate enough to be promoted from deputy chief to chief when the serving chief left the service. However, Ontario's police forces have neither career development streams for potential executives nor licensing or other legislated requirements to be a chief of police. It is left to the "would-be" chiefs to guess at what will be required to be a chief and, therefore, what they should try to learn.

Pre-Planning for the Role of Chief of Police

None of the chiefs had a specific plan of what they were going to do if they ever became a chief of police. However, they had given the matter some consideration: all fifteen chiefs wanted to improve community relations. Twelve chiefs thought this could be accomplished, in part, through community policing. Eight chiefs stated they wanted to spend more time speaking with community groups and getting community input to the police planning process. Five chiefs stated they wanted to be better "people" managers than some of the leaders they had worked for during their careers. It was the negative things that they wanted to avoid. They wanted their members to know that their performance was valued and made a difference. These chiefs saw it as important to be fair, consistent, open, and approachable. They also thought chiefs must keep a balance in leadership practices between a focus on tasks and a focus on people.

Post Promotional Planning

Once promoted, chiefs in general wanted to improve the police management systems. Five of them stated they were working towards establishing better more formal written

policy procedures and making more effective use of computers as management tools.

They also want to build on the strengths of their departments, including a reputation for fairness, operational efficiency, and community involvement.

Leslie: Build a strong service and community oriented department. Involve others in the decision-making process...change the management style...involve the whole management group in the decision-making process.

Leo: I wanted to take full advantage of the wealth of knowledge and information and energy that existed in the police service and a more team like approach to determining organizational direction....to me the key element is an emphasis on learning. People become alienated when they either stop learning and become bored or they do not like their boss.

Six chiefs stated they want their employees to treat the public better than in the past.

They also said that all police officers had to think of themselves as being in the public relations business as well as in the public safety business. Three of the chiefs expressed interest in public relations in personal terms:

Luke: Treat members of the public as you would want your parents or other members of your family treated.

Lionel: Respect the public you serve. Treat them like family members.

Morgan: Be helpful, friendly, and professional.

Chiefs thought they must also reflect community values. The chief must be seen as enthusiastic, with high levels of energy, and an ability to solve problems.

One chief stated he used to spent a lot of time attending community social events and speaking with community leaders, but in the last few years he had almost eliminated this activity as it seemed to do the police service little good. He found it more appropriate to direct his efforts towards the internal administration of the police service. He was

disappointed that none of the groups he had spoken with made any apparent effort to persuade the political leadership to maintain funding for the police when there were cut-backs. Two of the above eight chiefs said that they thought that they had been very successful in gaining public support through greater public contact, citing the support of a number of service organizations in sponsoring special vehicles and other equipment to be used in community policing programs. Five chiefs reported that this type of public financial support is becoming a common practice.

IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS AND SKILLS

Extensive Lists

Chiefs of police saw it as paramount that they should have or develop the ability to speak in public and to express themselves clearly — both in writing and orally. They also need to be good listeners: to be good communicators they must be accessible and approachable which includes developing personal contact with all levels of their organization, the association (union), the public, and the political leadership. Chiefs repeated continually the necessity of having a wide range of public contacts. Two chiefs emphasized the importance of knowing what he or she hopes to accomplish from attending meetings, or making public contacts. These chiefs stated that making contact with community groups or attending meetings without a specific purpose was seen as a waste of time.

Communication skills were seen as an extension of people skills. Chiefs must have respect and empathy for their employees, and realize that different people have different interests and values. One chief stated that a problem that might seem minor to the chief may be of major importance to a person lower in the organization. Thus the chief must show an interest in finding solutions to all problems brought to his or her attention. Another chief stated that all chiefs must realize that different employees have different levels of interest in their careers. While some employees "love" their jobs and are dedicated to the betterment of the organization, others have outside interests which are far more important to them than the police service. They have more of a "job" than a "career." Regardless of personal commitment to the police service, all employees must be treated with respect. They must be made to feel good about what they are doing, that

they are making a contribution, that it is important, and that they are needed.

Five chiefs reported that the chief must be seen as person of character — a person of integrity, honest, up-front, fair, consistent, and without prejudices. One chief reported this to be the most important characteristic.

Lionel: Well, the most important overriding characteristic that boards look for in the chief of police today is character. ...That's what they are looking for, they are looking at the individual and the relative strengths of fundamental characteristics like integrity and honesty, forthrightness, ability to inspire trust and confidence. ...I have seen that override technical skills and knowledge.

This is where true professionalism and police ethics become an issue. If the police service were a true profession, where its members had developed their own standards of conduct, code of ethics, and quality performance measures, and had a police-managed oversight organization, then higher levels of personal conduct could be fostered. The difficulty may be in ensuring that all chiefs act or appear to act as they say they should.

It was noted that the news media appears to quickly publish, or otherwise report, stories pertaining to the unprofessional, or even the hint of unprofessional acts by police officers. Two chiefs reported that even members of the police service will publicly criticize their own chief of police. This just was not done in previous generations. One chief emphasized the importance of all senior officers learning to live with criticism on a daily basis. This skill becomes more important with each promotion.

Leo: The most important contemporary skill is to learn to live with criticism because we live in an era when we are eternally criticized no matter what we do or how hard we try. So if we derive our job satisfaction from people saying "way to go," we are going to be very thirsty for a long time...The personal life even gets destroyed because of the "nasty media. "

Two chiefs suggested that in the competition for resources, if the police service looks bad, in the eyes of the public or the politicians, then it is easier for the political leadership to deny it additional resources or even to transfer its existing resources to other city or government agencies. They see the need to counter this action by being good marketers of their departments and express the value of an excellent police service to the community and the political leadership.

Max: ... let the politicians know in political terms what they are getting for their money. The safest cities in North America!

Three chiefs believe that all chiefs must continue to learn about their profession by conducting self audits of where they are in their own personal development, in the quality of their leadership, in their contribution to the police service, and of their emotional well being. Four chiefs suggest that all chiefs should build on their strengths and correct weaknesses by taking courses, reading and/or getting advice from other leaders, including business leaders.

Six chiefs said they think all chiefs of police should be excellent administrators with a working knowledge of financial management. Budget control was seen as essential and growing in importance. Four chiefs suggested they must be aware of changes in legislation and government policies that affect the police service. They must also understand the business of policing, be able to assess the actions of the members of their police service, and make decisions about the allocation of resources. In these activities, two chiefs stated that they believe chiefs may be held accountable to the political leadership and to the public.

Chiefs in the smaller and medium sized departments stated that they must be able to provide advice and assistance with major investigations and difficult occurrences. Within the smaller departments, two chiefs talked about taking "a turn on patrol" and providing backup, if necessary, at armed encounters or otherwise dangerous occurrences.

Five chiefs report that their most important duty is to ensure that a quality level of police service is provided to their communities in accordance with the requirements of the Police Services Act. Related to this duty, these chiefs report that they must ensure the integrity of the police service through informal inspections, and operational, and financial audits. The chiefs also discussed their operational and administrative practices. Two chiefs said that they believed all chiefs of police must ensure that the police service operates within the law, without prejudice or favour, and is open to the public. Two chiefs of police emphasized that they must ensure the people who work for the police service feel good about themselves and about the job they are doing. Three chiefs spoke about establishing a vision for their service and getting others to "buy-into" that vision. Five chiefs suggested that they must ensure their employees are capable of larger, more responsible assignments and are well trained and developed for future promotional opportunities. Two chiefs stated that, in their opinion, the chief is often seen as a community leader who functions beyond his or her policing role.

Leslie: he (the chief) is sought-out by a diverse element of the community to provide advice on issues that on the surface have nothing to do with policing. ...the chief is expected to speak out on significant public safety issues in a way that the public understands them and can relate to, presumably representing their interests.

Several chiefs of police, particularly in the medium and larger forces, see themselves as the link between their service and the public. Five of the chiefs reported that they are involved with community activities, particularly those activities in support of charitable works. One chief suggested that today the chief is expected to take a wider community focus whereas in earlier decades the chief may have been involved with only one or two fraternal organizations. Four of the chiefs reported that they serve on numerous community boards and are involved with a variety of community activities.

One chief reported that later in his or her career, a chief may be regarded as a statesman or ambassador with respect to working relationships with others in the justice policy field. This may follow from service in a leadership position with police associations, in making presentations to governments about policy proposals, and/or in representing the police service in public debates.

Management Activities

Ten chiefs reported that they spend most of their time attending meetings, dealing with people problems, and "fighting" for resources. Three chiefs in medium and larger sized organizations reported that meetings take-up most of their time which limits their involvement with operational activities and/or working closer with members at all levels of the service. However, attending meetings, budgeting, and solving people problems may be more appropriate use of their time than supporting operational matters.

Two chiefs stated that they assign others to represent them at as many meetings as possible.

Lynn: you have to keep current with the legislation, you have to keep current with what's happening in your own back yard politically. I leave the basic day to day running of the force to the senior staff. I've got great faith in them. If something goes wrong they fix it or tell me about it.

Three chiefs reported that they keep as much time free as possible to act as roving ambassadors. Free time, what little there is of it, is spent encouraging others in the performance of their duties and supporting public relations. They try to sell a positive vision of the police service to the public and to their own members. Two chiefs reported that they are seen as problems solvers and people who help others solve problems.

Five chiefs reported that they set the general direction of the police service, and ensure that the service keeps on track. One chief stated that he tries to ensure an "integration of efforts" towards meeting the goals and objectives of the police service. Three chiefs reported that they try to evaluate the effects of what they and their service are doing, and to correct problems quickly.

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

Relaxed Levels of Discipline

All of the chiefs of police interviewed thought that a more relaxed style of management and discipline, from the former military model, was a good thing for the police service for various reasons. Self discipline is seen as more effective than formal rules of conduct. In this regard, the rules of conduct in the Police Services Act are seen as out-dated. Personal conduct, honesty, fairness, and commitment to the goals and objectives of the police service are seen as more important than "yes sir, no sir" blind obedience to orders. It is seen as more important to support creative ways to solve the problems of policing than to focus on haircuts, polished boots, and similar rules and regulations. Police officers are more likely to keep fit, and keep their uniforms and other equipment in good repair if they see the activities as having personal worth and value. However, it was reported by three of the chiefs that some of their senior officers are having difficulty coping with the new levels of freedom for police officers. It was suggested that many people joined the police service in the first place because they liked being part of a highly structured organization with rules of conduct, traditions, and a rank structure. They also like wearing a uniform and take pride in how it is worn. Customs, traditions, and ritual are important and can have a positive effect on morale. These three chiefs stated that the rules of conduct in place, both in legislation and in departmental orders, must be enforced. They would not tolerate sloppy performance or disrespectful conduct towards the public, the police service, or their supervisors.

Only one of the chiefs saw the rank structure and police ritual as out-dated. This chief's

department is working on a "first name" basis with less command and control regulations. One chief in a discussion about this style of leadership, in his neighbouring police service, suggested that in the short term it appears to be working, but problems may arise if the force has to deal with a large scale crisis in public order where difficult decisions must be made quickly. Over the long term, there may also be problems if the organization loses its overall direction, when too many people spend their days doing very much as they like. This chief suggested that good teams require good coaches, who must be in control at all times. The coach sets the strategy for the game as does the chief.

The majority of chiefs think that there is room in the police system for most, if not all, members of the service to become involved in the planning and decision-making process. Most chiefs believe their members want to do a good job. A few make mistakes simply because they are human. Correcting mistakes and trying to prevent them from happening again is seen as more important than finding someone to punish. "Mistakes are allowed."

A few officers act childishly and make foolish mistakes, and a very few others commit unlawful acts or are tempted into corruption. One chief reported that, because police officers may lawfully use force in the performance of their duties or restrict the freedom of other people, a higher level of discipline is required within the police service than in most other organizations. Thus, foolish or unlawful acts by the few demand a system of control and discipline for all. Without a high level of discipline, it was suggested, you can end up with a corrupt police force.

Stephen: ...you can involve your people in the planning process and I support empowerment. However, there are times when people just have to do what they are told.

Mark: You tell some officers what to do and how to do it. Others you tell what to do and let them figure out how to do it. It's the old Patton concept. It all depends on the experience of the person you are doing the telling to.

Two chiefs stated that when confronted by armed persons, or where there is the need for quick action, and/or rapidly changing situations, police officers must follow without question the lawful orders of the members in command. These two chiefs also believe that the individual must also be held accountable for his or her personal conduct.

With downsizing (fewer supervisors and managers) and a reduction in police resources, chiefs suspect that it will be difficult to depend on close supervision to maintain discipline. If, on the other hand, self discipline and concepts such as empowerment are going to work, one chief suggested a lot of money will probably have to be spent on training. However, downsizing has included a reduction in the funding for training. Thus, the chiefs fear that the police service may have a new problem — too little "command and control" rather than too much. Discipline is something chiefs believe they will have to monitor over the next few years, and where necessary make adjustments. Policing with discipline remains a unique government activity.

Changes in the Role

In the opinion of the chiefs of police, the role of chief has changed considerably since they first joined the police service. In the past, the chief was principally concerned with operational matters, whereas now chiefs are administrators and change managers.

Martin: I think you are much more the manager of change. It's not just that the role is changing, change management is the role.

The current chiefs think that, in the past, their predecessors were more influenced by the political leadership in terms of hiring and promotion factors. The chief was less visible to the public than he or she is today. In past decades, the chief was also more authoritarian in terms of management style than today's chiefs. One chief stated he believed that in the past, when selecting a person to be chief of police, formal levels of higher education were almost seen as detrimental to being selected for the position.

Today most chiefs see themselves becoming more involved in the political process, but more isolated from the personnel of their service. Depending on the size and location of the department, the chief may be involved with the federal and provincial governments, the regional government, city and town councils, the police services' board, the public complaints' commission, and the provincial Special Investigations Unit (SIU). Five chiefs suggested that they must consider the political and public relations implications of most, if not all, of their actions. To cope, they believe they need a better understanding of how the political system works and how political decisions are made.

Not all chiefs agree there is an increasing prominence to their role. One chief suggested it may in fact be diminishing.

Lawrence: the emergence of civilian control is diminishing the public role of the police because the police services' boards, are striving to become the spokesperson.

Two chiefs reported that establishing boundaries or issues of control between the authority of the chief of police and the board is becoming more important. It appears that

chiefs have different views on this subject. A few chiefs see their allegiance being to the law, others to the political leadership, and still others to the police services' boards. At the same time, they owe a loyalty to their own police officers and have obligations to the public and the community they serve.

Six chiefs report that they are spending more and more time responding to changes in legislation, fighting for resources, and reporting on the progress of various government sponsored policing programs, whereas in past generations the chief simply had to focus on crime control and maintain discipline within the police force. Chiefs are also looking for better ways to administer their departments which often involves finding ways of sharing resources with other police and government agencies. Those on the larger forces, particularly, see themselves as part of the wider government administrative system. They are trying to improve working relationships within the system through their regional and city governments and with neighbouring police forces.

Two chiefs stated that they are negotiators or lobbyists with both the government and their own police associations (unions). They are also involved in making "high priced" spending decisions, particularly, regarding technological acquisitions and major building programs.

Seven chiefs stated that today they are required to be more business manager and administrator than "top cop." Their public image and that of their department is also of greater importance than in the past. Four chiefs reported that they, on short notice, are often expected to respond to inquiries from the news media about police investigations,

crime and accident trends, operational practices, and their future plans for the betterment of the police service. Two chiefs stated that, beyond news media obligations, they are frequently called upon to speak in public on a variety of subjects.

Martin: You and your service have to look and sound like you are worth the money.

Two chiefs reported that on occasion, they had been embarrassed by how poorly some of their colleagues presented themselves in public. Arguments were often poorly presented and at times grammar was "mangled." Their memoranda and letters were equally poor and not convincing. This is no longer an acceptable performance for a chief of police.

Value of Police Career Experience

The majority of chiefs reported that having had "police career experience" was invaluable to them in their positions as chiefs of police. Most important was the opportunity to work with a wide variety of people involved in numerous activities. Their careers also allowed them to develop thorough and accurate work habits, particularly when conducting investigations, and presenting evidence in court. Three chiefs stated that working in a criminal investigations branch or bureau was most helpful. It gave them an increased ability to "read people," an advantage in dealing with people problems. General policing experience gave all the chiefs a better understanding of the challenges and problems facing their officers. They reported it was important for their officers to know that the chief understood what it was like to work in uncomfortable situations, to be frustrated by rules and regulations, and to have had experience in dealing with difficult and dangerous situations. The opportunity to take command of major

occurrences gave them experience in control of high profile and often dangerous activity, that required quick decisions, involving numerous agencies and often hundreds of people. This helped to increase their self-confidence. A high level of self-confidence is considered, by many of the chiefs, as an essential factor in effective police leadership and administration. One chief stated that the self-confident leader can be expected to step forward and take command when required. This the chiefs considered essential.

Police Management Training

Thirteen of the fifteen chiefs of police attended one or more of the police management and leadership development courses. It was surprising to note that ten of them thought the course designed specifically for police executives in Canada, the Executive Development Course, was almost useless. The only reported benefit of the course was the contacts made with police officers from other departments; many from other provinces and a few foreign countries. The Senior Police Administration Course, designed for police officers of sergeant rank, was seen as far more useful.

The course for executives that received the highest praise was the fourteen-week national program at the FBI Academy. Six of the chiefs interviewed had attended this course, which has a good balance between practice and theory and a built-in segment offering yearly seminars and program up-dates. Students also have considerable choice in course selection. In addition, the FBI Academy is associated with the University of Virginia, which provides credit hours towards a university degree. Although none of the chiefs reported that they took advantage of these credit hours, the university connection appeared to add status to the program.

The Ontario Police College's one-week courses designed around a specific subject, such as "the planning process," "financial management" and the Police Service Act, were also seen as valuable. These courses are available to members of all ranks. However, three of the chiefs (none with a university degree) suggested a higher level course, designed specifically for senior officers, is needed if the chiefs are to keep pace with the increasing demands of administering a police service. Two chiefs reported that currently, the best opportunity for learning and the exchange of ideas, comes from the provincial, national, and international police conferences. Not all the conferences were rated as good, but, every now and then, one of them is seen as an outstanding learning experience.

Non-Police Management Courses

Chiefs of the larger forces reported that a number of courses outside the police college system were seen as excellent vehicles for executive development. The three-week programs at the University of Western Ontario and at Queen's University received high praise. Six chiefs who had returned to college or university, either full-or part-time, after serving with a police service saw this as one of their better learning experiences. Not only was the subject matter important but also the contact with people from outside the police service was even more valuable. So many of the young people police officers come in contact with are "trouble makers," and it was refreshing for the future chiefs of police to spend time at a university with what were considered "a lot of good young people." Those who had taken other courses, outside the police college system, on a part-time basis or as a duty assignment, also appreciated the opportunity to study and interact with senior students, who were working in other areas of government and the

private sector. Contact with executives in a school setting or at conferences and seminars was seen as one of the more beneficial factors in officer development.

Non-police college courses that were seen as most beneficial to chiefs of police were marketing, financial management, strategic planning, politics, business and public administration, computer applications, labour relations, and urban planning. (This latter course was seen as being of value by one of the chiefs in developing crime prevention programs at the local level.) New communities, it was suggested, could be constructed with built-in crime prevention and other safety features. This was seen as another positive aspect of community policing. Two of the chiefs suggested that the above courses provided the "core learnings," beyond the standard knowledge of police operations and the law, for chiefs of police, in their new roles as chief executive officers.

Program Implementation

A question about program implementation was included to gain an insight into the value of some management training as it pertains to the implementation of specific programs. The chiefs were asked if they had tried to implement a specific management program or used the planning process they had learned on a police or non-police course. Three chiefs stated they had tried to "re-engineer" their operational processes. Four chiefs have tried "management by objectives," three tried "total quality management," and four were involved in the "strategic planning process." Participative management and team building were seen as good things to implement. The majority of the chiefs saw it as important to have many people involved in the planning process and for their employees to have input into the decision-making process. It was reported that this step resulted in a

variety of benefits including a better acceptance of change, an increased number of solutions to problems, and better overall program development.

Opportunities for Development

Four of the chiefs stated they would have liked to have completed their education to the university level before they became chiefs. They thought it would have added greatly to their self-confidence, and made it easier for them to work with senior administrators from other organizations who have a university education. Four other chiefs also wished they had a higher level of formal education without identifying a specific course of study. Eight chiefs wished they had been given the opportunity to work in the private sector at a senior level. Broader work experience through exchange programs with other police forces, the private sector, and other government agencies was seen as most desirable by all the chiefs. Those who had these experiences thought they were invaluable in helping to understand the "wider picture" in terms of community relations.

Chiefs' Competencies

Five chiefs suggested that future chiefs should have at least a university degree. Others saw this as highly desirable, but, in the opinion of three of the chiefs, it should not be mandatory. The other chiefs thought the requirement of a university degree was almost inevitable, because more and more of the recruits joining the police service have a college diploma, university degree, or a post graduate degree. One chief suggested that the academic skills learned should give them an advantage in the promotional process, with such requirements as written examinations, oral boards, and in the initial screening process for the selection of chiefs of police. One chief suggested that a university

education would be valuable in helping the chief to understand his or her role as chief executive officer. An executive role would require more conceptual ways of thinking and a wider world perspective.

Leslie: I think we would all be much better prepared to be chiefs if our earlier development was more broadly based...we should be getting more into the theory of policing right from recruit training...we don't develop the philosophical or theoretical underpinnings for policing until later in life.

Lawrence: the chief needs to be a philosopher and has to have an understanding, an in-depth understanding of the philosophies underlying the reasons and the purpose of policing and its place in a democratic society.

Self Development

Three of the chiefs of the larger forces, and one of the smaller forces, stated that a provincial or centralized coordinated effort was needed to establish much better training programs to develop future chiefs of police and to provide ongoing training to the current chiefs. The majority of chiefs think that a more effective method of keeping them up-to-date on changes in the criminal law, other legislation and the best in administrative practices is required. One chief of a medium sized force is trying to organize the other chiefs, through the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police, to support advanced leadership and administrative training for all chiefs of police.

Operational Differences

Chiefs in the smaller services are much more directly involved in operational matters; chiefs in the medium sized services less so; and in the larger services, hardly at all. In addition, their knowledge of operational activities is different, as was illustrated by Leslie (code name) in referring to a major hypothetical occurrence such as a murder.

In the smaller departments (less than 120 members) the chief would, in most cases, go to the scene of every murder and other major occurrence and provide direct assistance with the investigation. The chief would be aware of the majority of other police activities involving the department. One is able to do this, on a daily basis, by reading the "occurrence book," or other form of log recording the occurrences in one's town. With the more important cases, and those of personal interest one could read the occurrence report, and on occasion may speak with the investigating officer. With smaller forces the chief is still a member of the police fraternity.

Chiefs in the medium sized departments (from 100 to 500 members) would be aware of the murders and other occurrences in his or her city or region but would not go to the scene. The chief would probably speak with the investigating officer and would provide advice, if asked. The chief would not be aware of the details of the majority of lesser occurrences. However, the chief would probably be aware of crime and accident trends. The chief would also be expected to speak to the news media about such issues as organized crime or specific drug enforcement activities within his or her city or region. The chief is no longer a full member of the fraternity.

Chiefs in the larger departments (above 500 members) would probably not be aware of the details of a particular murder or other major occurrence. An exception might pertain to those cases that receive national or long-term media attention. The chief would probably be aware of crime and accident trends, both in his city or region, and probably on a provincial and national basis. Comments from the other chiefs interviewed would suggest that this activity and awareness level is the norm for police chiefs within Ontario.

During the interviews, four of the chiefs brought up the issue of appointing persons without police experience as chiefs of police. They said that such persons would have a difficult time and probably would not be very effective. However, the larger the force the more likely they would be successful because they would be less directly involved in operations. Two of the chiefs said that an outsider could be successful as a chief, however, the police service would probably be better served if the chief was both an experienced police officer and a competent administrator. According to Reiner (1991), in reference to the English and Welsh police services: "the combination of street wisdom with intellectual potential is arguably the appropriate qualification for the tightrope-walking wizardry required of the modern police executive" (p. vii). One chief of a small Ontario department said it was quite possible that a person with some knowledge of government/city practices could be appointed chief. In his case, he said he was spending more and more time on administration and thus, operational policing experience was not seen as important or as necessary as it once was.

This would suggest that in most departments to be an effective chief of police a person should have a background in law enforcement or, at least, in the justice field. The need to have operational policing experience is particularly important in the small and medium sized departments. Although only the small departments, in most cases, would require, as a necessity, a person with operational policing experience. As suggested, medium and large departments could be led by a qualified executive, who simply had a working understanding of the justice system. The preferred system is to have qualified police officers who have developed the full range of administrative knowledge and experience.

Section Summary

It would appear from this review that chiefs of police think it is necessary to understand the business of policing, and to have an understanding of their community, its needs, and expectations. The business of policing includes an understanding of the law and enforcement methods, policing programs, and of the various functions of the police service such as patrol, investigations, and administration.

From an extensive list identified as important characteristics and skills required by a chief of police, the majority of responses could be grouped into four categories: communication skills, people skills, personal skills, and administrative skills. A number of skills and abilities are seen as extremely important: being a good communicator and listener, human and labour relations, public speaking, financial management, change and task management, public administration, computer applications and skills, marketing, planning and decision-making. In addition, it is paramount that chiefs of police have a broad understanding of government, politics, and the political decision-making process. Chiefs should also have an understanding of the wider world reflecting an image of an educated, informed, caring person.

Chiefs learned what they thought they needed to know to become chiefs of police, through a variety of activities. Some chiefs took courses at the community college and university levels. They also took advantage of the learning opportunities that come from years of police service observing what is going on around them. It is almost as if it were second nature, that a police officer assigned to one task, is interested in what all other police officers are doing. Curiosity is a useful attribute for police officers, the self-

directed learner, and for future chiefs of police.

None of the chiefs had a plan that would take them step by step through the promotional process from constable to chief of police. All of the chiefs of police in Ontario, joined the police service as constables, received their basic training at a police college — either in Ontario or in another province. They were further instructed in their duties by more senior officers. However, none of this training was designed specifically to teach them what they needed to know to be chiefs of police.

Although not customary, having a plan, or at least, giving the issue of police leadership considerable thought, will probably become a more important factor in appointing future chiefs of police. Consideration should be given to what a person stands for and the vision he or she has for the future. The "would-be" chief, who has prepared for promotion, and knows what he or she wants to do as chief, would be better able to convince a selection board that he or she is the right person for the job and is ready to take command. If a future chief needs to develop additional skills and abilities, these should be acquired before applying for the job. Finding time to study in depth, or to take a course away from the police service, after promotion, is often difficult.

Those police officers who made it through the system to chief of police started planning for the opportunity when they were one or two ranks away. In the smaller forces, constables and sergeants were in this position after ten to fifteen years' service. In the medium and larger forces, the future chiefs started planning for the chief's position when they were somewhere in rank between superintendent and deputy chief.

If chiefs of police had known years before they became chiefs that one day they would fill this role, they would have tried to add additional experiences to their career profiles, including work in as many different sections of the police service as possible, with another government agency, and at a senior level in the private sector. Chiefs who had this experience thought it invaluable. Broadening their general knowledge of the world through foreign travel and greater exposure to people in other cultures was also seen as beneficial. Chiefs wished they had a greater knowledge of financial management, marketing, and the practical use of computers.

CHAPTER SIX

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS

This Chapter begins with a discussion of the original purpose of the research, the significance of the data, its relationship to the selection process, and the administrative activities of chiefs of police. In terms of the research, it answers the questions: Who should be chiefs of police? What should they know? How did they learn it? What should they be able to do well? What advice would they give to "would-be" chiefs? By identifying factors and making comparisons with the information from the literature review (Chapter three, p. 63) and the data obtained from the mail survey and the interviews with the chiefs of police (Chapter five, p. 126), Chapter six also addresses additional issues raised in the research. Important subjects discussed in this Chapter are issues pertaining to the duties and responsibilities of chiefs of police, and community expectations of the police service. Additional significant factors are the learnings of chiefs during their police careers, the chief of police selection processes, and the differences between being an operational officer and being chief of police.

In addition to the original expectations, two additional factors were identified:

1. Administrative and operational differences among police forces of different sizes and;
2. Substantial changes in roles which extend beyond duties and responsibilities from being an operational police officer to being chief of police.

The above factors should have a direct bearing on the selection of chiefs of police and the requirements for chiefs to have higher formal levels of education or, at least, a

broader scope to their development. The relationship of values and police culture to police activities also plays an important part in understanding the role of the chief of police. Even before the chief is selected, however, the type of police service required by a community should be considered. In effect, it is not only what the chief can provide as a leader and principal administrator but also what the community wants in terms of the type and level of police service that is of major importance.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Observations

My original purpose in conducting this research project was to identify criteria used to select, train, and develop persons to be chiefs of police within Ontario and answer the question, who is best qualified to be chief of police in terms of work experience, behaviours, education, and personal characteristics. I expected that this information would be valuable in developing courses or other learning opportunities to fill the gaps (if any) for current chiefs, and provide a more structured program for the development of future chiefs. I also expected that this information would provide some clues for junior police officers as to what may be required — the best career patterns — for them to become future chiefs of police.

I thought that researching the changes in the role from being an operational police officer to being a chief of police would provide a starting point. I wanted to know what the changes were and what training and development could be provided, in terms of skills and knowledge, to allow a person to be the best chief possible. I expected general skills such as the ability to manage budgets, strategic planning, public speaking skills, effective writing, experience in working with different types of people including special interest groups — and a knowledge of the justice policy system and the political process — to be important.

Differences in Structure and Functions

On reading the transcripts for the first few times three factors became apparent. First, and most obvious, was the distinct differences among the roles and activities of chiefs in

different sized police services. Secondly, in the opinion of the chiefs, and others in the literature, numerous factors pertain to what it takes to be an effective chief of police. Thirdly, although not clearly articulated, what became apparent was more than just changes in "duties and responsibilities" when moving through the ranks from patrol officer to chief of police. Working relationships, personal loyalties and values change. The chief is no longer just a member of the detachment or station fraternity. In fact, he or she may be a "police officer" in name only. These role changes are significant and subtly start to happen with the first promotion (to sergeant), increasing with each subsequent promotion and level of authority and responsibility.

Loneliness of Command

Supervisors, managers and executives of the police service must, on occasion, give orders, make performance assessments, or other decisions that are unpopular with the lower ranks. Supervisors may assign police officers tasks they do not want to do, change their shifts and platoon assignments, criticize their performance, put their lives in danger — or at least make them uncomfortable (Fulmer, 1976; Melnicoe and Mennig, 1978). Being responsible for issuing unpopular orders is what the military often refers to as the "loneliness of command" (Eisenhower, 1948; Keegan, 1987, 1993; Paret, 1986). However, military officers, in time of war, have the additional burden of knowing that when they send their soldiers into battle, a certain percentage of them will be killed or wounded. Police officers also risk their lives on every patrol; over the years many are killed and injured, but they are never sent directly into a situation where it is known that they will be killed. If they are killed or injured it is the result of an unexpected act of

violence or an accident. Still many occurrences are considered more dangerous than others and supervisors must ensure that their officers face such dangers without question. This is an essential element of police and military command.

Police supervisors can make mistakes that put their officers' lives in greater danger, and if they do so, they will be criticized by officers at all levels. Thus, with the initial promotion, police officers take the first step out of the police fraternity by being put in the position where they must make difficult and often unpopular decisions. The "loneliness of command" also makes it more difficult for supervisors to "have a night out" with their "buddies" in the lower ranks and on the following morning, give them orders or act as a disciplinarian. In effect, each rung on the promotional ladder is a step away from the camaraderie of the police fraternity.

Different Values

For most people, values and interests can often be summed up in terms of relationships to a religious faith, to their country, community, family, hobbies, and work but, when asked, many people describe themselves in terms of what they do for a living, for example: "I am a police officer." As an operational police officer, values and interests in terms of work are usually those associated with the police service — including loyalty to the organization, loyalty to its traditions, to other police officers, and to the police purpose. To the patrol officer, the police purpose would include conditions of public order and safety, law enforcement, and occurrence investigations. The sense of belonging to the police fraternity and of being a police officer is paramount. This sense of belonging is reinforced by the unique characteristics of police culture (see pp. 96-103). But the chief

of police has moved outside the bounds of the police fraternity and now belongs to the wider justice policy and government bureaucracies. As such, the chief may have strong memories of the police experience and camaraderie among the ranks, but he or she now represents the interest not only of the police service but also a police services' board, the local and provincial governments and others.

The chief is in a different configuration than a fraternity with less binding loyalties and different values, which, may at times, conflict with those of other members of the police service and with the values of his or her former role as a patrol officer. Defining these new values could be a study in itself. However, what is evident at this stage of the investigation is the importance that should be placed on the chief as a leader of an organization, influenced by a very powerful culture, with definite and unique values and traditions. The chief has a position of authority, on the fringes of the police fraternity to which he or she fully belonged. Now the chief must adapt his or her former values and develop different considerations for police traditions.

The chief must accept this change in role and the corresponding change in duties, loyalties, and obligations, moreover the chief would probably benefit if lower ranks also understood how and why the chief's position is different. Part of the chief's responsibility is to ensure that the members of the police service do know what he or she is trying to accomplish and why his or her loyalties have to be different. It would be helpful if police officers of all ranks had a better understanding of the theoretical and philosophical aspects of policing earlier in their careers, possibly at the recruit stage, and thus a better understanding of the police purpose and ultimately the role of the chief.

Chiefs must not only accept the change in their executive role and relationship with the members of their own police service but also must function with executives from other organizations who have very little knowledge of the police service and have different values and working relationships with other executives and managers. Many of these executives started their careers in management development programs and/or had professional qualifications before they joined their organizations. However, most lack the experiences of working directly with the "blue collar" workforce. They have not seen the horror, pain and misery that is a police officer's lot, nor have they been cold, wet, scared, assaulted, spat-on, overly tired, or suffered the other vagaries of a police career. On the other hand, they probably have not experienced the same levels of excitement, adventure, variety of assignments, and comradeship that chiefs of police have experienced throughout their careers either.

Chiefs of police can be expected to have difficulty relating to these different types of executives. In addition, chiefs, at times, can be expected to have difficulty working with managers and executives who are experts in very narrow fields, for example, in human rights, race relations, personnel, finance, or law which may appear to be working at "cross purposes" to the police service. Narrowly focused executives do not always see the "big picture" in terms of other justice policy fields, or they may only see the goals and objectives of their own activities and branches. Issues of control, or quotas set in support of some program objective, may not always be in the best interest of police programs for "safe streets and homes." As stated in the literature, (see pp. 66-67, 87 & 89) chiefs must see and understand the workings of the entire organization; the global perspective. Often

they must choose how scarce resources will be used by selecting one program over another, or providing less than is required to complete any one project. They must consider the interactions of the various parts of the police service and see patterns and relationships (discern linkages) with others in the justice policy field. At the same time, chiefs must remember that the police service is just one entity in a larger complex government system. In this wider environment, chiefs often have less freedom to do their jobs than when they were in the lower ranks — particularly, when they were constables. As chief executives, they must follow administrative rules and ensure that their staffs do so as well. With reduced resources, they are being asked to "do more with less" and in doing so, they must often disappoint other managers who see only their own programs, not the larger government objective.

Constant battles for program control, and/or to maintain police resources, can be frustrating experiences for many chiefs of police. Cutbacks in police administrative staff have also increased the difficulties by placing more of the workload on the chiefs. Unceasing criticism by the news media compound the chiefs' problems.

Under these new working conditions, chiefs must ensure that they avoid superficiality and not get bogged down with unnecessary detail, (see p. 76). Even under these difficult and demanding conditions, they must remain optimistic or they will bring an atmosphere of gloom to the entire service. Not all chiefs are coping well.

Early Retirements

According to Leo (code name), one of the negative factors resulting from these

frustrations and the constant criticisms, is that many excellent chiefs are taking early retirement. Thus, the police service is losing numerous, experienced executives who are difficult to replace. Leo further stated that this lack of interest in police leadership has become even more evident when, for example, chief vacancies in many of Canada's larger police services are advertised, few chiefs, or deputy chiefs apply.

Leo: I suspect that the same twelve people have been applying for the chiefs' jobs throughout the country. Others don't. Who needs that frustration of managing another large force.

Three chiefs stated that although they liked the job of chief, they would not be asking to have their contracts renewed, at the end of their terms. Staff cutbacks, reduced resources, outside interference in administrative issues, and generally lower morale in the police service are making the chief's position even more difficult.

Leslie: One of my problems is that the chair of the police services' board thinks he is chief of police. I spend hours trying to keep him happy and out of my way...I look on Tuesday as my tutorial, that is the day I spend with the members of the police services' board...There is a lot to learn about local politics.

Leo: They have cut the number of senior officers on this force by two thirds. Those of us who are left have to carry the work load...My best years as a police officer were when I was a constable. Then all I ever wanted to be was a detective...It will soon be time for me to go, too.

Lowell: The chief's job is all politics...We as police officers are getting away from arresting the bad guys...Too many young officers are facing burn-out because of the increased workload, tons of paperwork.

The above problems and difficulties appear to apply to leaders of other types of organizations that are also facing rapid change, reduced resources, staffing cuts, and new

The above quotes and comments from some of the chiefs of police were made as part of a general discussion of policing issues following the structured interview questions (Appendix "D," p. 254).

government legislation and programs affecting their operations. The differences are that chiefs of police were trained to be operational police officers first. Their careers were influenced by the positive side of police cultural issues and membership in a unique fraternity. Most of them were also isolated from other administrative systems and executive cultures until late in their careers. The new working environment is not as friendly and supportive as the police environment and often the work is less satisfying.

Frustrations

These negative comments appeared to be more an indication of frustration with the system than complaints about the difficulties of being a senior executive and chief of police. The above comments were followed by a discussion about the need for more advanced training for the present chiefs of police to allow them to cope better with their administrative roles and duties outside the police service. These comments also support the position that education for future chiefs of police should include advanced university courses — Executive MBA programs, the two-and three-week university(s) "executives development programs" — and secondments outside the police system. Such programs and secondments would bring the future chiefs into contact with executives from other sectors of government and the private sector before, as chiefs, they had to establish formal working arrangements with these people and their organizations.

Different Administrative Systems

I had expected the fifteen chiefs I interviewed to be similar in terms of administrative and operational practices, and leadership styles. I thought chiefs of police might be similar to

how I envisioned school principals. Principals appear to progress through one type of organization for their careers. I expected they each would have attended teachers' college, taught the same basic curriculum for the various grades, and then attended a similar principals' course. This suspicion of sameness was reinforced by my working knowledge of senior members of the OPP, who also follow similar career patterns. Prior to the re-organization of the OPP in 1994-95, from sixteen districts to six deployed regions, each district commander managed his district in a similar fashion. (District commanders function as chief executives in their police district very much as chiefs of police do in theirs.) Each district commander took the same type of recruit course, the same supervision and management courses, and even took many of the same operational courses. They reported to the same deputy commissioner, were guided by the same set of administrative instructions, and they used the same types of equipment, including telecommunications equipment. During their careers, most of them had been transferred or otherwise assigned to duties in more than one district and, frequently, to duties at general headquarters. However, the career patterns, paths, administrative and operational practices of chiefs of the municipal police forces are far less standardized or structured.

Key Differences

The chiefs, although in the same basic business of law enforcement and public safety, are each different from the other in terms of administrative practices and leadership styles. The majority start their careers with the same basic recruit course, but after that their training, development and career assignments do not follow any particular pattern. In many ways they design their own career patterns. As stated, they may or may not attend

supervision or management courses. If they do, they go at different times in their careers and take courses in no particular order. They develop their own administrative guidelines, enforcement programs, and patrol procedures. Their only requirements are to adhere to the Police Services Act, abide by the laws of Canada, and ensure their service meets the requirements established in the Ministry's Policing Standards Manual (1992).

Each chief develops a personal definition of "community based policing" and what it requires, picking from a variety of management tools or fads that may include such activities as "selective response," "quality management," "excellence in management," "strategic planning," "re-engineering," "team building" and "program planning." They often develop their own, and as often happens, independent computer and other forms of communication systems, and decide what information to share with other police departments, which can be critical when investigations involve numerous police forces. As often happens, coordinated efforts are thwarted by these differences, leading to operational inefficiencies and failed investigations, which result in poor publicity for the police service, reduced public safety and, on occasion, subject the police service to additional law suits. This non-structured pattern is reflective of many non-police organizations that do not have common operating instructions, and/or whose leaders have not had a common educational and developmental background. In the police service, however, problems with efficiency generally touch a wider segment of the population and can be life threatening.

Local autonomy, personal ambitions, and force rivalries must be re-examined in the light of such factors as mobile criminals operating in a changing society. There is a need to share information and other resources, to develop a broader base of career opportunities for all police officers, and to reduce costs. Structural differences are negatively effecting the operational and administrative practices of policing in Ontario and should be corrected. It would be appropriate to address the issue of different sizes and numbers of police services in Ontario before making major changes to the chief of police selection and development system(s).

Police Services' Boards

The current concept of the province and the local government appointing members of the police services' board started with the proclamation of the Police Services Act, in 1990 and, thus, is only six years old. The functions of board members and their relationships with the chief(s) are still under development and are open to misunderstandings. With the chiefs having either working relationships and/or knowledge of the police services in the United Kingdom and the United States, that have different civilian reporting relationships, there is some justification for this confusion. In the United Kingdom, the chief constable is seen as an officer of the law and responsible, within reason, only to the law. In the United States, the chief is often a direct political appointment and takes direction from the political leadership. Not that the American or British systems are always that clear. In Ontario, the legislation appears to be clear in that "The chief of police reports to the board and shall obey its lawful orders and directions" (Section 41 (2) PSA). The Act provides a different reporting relationship for the OPP where the

commissioner reports to the deputy solicitor general and in some cases, to the minister.

A board is not apolitical. The majority of its members are appointed by the province and the remainder by the town or city. Some board members are also members of city council. Chiefs and their boards have to establish very clearly who is responsible, who is accountable, and for what. Reason must apply.

On appointment to a board, members usually have very little knowledge of the functions or operational practices of the police service. It was generally agreed by the chiefs that if the board members ever took direct control of police operations or placed restrictive control on their operations, a very dangerous situation could be created. In the extreme, this may lead to extensive property damage or loss of life. It would be more reasonable to suggest that a police services' board should be involved in what the police services do, provide guidance, but the police chief should decide how things are done.

OAPSB Member Development

The Ontario Association of Police Services' Boards (OAPSB) is moving towards a more effective role for its members in the administration of the various police services. They have established a formalized chief selection process and an administrators' manual for board members. The executive of the Association is developing a board member training program particularly for the chief selection process. This would suggest that chiefs of police are going to have to address issues pertaining to a more sophisticated board/chief working relationship. A written working protocol or a more formal operational agreement will probably be useful and most likely a necessity.

The Right Person

The literature is unclear about the best characteristics and other factors to consider in selecting the right person to be chief of police. My research revealed an extensive list of desirable traits and characteristics that would be difficult to test for and, in any case, unlikely be reflected in any one person. Desirable behaviours were cited, but which of these should apply would probably depend on the style of leadership sought. (see p. 73-74). The chief's modus operandi — authoritarian, participatory, team builder and coach, or laissez-faire style of leadership would be a consideration. In the latter case, the chief would possibly function as a member of the city board or council for administrative purposes and leave the operational management of the police service to the deputy chief(s) — a position taken by many commissioners of police in the United States.

Chiefs in Ontario require a variety of management and leadership skills, and the ability to get things done with, and through, other people. They require a basic understanding of the business of policing and the various types of legislation that form the basis of law enforcement. Chiefs should stand for something of value in the community, have a vision of where they are leading the police service, and have the character to maintain the integrity of their organization. To be effective, they must be able to develop close working relationships with other chiefs and executives from other branches of government and the private sector. They must be able to develop positive working relationships with the members of the police services' boards. They must also know their communities and be open to community input into the police planning process. As promotion is through a competitive process, they will require an understanding of the

promotional processes now in place. What follows in the next paragraph is a list, not in priority, of the traits identified most frequently in the literature and during the interviews with the fifteen chiefs of police.

Chiefs and "would-be" chiefs should have an understanding of politics and the political decision-making process. They should have a comprehensive understanding of such factors as the economic, social, educational, cultural, environmental, and security issues facing Ontario and Canada. They should also have an understanding of human rights and labour legislation. To be effective they must exhibit wide knowledge and experience. They should, in effect, be well-informed generalists who are good communicators.

Chiefs should work at being likable. In this they should make and keep friends, do things for other people, and develop a wide range of contacts. Chiefs must be prepared to face the "cameras" at short notice with well prepared presentations, and where required, make the appropriate linkages with other government programs and public events. Finally, they should know what they stand for in policing, develop a vision of where they want to lead the police service and be able to lead, in part, by selling that vision to others.

The key thing for chiefs to do is let go of the former duties, responsibilities, and obligations they had as officers in the lower ranks. They are executive administrators first and, in most cases, no longer police officers from an operational perspective. Their primary tasks are to set the direction for the police service and obtain the necessary resources for other members to do their jobs. They are the linkage between the police service, the community and the local government(s). They must be concerned, and

involved, with improvements to their organizations of today and building their organizations and develop their staff to keep them effective in the future. To be effective over the long haul, they should be "leaders of leaders" (O'Toole, 1995).

Background and Learning Opportunities

Starting from a working-class background, chiefs learned what they thought they needed to know to function as police officers through the police college system and on-the-job experience. Those who went on to command the larger police services expanded their range of knowledge by working in a number of different areas of their organizations, from secondments or transfers to other organizations, and volunteer service within the community. They also took advantage of more advanced management courses including many of those offered by the police and community colleges and the universities. They continue developing through on-the-job experience, reading programs, and by attending various police association and government sponsored seminars and conferences.

Leadership Factors

The position of chief of police is one of leadership: by definition, the chief requires followers. O'Toole (1995), crediting Drucker, states that this is the only characteristic common to all leaders. Followers will follow because the person leading has legitimate power, having been elected, appointed, or holding some form of authority, such as through ownership of the organization. However, if employees are to follow willingly and provide their best efforts, the leader must earn respect as a person. Partly they may do so by exhibiting both a knowledge of what they are doing and by having a commendable record of accomplishments, but additionally, a chief of police — as leader

of a people-oriented business — must exhibit an interest in and empathy for employees if he or she is to earn their respect, trust, and support.

Knowledge Factors

Chiefs must have an understanding of the basic principles of management and have a working knowledge of financial, strategic, and information management systems. The chief must also ensure that the police service operates within budget, has proper financial and inventory control and audit systems. The chief must understand and be able to facilitate change within the service. The chief must be a skilled team builder, with the ability to harness diversity. The chief must be effective in delegating work and involve others in the planning and decision-making processes. The chief must ensure that members of the police team have the opportunity to grow and develop as individuals and as future leaders. It has been suggested that developing a pool of future leaders, to replace the chief when the time comes, is one of the chief's most important tasks.

The majority of those chiefs I spoke with, who had been successful in the various promotional systems, stated they had spent many hundreds of hours of their own time studying for each process. They also took every opportunity to increase their range of police experiences. The idea was, for example, that in any five year period, a person would try to gain five years of experiences and not just one year of experiences repeated five times. Self-directed learning seemed to be a key factor in the development of "would-be" chiefs of police and other senior officers. However, it is not clear why some police officers make it to the top position and others, who are interested in promotion, hit the "glass ceiling," and remain in support positions. The most plausible answer is that

there are more qualified candidates than there are job openings for chiefs of police.

Proper Leadership Balance

There are qualified candidates with the right work experiences and education who are not promoted to chief or who, when promoted, do less than an acceptable job. It is most likely that these candidates are seen as "being out-of-balance" in terms of personal desire for promotion with social and organizational responsibility. It is quite acceptable to want the top promotion for personal reasons such as status, compensation, and power. However, if a promotional board or the members of the police service believe or suspect that the candidate is self centered, with little interest in the welfare of the police service or the community, it is unlikely that they will select or provide full support to that person.

During their careers such people usually look on their fellow officers as competition for promotion rather than colleagues to accomplish the wider purposes of the police service. These candidates often claim they are too busy to become involved in volunteer work or to support "worthy" causes. On the opposite side, many chiefs who lack higher formal levels of education and wide career experience, do a commendable job as chief. They are seen as honest people with a passion for their jobs, the police service, and the betterment of their community. They want to make a difference. They easily win the support of their staffs and, in turn, the staff work hard to support their chiefs. This need for balance in leadership with personal ambition, of course, is not unique to the police service. Any leaders who are seen as arrogant or isolated from reality often fail.

Being too Different

Being part of an organization that is strongly influenced by its culture is an important consideration in developing a career plan. Promotion through the ranks is dependent on the recommendation of one's supervisors and the further recommendation of police officer members of promotional boards. When the present chiefs of police received their first promotion during the late 1960s, 70s, and early 1980s, candidates were mostly working-class, Christian, white males with limited formal education. Most were married with wives who supported their husband's careers. Wives may have had jobs outside the home but never a career that would take precedence over their husbands' careers. Police related social events included such activities as golf and curling tournaments, conferences, and association meetings. Conferences and association meetings included special events for the "ladies." Members of the "police sub-culture" spent a lot of time in the bar and being a good "drinker" was highly respected. Social events were where friendships were made. Friends recommended other friends for more desirable assignments and promotions. Police officers who did not fit the mould were suspect. For them the promotional system was more difficult, if not impossible.

To be different was to be single, or divorced, or in the 1970s, to attend university part time, or to prefer the theatre and the symphony to country and western music or a night at some bar or club. Better for one's career to be a member of the police sub-culture. It was also seen as a detriment to one's career to be "too" critical of major police or government programs. Senior managers wanted to get things done and not hear why they were wrong or would not work. There have been changes of course. In the 1990s,

college and university education is encouraged and the "ladies" nights at social events have been replaced by "spouse" nights. The sub-culture remains; particularly in the operational units. The well educated generalists are more apt to be in administrative positions. However, further changes can be expected due to the more questioning nature of today's police officers.

Recruits to the police system are generally better educated than in past decades. Many are from the middle and professional classes. Women are playing a prominent role as their numbers in the ranks and at all levels increase. Recruits are more representative of Canada's multi-cultural society. The spouses of many police officers have careers outside policing. A few husbands and wives are both police officers, and on occasion, an officer may marry someone from a different department. A growing number of these police officer couples are establishing a social circle outside the police system.

Class or Style

The literature suggested that the least discussed but most keenly felt aspect of the successful chief is "class" or "style." (see p. 71) That is the quality that makes the chief comfortable for the majority of people to work and deal with. Class in the working sense has nothing to do with economics or being upper-, middle-, or lower-class, rather, it is a matter of knowing the appropriate way to behave. It includes manners, attitude, dress, consideration for others, and personality. These are elements that can support the concept of team building and still allow the chief to be more "coach" than "player."

In these days of "political correctness," it is the negative characteristics that will eliminate a person from consideration for the position of chief of police. Even though history accounts for some outstanding leaders who had personal problems relating to drinking, gambling, and unconventional relationships, such character traits would probably eliminate most otherwise acceptable contenders from consideration.

Image and Leadership

A Chinese proverb attributed to Sun Tzu (300 BC), suggests that, "no soldier wants to follow a poor general." Likewise, no police officer wants to follow a poor chief. In more subjective terms, the chief must have a leader's "personality" and the right "image" to command affection and loyalty. Self-confidence, a sense of humour, and the ability to make the work enjoyable or, at least, interesting would also encourage employees in the performance of their duties. The literature suggests that the chief should be a decent and honourable person with a flexible mind, who is dedicated to the police service, and the democratic principles of this country (see pp. 70-71, 112). The chief should also be a hard worker with the personal determination to master the details required in the field of law enforcement.

It was interesting to note during my research the importance of "the image factor" attributed to the chief of police by members of the police service. With few exceptions, the chief wears an elaborate uniform, receives a hand salute from the lower ranks, is referred to as "chief," "sir" or "madam" and in most departments, uniformed staff are required by regulation to stand at attention when the chief enters the room. Most chiefs are known by name in the community they serve and are frequently the subject of a news

story. Like many government executives, he and in one case she, sets the strategic direction of the organization, is responsible for all orders pertaining to policy, and is the person accountable for the effective and efficient operation of the service. The chief of police is also of importance to the individual members of the service as the person who represents them and whose orders they are carrying-out. It is the chief who must ensure that all the members of the police force are motivated, encouraged, and disciplined. The chief influences their career plans, duty assignments, work schedules, and postings. The good chiefs of police are held in high regard by the members of the police service and are seen as a symbol of professionalism and a point of pride. In this police officers often see themselves as members of the chief's team. Outside police organizations and the military establishment, I have not seen such close working relationships and a sense of belonging; although they may exist.

Range of Work Experience

The literature is not definite in suggesting that a chief of police must have operational policing experience. The chiefs would, however, suggest that to be a chief, a person must know the business of policing. This becomes imperative in ensuring the integrity of the organization. It is also an element in gaining the respect of the officers and assessing the value of the various police programs. The chief is responsible, and will be held accountable, for the actions of the members of the police service and must ensure they are operating within the bounds of the law. Thus, chiefs must have some understanding of the law and of policing methods. They must also be current in what is happening at the "street level" of policing, and with trends of criminal activity, if they are to keep their

police programs current and cost effective. The police focus is constantly changing.

Administrative Linkages

It would appear that within the police service, many members who are promoted through the ranks, move from commanding detachments or platoons to commanding other types of units without changing their management or leadership techniques. The only difference to them is that the units they now command are larger. That is, without a significant event in their development, they provide leadership and management, with each new assignment, as though they were still sergeants or staff sergeants in command of detachments or platoons. Often even members of inspector and superintendent ranks who are leading divisions, regions, and bureaus make decisions as though they were still managers rather than executives (see p. 27). In some cases, this method of commanding appears to be carried forward by senior officers when they are promoted to chief of police. This may in fact be a problem for executives in other fields including both the private and public sectors.

Chiefs and other senior officers often fail to see the linkages among decisions and the importance of long term planning. Many fail to see themselves as strategic managers and, thus, still hold on to many management habits and responsibilities from their years in the lower ranks. The source of the problem may be that the police college system trained them to be constables and sergeants, not chief executives. Major courses such as those offered at Bramshill and the recently suspended Canadian Defence College were designed to help forge the link between being a manager and being an executive. These courses were six months and one year in length respectively, possibly the range of

time required to make a significant change in leadership practices. The move from "tactical management" to "strategic management" and the development of conception skills appears to be the key in separating the good leaders and executives from the exceptional ones in other government agencies, the military, and the private sector.

Career Streaming Issues

Ontario does not have a career streaming system or educational program for police officers interested in senior leadership positions. Those who wanted to be a chief of police tried to obtain a wide range of police experience, performed their duties at a high standard, and took advantage of secondments to other agencies. Increasing their formal level of education was seen as helpful by those who had completed college or university. None of the chiefs stated that they had a plan, developed early in their careers, that led to promotion to chief. It would appear that the major factor in being successful is having the luck to be the right person, in the right place, at the right time. In other words a person has to be prepared to do the job, a chief of police position has to be open, and the person who wants the job has to have the confidence to apply.

The chiefs who were interviewed and trends in the literature suggest that those who wish to be a chief should, in addition to obtaining a wide range of police experience, gain some depth in two or more areas beyond their basic field experience. It is usually on general patrol that most officers gain an understanding of the basics of law enforcement, police operations, court procedures, and some understanding of people as they relate to the police service. This is the knowledge base — knowledge of and experience working in the other areas of policing — that will be of value in understanding working

relationships of the various sections of policing and the wider community role.

The other two principal areas of the police service, in broad terms, are criminal investigation and administration. The future chief should work in one and preferably both of these areas and within different sections. In administration, the future chief could work in one of these units: personnel, training, audit, professional standards, finance, technology, supply, communications, or planning. In investigation, the possibilities include major crime investigation, anti-rackets, drugs, pornography, auto theft, gambling, intelligence, or surveillance. On promotion to sergeant, the future chief will probably gain an introduction, through on-the-job experience, to supervision techniques and basic management skills that may be applied in all three areas of the police service. This has been the foundation for developing past and current police executives.

The two areas of development that chiefs would have liked to have added to their career profiles were work experience at an executive level, outside the police service, and advanced levels of formal education. Earlier exposure to the political leadership and the decision-making process at "city hall" was seen as highly desirable. In terms of education, chiefs who did not have a university degree, wished they had, and those who had a degree, wished they had a post graduate degree. The literature suggests and three of the chiefs agree that there should be some advanced level of executive training for chiefs of police. Education at the executive level, possibly through one of the two or three week university programs, would bring chiefs of police into contact with executives from other government agencies and the private sector, to the benefit of all. This may be effective as a management course designed specifically for chiefs of police, presuming

that chiefs have had an extensive range of management courses following each promotion and, in particular, have had an "inspector development" type course. The four subjects in which chiefs wanted more training before being promoted to chief were: financial management, marketing, local government, and the practical use of computers. Three chiefs who had taken courses in marketing found them invaluable.

The chiefs and the literature recommend that future chiefs gain as wide a range of policing experience as possible. During their careers they should seek-out and work in units with a reputation for developing their employees; they should find a mentor. Early in their careers, they should acquire an understanding of the philosophical and historical side of policing and the justice system. Future chiefs should also consider taking advantage of the learning opportunities identified in the previous paragraph, particularly as they pertain to higher levels of formal education. It was suggested, that in addition to formal courses, much can be accomplished, over the length of a career, by devoting only twenty to thirty minutes a day to self development. This activity supports the concept of continuous learning.

Future chiefs should learn to be effective administrators by becoming involved in situations that require administrative skills. In this, computer literacy is considered essential. They should learn effective leadership methods through practice in situations that require them to take command. In addition to opportunities in police operations and administration, working with volunteer organizations was seen as a factor that would contribute to leadership development as well as contributing to the betterment of society.

Future chiefs should be open to new ideas, learn to manage change, build teams, harness diversity, appreciate the contributions of others, and develop the ability to deal with ambiguity. They should develop their personal self-confidence to the point where they can make difficult decisions and manage the criticism that may follow.

IMPLICATIONS

Senior Officer Development

In Ontario little has been done to develop senior police officers since the Executive Development Course was first offered by the Federal Government in the 1970s and even that has been reduced from an eight to a four week course. Ontario has put more effort into increasing civilian and political control over the police services rather than in developing police executives. The people who are the current chiefs of police took responsibility for their own development, although many benefited from an extensive program of development for officers at the lower ranks. The first step in addressing the development issue for chiefs, and future chiefs, should focus on what now exists in terms of formal levels of education and other executive learning opportunities in place.

Proposed Changes in the Police Educational System

Police education in Ontario is under review and appears to be following many of the recommendations set out in Government's publication, A Police Learning System for Ontario. A key point with this program is that all police recruits obtain their police education at a community college before joining a police service; thus eliminating the concept of a free education at the police colleges. However, police colleges may still be used for some type of "fine tuning" course for recruits — perhaps up-dates on policing issues and activities such as firearms training — before they joined a police service.

This would extend recruit training from the present eighteen weeks to two years and allow for both greater width and depth in subject development. The police colleges could then focus more on life-long learning systems for police officers. Their venue

could be to provide police officers with a better base of recruit training, higher levels of operational and, for those on the promotion list, management training.

Limitations for the Development of Senior Officers

Community college police programs are expected to improve the training for constables and provide the appropriate background for future supervisors (members of sergeant ranks). On the negative side, mandatory college training is likely to discourage people with a university education from joining the police service, if they had to study two more years at a community college. Possibly some accommodation could be made to credit university graduates with a reduced period of study at community college. A more serious criticism is that the proposed college program would not provide the police service with a pool of university graduates as potential senior officers, chiefs of police, or as highly qualified planners, technical investigators, and financial managers. To compensate for this loss of potential expertise — and increase the pool of university graduates — some form of funded program that might include leaves of absence, for a few outstanding police officers to attend university, and/or direct entry of executives from other organizations into an officer training program, needs to be considered.

Both police colleges and community colleges can teach the subject matter necessary to function as a police officer today and not necessarily for future tasks or for positions as executives. Changing the training system from police college to community college may negatively alter the police culture and weaken the fraternity. There are also those special qualities of police chief leadership that might not be learned at a community college and are better learned through a more structured system or an advanced executive program.

The College Product

The more relaxed atmosphere of a "law and security program" at a community college, designed to produce community services officers, might not be what is required to produce effective police officers who can function in a hostile environment and still maintain their "sanity". Police officers, of all ranks, must be willing to use force in the performance of their duties. They will restrict the freedoms of other people and issue summonses that often result in fines and/or imprisonment. They will carry a firearm and when necessary, to save the life of another or themselves, shoot to kill. As a chief of police, they may have to order another officer to shoot to kill. They most likely will be called to numerous domestic complaints and child abuse investigations where they will be screamed at, insulted, and on occasion struck; all this in an atmosphere of complete pandemonium. During their careers, they will attend the funerals of a number of their colleagues killed in the line of duty. They will have to learn to work as a team to the point where their lives or the lives of others may depend on teamwork. The question is, how do police recruits best learn what they need to know?

Education and Promotion

Normandeau and Leighton (1990) proposed that formal levels of education be tied to the police promotional systems. Constables would require a minimum of a high school diploma; the current requirement. Supervisors of sergeant rank would require a college diploma. Those wanting to be senior officers would require a minimum of a university degree. The strongest objection to these recommendations, however, came from the police associations. They saw the requirements for a college or university degree as a

restriction on the career potential of the majority of their members who are constables and NCOs without a degree. The possible solution is to set these levels as "recommendation" for promotion not restrictions. The system could allow for the self-directed learner to compete in open competition with the officers who have either a college diploma or university degree. This is the system in the Canadian Armed Forces where most but not all of the commissioned officers have a university degree. (Recommendations made by the Minister of Defence, in 1997, would require all future commissioned officers to have a university education.) In addition, military privates and NCOs who show exceptional promise for promotion to the commissioned ranks are frequently sponsored by the Forces to attend university as part of an officers' development program. The police services could emulate these military programs.

Failure by members of the police community to support a system that requires advanced levels of formal education will put those without a diploma or degree at a distinct disadvantage in future competitions. What they are doing, in fact, is denying reality. A reasonable case has been made to suggest that a college or university education will give those who have it an advantage in competition. They will benefit from a broad base of knowledge, with some depth in an area of specialty, a larger vocabulary, and improved speaking and writing skills — often useful factors for candidates involved with a promotional process. The issue is not that education will make better operational police officers, which it may, but will make stronger competitors in the promotional process.

The number of police recruits with a college diploma or university degree is increasing each year. Numerous constables have a post graduate degree including a few with a

degree in law (OPC Student lists). Serving members who want a diploma or degree have few excuses for not gaining one through night school, correspondence courses, computer on-line programs, or through full-time attendance on leaves of absence, with or without pay. The leave of absence system used in the public schools, where teachers are paid eighty percent of their wages for four years and receive the fifth year off with eighty percent pay, could be considered for police officers.

Educational Advancements

People who want to be chiefs of police in the future, particularly with the larger forces, and want an advanced program of study should first obtain a masters' degree in some subject area such as public or business administration. Once they reach the senior officer level, and require further development, the post graduate two and three week executive programs at the various universities, with annual seminars should be considered. In most cases, attendance at these short courses is funded by the sponsoring police organization. Attendance at other seminars, conferences and workshops sponsored by such agencies as the Ministry of the Solicitor General and the chiefs of police associations should provide the information to keep the chiefs current. Once future chiefs have reached this stage in their development, then, those who are on track for command of the larger forces, should be considered for an executive program such as the Bramshill senior course.

Obtaining a degree before joining a police service has its advantages. However, serving officers who do not have a degree would benefit their careers by obtaining one on a part time basis. The difficulty is that it takes much of their spare time over a five to ten year period that could be directed at policing and more community oriented activities. As

Canadian universities do not have graduate programs in police science, there are few advantages in obtaining a graduate degree in other subjects before joining the police service. Police recruits are hired to be patrol officers and will spend many years on patrol before they move into management or senior investigative positions. What is learned in graduate school might become "dated". In addition, there is no guarantee that a person will be promoted beyond constable regardless of their qualifications.

There are advantages of attending graduate school after ten to fifteen years' police service. The experience can be very much like a sabbatical for those in the teaching professions. It is an opportunity to up-date general knowledge and to study in-depth a subject area of specific interest. It is also an opportunity to step back and examine one's career and consider where one's life's plan is leading. Educational leaves of absences and executive graduate programs can provide many of these opportunities and should be considered by the police service for officers with high promotional potential. These officers may also be considered as candidates for one of the government sponsored executive courses such as the Bramshill program offered to senior British police or a program such as the former National Defence College, when the opportunity is presented. A key point, however, is that before starting a leave of absence, each candidate should have a career plan — leading to further promotion — to be implemented on return to their police service. Finally, those interested in promotion should set aside time each day to work on their own development and learning. Continuous learning over the years can accumulate and be most effective in both job performance and the promotional process.

Section Summary

The trend to higher levels of formal education for police officers, the reduced number of forces, the corresponding reduction in opportunities to become a chief, and competition from other quarters demands that those few who do make it to the top level are well trained with a broad education. Following the trends towards police officers having higher levels of formal education, it must be re-emphasized that the minimum levels of education for constables will most likely be grade twelve, with the possible requirement to obtain a college diploma before joining a police service. Supervisors, unit, and detachment commanders will require a minimum of a college diploma. All senior officers will require a university degree, with deputy chiefs and chiefs requiring a post graduate degree. To be fair and avoid unnecessary stress, levels of education should be established as guidelines for a period of five to ten years and then become standard after that period. Opportunities such as additional courses, foreign travel assignments, secondments, and special projects and assignment to task forces, that are considered important for executive development purposes, should be given to those who meet the educational standard. As stated, these levels of education for promotion would be the standard, but not an out-and-out restriction to those who did not meet the standard. The door would remain open for any police officer to become a chief.

ASSESSMENT OF THE FINDINGS

The Right Police Service

The people of Ontario are generally well served by their police forces, although the job of being a police officer is becoming more difficult. This is particularly so for those who would be chiefs of police. The pace of change, changes in society, and adapting from the role of operational police officer to being a chief administrator all contribute to the problems facing today's chief. Cut-backs in administrative staffing and other resources, technological changes, organizational restructuring, new models of policing, constant criticism, and issues of civilian control exacerbate the difficulties. The selection and training of future chiefs of police must focus on identifying people who can directly address these problems. Selecting a new chief should not be a "last minute" activity.

The literature suggests that before attempting to select the best person to be chief of police, the community, or at least those making the selection, should be very clear on the type of police service they want. The literature and the chiefs interviewed suggest that the primary functions of a police service are to provide a community of "safe streets and homes" where people can go about their business with as little interference as possible. Crime should be kept under control and offenders apprehended as quickly as possible. Traffic safety should be encouraged. Police officers should be effective in presenting evidence in court. The police service should function within budget, make effective use of resources, and be open to the public. Police officers should carry out their duties by creating as few incidents as possible. As required by legislation, the police leadership should make periodic reports to the police services board and an annual report to the

Solicitor General. Where possible, the police service should be supportive of other government (city) operations and initiatives. Equipment should be in good repair and officers should "look smart" in uniform. Officers should be knowledgeable about their duties; operate within the bounds of the law; support the Constitution; treat the public with respect; use the minimum amount of force necessary; act without prejudices; and be fair, honest, consistent, thorough, approachable, and helpful. The make-up of the police service must reflect the society it is sworn to protect and be willing to change to meet the changing demands of society. This description, however, is subject to interpretation and the quality of service provided will be found in the details.

A consensus of opinion drawn from the comments made by the chiefs of police indicates that the above is a fair description of the police service they are trying to provide. The one outstanding issue is the role to be played by members of the police services' boards in their relationships with the chief of police, bearing in mind that a conflict in operational styles of policing exists. On the one hand, the police are seen as crime fighters and law enforcement officers and, on the other, as community service officers with the focus on crime prevention and public service through the concept of community policing. It must be noted that "community policing" is a legislated requirement. If future chiefs are to be selected to implement "community policing programs," civilian police authorities must be clear about what they expect from these programs and how they will measure results. To more effectively provide strategic direction to the police service, based on new policing models, chiefs must obtain a higher understanding of the theoretical aspects and the overall purpose of providing a police service in the first place.

The literature (see pp. 82, 113-114) and comments made by the chiefs of police (see pp. 166-167) would suggest that there are numerous traits, behaviours, and characteristics to be considered in the selection of a person to be a chief of police. The chief must know the business of policing, the political environment in which they are to function and understand the unique culture of the uniformed members of the police service (see pp. 92-96, 147, 181-185). In selecting a chief, the literature would suggest that a "job description" and "standards of performance" should be established first, then the best descriptors selected from the above categories could be used to help identify a person to meet the needs of the police service and the community.

Current Chiefs

With few exceptions, the current chiefs of police come from a working-class background where for various reasons they did not go beyond high school before joining the work force (see pp. 53 & 140). Consequently many of them have missed the opportunities of further years of formal education and the advantageous contacts that other levels of society may have given them. Rather than seeking advanced levels of education and/or professional qualifications as a social enhancement, joining the police service was to be their upwardly mobile step. Learning was to be directly experienced by contact with the problems and challenges of the police service. Undoubtedly this has worked in the past.

This probably gave the future chiefs an advantage in policing the majority of Ontarians who were also of the working-class. They probably had many of the same interests in terms of working lives, sports, and just "hanging around" with other young people. They were exposed to street activities, traffic problems and roughhouse activities that often led

to contact with the police. Thus, with this type of working-class background, and a few weeks at police college, most recruits quickly became effective as uniformed police officers. With four or five years' experience most constables could handle the majority of criminal and accident investigations with which they came in contact. More senior officers were always available to help when required.

Inadequate Representation

Police officers with limited formal education and a desire for action oriented careers, may produce excellent uniformed police officers. It is not, however, the ideal background, when the need arises, for working with well-educated senior executives, who have a wider range of business, government, and social experiences. Neither is it the ideal background to investigate sophisticated individuals, and heads of corporations, whose complex criminal activities involving millions of dollars often operate on a national and international level.

Until the 1980s, when police forces started recruiting from a wider segment of the population, in an attempt to be more reflective of Ontario's multi-cultural society, the mostly white, male, police officers did not have the ideal background to provide an adequate level of police service to all the residents of this province. It was also realized that police forces would earn greater public support, and thus be more effective, if all Canadians could see themselves reflected in the police service. In addition, language skills, an understanding of cultural values, the ability to work "under cover" in all communities, personal contacts that develop trust and respect in the wider community, became important policing considerations. Target recruiting programs, to attract more

non-white males to the police service, were developed to address these needs.

Future Chiefs

To function at all levels of society, police officers and in particular those who would be chiefs of police, must have both breadth and depth to their educational background and while a university education is not the only way to acquire this, it is one of the better ways. Reading widely, foreign travel, exposure to other cultures, and different types of work and social experiences are also of value. Chiefs of police should feel comfortable working with people from all levels of society. They should have something interesting to say on social occasions, have an educated opinion about numerous topics, be well mannered, and avoid grammatical mistakes, particularly when speaking in public. Having the same or similar levels of education to their peers — in government and business — is a great confidence builder and the trend is for chiefs and potential chiefs to look beyond the police service for improvements in their education.

The subjects of the police focus are complex in the extreme and police officers gain a much better understanding of people as they go about their daily business than they would by simply taking courses. Police work is the study of humankind, especially its societies, customs, social problems, and the functions of the human mind. Police officers see people in times of joy and in times of sorrow and to do their job properly they need to know the community, to understand its problems, its opportunities, its concerns, and life styles. Combining practical experience with more theoretical in-service courses and reading programs gives each of them the chance to learn and grow as a person, which is what most police officers appear to enjoy about their careers. It is only when they stop

learning that they become bored and ineffective. Change and the response to the unknown make the job interesting. Every shift has the potential to be different with its own challenges and learning opportunities. Every promotion and transfer can also be a new challenge and a learning opportunity. Promotion to chief of police is the ultimate career change with the chief moving out of the police fraternity and into the wider government executive system. Chiefs must understand the workings of the total police service, its partnerships and the interconnections of the decision making process.

Occupational Differences

While police officers are recruited from the general population, the nature of their training and the job itself makes them different from the population they serve. Police officers are in the business of looking for trouble and finding those who break the law. Most people try to avoid trouble, thus police officers are not popular at social functions where possibly you or one of your guests will break the law, for example smoke a banned substance, or drink a beer in an unlicensed public place. Police officers are not the people you turn to for advice when there is a good chance that you have broken a serious law. Police officers are drawn together in bonds of common interest, because they often live outside the normal boundaries of society, and because of the difficult and frequently dangerous nature of their work. They are part of a unique culture — an understanding of which is a key factor in anyone's attempt to fill the leadership role.

Since crime, accident and loss happens to people from all walks of life, police who are interested in learning, including those who want to be a chief of police, have frequent opportunities to broaden their life experiences and general knowledge. Thus, the police

service is by its very nature an organization(s) that is interested in learning or in becoming a learning organization. Members learn from their experiences and from their mistakes in the tradition of a learning organization. With fewer police forces, and thus, fewer corresponding opportunities to be promoted, advanced levels of formal education can give the potential chief an advantage in the promotional system.

In terms of formal levels of education, the legislative requirements to be a police officer are minimal. This is particularly true when comparing policing with professions such as medicine and law. Teachers and nurses, for example, who are in similar pay categories to police officers, have raised their minimum entry level to a university degree. The issue of post high school education is still under review by the police community. However, because of the increased number of police officers with a post high school education and indications by the chiefs and in the literature that education will be a factor in future promotional opportunities "would-be" chiefs should take this into consideration when developing career plans. As the majority of chiefs do not have a post high school education, possibly this is an avenue to explore before more advanced police college courses are developed specifically for chiefs and future chiefs. This would not only provide an advance in subject content but also provide exposure to executives and other people in the wider community.

To paraphrase Clements (1990), in addition to those traditional attributes of loyalty, dedication to duty, and courage, chiefs of police will need to be dynamic, flexible, well informed, with an ability to communicate to subordinates their vision of where the country, and the police service is going, as well as what they wish to achieve in the

narrower sense of their own mission. In the selection process emphasis will be on character, integrity, honesty, and consistency; as much as on operational efficiency. Chiefs will have to accept that they are both responsible and accountable for their actions. While future chiefs will most likely require a university degree and possibly a graduate degree, this will not be the end of their education. To remain current and keep pace with change, they must be life-long learners.

Years of policing experience with the right combination of formal education, police college courses, and a self-directed reading program can produce a well-rounded administrator capable of managing and leading the various police forces of Ontario. Chiefs of police and future chiefs must determine for themselves what is required in terms of skills, knowledge, education, and background experiences to perform their duties or to be promoted. Selecting a chief is still seen as a local responsibility to meet local needs. The next step for the "would-be" chief of police is to find out what the selection board is looking for in terms of character, knowledge, skills, and management capabilities. Using this information, the "would-be" chief should develop a suitable resume and be prepared to display the appropriate talents at a selection interview.

Preferred Career Patterns

Chiefs reported that those who want to be future chiefs should first obtain a varied background in as many functions of the police service as possible. They should also try to gain management experience outside the police service. Work with police unions, and secondments to other government agencies, and the private sector were seen as highly desirable. "Would-be" chiefs should to find a mentor, possibly a successful executive

outside their own department. The majority of chiefs suggested that future chiefs are going to need an understanding of the expectations of their community in terms of the role of the police service. Community involvement as a volunteer is seen as a highly desirable learning activity. The chiefs and the police literature suggested that future chiefs must know the business of policing, its traditions, and customs. Chiefs must also have the administrative skills to provide visionary leadership, and highly developed people skills. Learning will be an on-going activity and should be broadly based. Chiefs suggested that they should be taking courses both within and outside the police service. They should look for challenges within their own departments by becoming involved with special task forces, major studies and other projects that take them away from their daily routine. They should learn early in their careers how to solve problems and to make difficult decisions. They should build working relationships with other police officers interested in career advancement. Their activities should go beyond what it takes to do an effective job on a day-to-day basis. Two of the chiefs suggested that if chiefs in general are going to be effective, they should live a balanced life in terms of maintaining personal values, family life, community, health, and work time. Finally, they will have to take the steps to change their leadership style from being unit managers to be organizational executives who see policing as part of a larger system.

Non-Standard Police Services

Police forces do not have a standard set of provincial instructions to administer their police services. The larger and many of the medium sized departments have their own planning units and other administrative units through which they are able to develop

policies and programs to suit their own particular interest. Even within the legislation and under the direction of the police services' boards, chiefs have considerable freedom in how they administer their police services. Thus, there are as many apparent differences in the way each service is administered as there are similarities. However, each chief interviewed seemed to have a basic understanding of modern management principles, exhibited an air of self-confidence, and an interest in improving their departments. Trained as craftsmen, they are slowly moving towards a professional status through accommodations to changes in the nature of their jobs and a continuing advancement in formal levels of education, more advanced training, and wider experiences.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

Key Learning

The men and women who command Canada's police organizations are the focus of more and more public and political scrutiny, and media attention. They are often asked to comment on the actions of their own officers or the actions of police officers in far away places such as Los Angeles, Johannesburg, or Santiago. Their opinions are sought on the results of a trial, the actions of a terrorist, the failure to provide security to a prime minister, or the racial wrongdoing of the few. They must assure the public that Canada's streets are safe and that quick action will be taken to apprehend the latest murderer. They are expected to instil vision, meaning, and trust in their followers and to be an example of virtue, efficiency and effectiveness as managers and leaders. They must ensure that Canadians receive a police service consistent with its democratic values and be able to balance the demand for personal security with the equal demand for personal freedom. They must respond to new legislation pertaining to human rights and freedoms, and the protection of privacy. They must satisfy oversight commissions, and public complaints' agencies which did not exist when they joined the police service. Like other executives, chiefs of police must do all this in a rapidly changing, multi-cultural society — a society that must compete in the global economy, and suffers from competing demands for funding from the provinces, the poor, the dispossessed, other government agencies, and the business community. All this in times of falling government revenues, and shrinking police budgets. Coping puts demands on the chief of police beyond the more traditional requirements of keeping the peace and apprehending offenders.

Future of Policing

While researching the criteria to select future chiefs of police and examining changes in the role between being a patrol officer and a chief of police, a number of other issues became apparent. While they were not the subject of this research, they are important to the future of policing and have a bearing on the role of the chief of police. Addressing these issues and finding solutions to these problems should pave the way to a better process for selecting and training future chiefs of police, so that their roles will become more professional and career opportunities for police officers become more standardized.

Chiefs of Police as Professionals

While many chiefs of police look on themselves as professional they do not maintain many of the attributes of other professional organizations. There is no police chiefs' organization that sets standards of senior officer selection, professional conduct, or standards of performance. The problem is that if chiefs do not set their own standards of performance and conduct, civilian oversight organizations will, and are, doing it for them. The chiefs have split their efficiency by establishing one national and ten provincial chiefs' associations. Thus, rather than one strong organization representing the interests of the chiefs of police and their departments, there are eleven organizations.

If chiefs are going to be professional, or at least control their own destiny, they must establish their own standards of performance and conduct, which will probably mean following the example of teachers and nurses in establishing higher educational standards for entry into the service and higher standards, still, for promotion to executive positions.

This will have to be done through one national organization or through a stronger federation of the current organizations. True professionalism is one issue that must be addressed by the chiefs, and others in the justice policy field (see p. 67- 69).

In terms of establishing professional standards of conduct and performance, chiefs have not addressed policing from a theoretical perspective. Other major issues must be addressed and many questions answered. For example:

1. If there is a theory of policing, should it be helping society move towards some larger goal?
2. What is the principal purpose of policing?
3. From the police perspective, what is justice?
4. From a police perspective, what are "rights and freedoms" and "duties and responsibilities?"
5. Who is responsible and accountable for what in policing?
6. How involved should the community be and what is community policing?
7. Why does each department have its own administration manuals and administration systems?
8. Why are there so many different police computer systems that cannot "talk" with one another. How large is this problem and what are the causes preventing departments from cooperating in all investigations and sharing information?
9. What are the principal values of the police service?
10. What action should be taken when policy pertaining to apprehending offenders conflicts with public safety, personal freedom, and the protection of privacy?

Reduced Number of Police Forces

In relation to numbers, police departments were established to meet local needs before the invention of modern transportation and communication systems. Today, the primary change in policing relates to the number of police services in Ontario. When I started this project in 1995, there were 104 departments. Following a summit meeting between the Ministry of the Solicitor General and representatives of the various police agencies in June 1996, preliminary plans were developed to reduce this number. By May 1997, the number of police departments was ninety-eight and, is expected to be reduced even further. It must be noted that Ontario — about the same geographic size as England and Wales, with one third of the population, — has twice as many police departments. Australia, with a population of sixteen million, has seven police departments — six state and one federal. New Zealand, with a population of three and a quarter million, has one police department. For Ontario, establishing the correct number of departments is one of the most important factors to consider in the chief of police selection and development process.

Early police departments did not serve a litigious society, where lawsuits in the millions of dollars are directed at cities, departments, and individual police members for wrongful action. Today, every action taken by the police is subject to legal review. In addition, crime is international with criminals easily crossing national borders. Technology has contributed to both the efficiency of law enforcement and criminal activity. Cost and issues of efficiency and effectiveness are factors that continue to pertain to changes to the policing system. Determining the right size for police forces is the key determinant.

Some critical mass is probably necessary before a department is both cost and operationally efficient. The current range is between departments with eight uniformed members and departments with over four thousand. To be large enough to allow for some diversity in management and operations, possibly, the smallest department should have something in the range of five hundred uniformed members. To allow for the full range of police services, the smallest force should possibly be based on the current British model — in the seventeen hundred to two thousand member range. Using more of an Australian model, possibly, Ontario only requires five or six police departments. Considering force size from both what is possible from a Constitutional perspective and from an efficiency standpoint, it is more likely that Ontario requires only one police force. This of course would be an ideal situation. Economic, political, and personal pressures would have to be considered, thus, a number of forces with five-hundred or more members each will probably be the reality. As has been stated (see page 52) the trend is towards fewer but larger forces. One police force in Ontario is legally possible.

The Constitution states the provinces are responsible for the administration of justice. The role played by the cities and towns is legislated by the provinces, and, as such could be eliminated by legislation. The feasibility of a one-department-police-service for Ontario would depend on the model that was implemented. (This would be in addition to a limited role to be played by the RCMP. The RCMP, then, would focus on: offenses committed directly against the federal government; coordinating efforts against cross-border crime and criminals; and the security of internationally protected persons.) It could be problematic if the majority of forces had the impression they were being

absorbed by a force now in existence. But a new name — the Ontario Rangers, the Ontario Police Service, or the Department of Public Safety — could mitigate objections. However, simply expanding the provincial police service, the OPP could be the most cost and operationally efficient.

The Best Police Model

Probably the best model would be one with an administrative central headquarters and five or six deployed operational districts or regions. Each region would be semi-autonomous with responsibility for policing services within that region. Each region would be further broken down into detachments or stations to provide more localized police service. The person in charge of each region would be a region commander, and the person in charge of each detachment, a detachment commander. The region and detachment commanders would fill the role of the current chiefs of police in terms of police operations and community relations. The central headquarters would ensure cooperation among the regions, provide standard equipment (including computer systems, and radios) operating procedures and training. Cooperation and the use of standard systems are the key to operational efficiency and effectiveness. Bulk purchase, common procedures, and the elimination of duplication are the key to cost efficiency. The police service should have one budget, based on a five year plan, possibly funded by the province. The province would recover the cost through an equitable tax system. One budget would eliminate current unequal funding, and also lead to a more cost efficient police service, more effective levels of cooperation, improved operational efficiency; resulting in safer streets and homes.

Reluctance to Change the System

The difficulty in changing the system is that many smaller towns like having their own police service. The police service is usually the major part of a town's budget and gives the local politicians a say in an important public service. Chiefs in smaller departments have a personal interest in maintaining their own departments and their own careers. However, local interests are conflicting with provincial costs, efficiencies, and public safety. This issue of department size must be clearly addressed, followed by advanced levels of executive development for the leaders of much larger organizations.

Trust and the Police

Improved police leadership is an important issue for many new Canadians, particularly those from the developing world who have had unfavourable experiences with the police in their former homelands, fear or even hate the police. It is not a career they would want for themselves or their children. Police command is not a job they want to understand. At the same time, the police service is supposed to reflect the general community it serves and have the support of its citizens. Community relations and public information, then, is an additional responsibility of the chief of police. It is a far wider issue than police operations. Numerous Canadians — in particular, Canadians born in other lands — expect their chiefs of police to be outstanding, highly qualified executives. Some people from countries where the chief is often a lawyer or has some other level of post graduate education find it unusual that Canadian chiefs were able to reach their positions with a high school education, or less.

Growing Problems in Public Safety`

In addition to assessments of the chiefs of police, comparisons are also made by Canadians of police forces in other highly respected countries. It is difficult to compare, however, a police force in a society such as the United States that is based on the concepts of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" with one based on the Canadian principles of "peace, order, and good government." The overriding factor in American society is the protection of freedom, and police forces are organized to be less effective than they could be to protect that freedom. The Canadian system, however, is not all peace and good order. It has its own complications, including a rising public interest in the crime rate and criminal matters, social and labour unrest, and reduced public sector resources. Beyond Canada, the world faces a threat from terrorism which in most cases is a police responsibility. Policing is made even more complicated in this country by the different levels of government and their conflicting agendas. Included are federal, provincial and municipal legislative responsibility, a national system of criminal law, and a provincial system of justice administration. This is overlapped with active federal and provincial bureaucratic participation in the justice policy fields. Ontario chiefs recognize that protecting freedom and human rights are important issues but so is the entire social system with its demands for efficiency, national standards, and cooperation among police forces. Current chiefs must also consider the working relationships with their policing services' boards and their demand for greater control of police operations.

Need for a Management Protocol

Guided by legislation and the employment contract of the town or municipality which

employs him or her, a chief of police is responsible for the administration and management of the police service and the conduct of the employees of that service. Police services' boards are, however, in a powerful position to influence the actions and activities of chiefs of police. Locke (1984) quoting Joseph D. McNamara, however, warns of looking on the chief of police as being the servant of the elected officials. This he states has led to some of the most scandalous periods in the history of law enforcement. It is more appropriate to look on the chiefs as being "subordinate to elected officials and duty bound to implement the lawful policies they promulgate," (Locke, 1984, p. 13). Chiefs, then, should be selected not to do the bidding of the elected or appointed officials, but to act according to the law. Once selected as chief, he or she should be provided with a written protocol stating the areas that are under the chief's control and those that are under the control of the police services' board. This document could be written as a joint project between the board and the chief. Without such a protocol, the chief may spend an inordinate amount of time in conflict with the board over administrative, operational, and safety issues.

An example that would illustrate this issue can be drawn from labour action at a strike. A police services' board could establish policy that the police service either protect the occurrence site from the beginning of the strike, or that the police do not attend unless there is a definite criminal act committed. However, once assigned to protect the site, it is the responsibility of the chief, or his or her designate, as to how the site will be protected. The chief, for example, must decide how many officers will be required and how they will be equipped. Too many officers may intimidate the strikers and lead to

unnecessary confrontation. Too few officers and they may be forced to use excessive force to protect themselves or otherwise fail to maintain order. These kind of issues should be settled well before there is an operational need for police intervention.

The chiefs I met work in very different environments from the normal duties of operational police officers and managers in the lower ranks. Their duties are not or should not be operational, particularly in the larger departments. Budgets, technology, policy development, public and internal relations, news briefs, and union negotiations are the central focus of their activities. The chief's role is wider, it is strategic, it involves the political, it involves different relationships with other law enforcement agencies and it involves active membership in police organizations. The position is also symbolic or, at least, has symbolic trappings, which most chiefs still consider important.

Limitations of the Study

The primary difficulty with this study is reflected in the different sized departments in Ontario. Although the departments were divided into three categories, small, medium, and large, for purposes of comparing the operational practices of the chiefs, it would have been more effective to study only one of the groupings. In this case, all the chiefs in either the medium or large departments, for example, could have been interviewed. By including all the departments, as it was, the study could have been redesigned as a document to make a comparison among the three groups. The significant differences in the three groupings would have made an interesting comparative study. Adjustments were made to the present study to note many of the differences, however, it was a necessary afterthought. In many cases, the chiefs in the smaller departments function

very much like station, unit, or detachment commanders in the larger departments with development needs in the senior management category, rather than at the executive level which in most cases, can be met through the present police and community college systems. Since it is expected that most of the smaller forces will be amalgamated with the larger ones, chief of police development programs in the smaller forces will be a non-issue.

Chiefs of Police as a Subject of Research

As subjects for research, particularly as subjects of doctoral dissertations, chiefs of police who are not white males seem to be of some interest. "The black police chief" in the United States has been a subject of a few studies (Fisher-Stewart, 1993). The majority of Ontario chiefs of police do not fall into this category and, therefore, have not been the focus of study. However, there is a growing literature, in the private press, pertaining to the skills needed to be a chief of police, and duties and the related responsibilities of the position. Chiefs of police, themselves, appear to be interested in research projects pertaining to their positions and to recommendations for better development activities. The Police Executive Research Forum, in Washington, DC, is conducting research with chiefs of police and other senior officers into topics directly related to police management and leadership.

Future Research

From this study, it is apparent that both police culture and changing values are important considerations in assessing differences in the role of a person who is promoted through the ranks from constable to chief of police. An interesting study, and a further

contribution to the findings of this study, could be conducted with a focus on police culture and values of operational police officers compared to those of chiefs of police. The present culture and values of operational police officers appears to reflect the lack of earlier, more philosophical, and theoretical aspects of police training. If police officers had a more comprehensive understanding of the theoretical aspects of policing earlier in their careers, they might have a better understanding of the overall goals and objectives of the police service, and the corresponding duties and obligations of the chief of police. This would probably lead to a more effective organization with members working in harmony; all moving in the same direction, with reduced levels of conflict and stress.

An additional study might relate to the police interest in education outside of the police system. The trend for police officers to increase their formal levels of education after joining a police service raises the following questions. Is it to improve their promotional opportunities within the police service, or to improve their prospects in other employment areas? If it is the latter, then funded police development programs must be examined to ensure that the primary focus is on improving police performance. At the same time, it seems advantageous when police officers move on to successful careers in other fields. Police learnings and work experience applied to other careers, in government and in business, would be a valuable study, the results of which would be useful to police officers planning second careers. They would be better able to market their experience and increase their prospects for a successful job search, which could possibly go beyond employment in the security field.

Whether police officers are "professionals" or "craftsmen" remains one of the important unanswered questions. If they are not professionals, in the full meaning of the category, then there are two further issues. First, should they be professionals within a democratic system of government, or should they be subservient to civilian control? If they should be professionals; what is required to raise them to this status? These questions relate back to formal levels of education. Should training for police officers end at the college level, or should they be trained as professionals within the university system? Should there be direct entry to the police service for senior officers — either as executives, or into an officer training plan — or should all police personnel continue to start their careers as constables? The police service provides a fertile area for further research.

Benefits and Assessments

The material presented in this thesis should benefit police officers, trainers, and members of police services' boards who require a better understanding of the duties, responsibilities, characteristics, knowledge levels, leadership, and skills necessary to be an efficient, effective chief of police. Chiefs of police and "would-be" chiefs with an interest in how to prepare for the role or, if an incumbent, how to improve performance should find support for improved executive development programs. It would appear that much of their past development has depended on what they learned during years of police service. Future chiefs seem to be following the same types of career paths as current chiefs with the possible addition, for some of them, of an extra emphasis on obtaining a higher level of formal education. Additional adjustments to the career planning or streaming system may be necessary if future chiefs are to be adequately prepared to lead

and administer even more complex and possibly larger police organizations.

To command the larger police forces, chiefs of police will need wider development programs than those currently provided through the present police systems. Formal education to the graduate level should be the minimum standard and secondments to private sector agencies should be seen as highly desirable, if not mandatory. Leadership assessments, with appropriate recommendation for development, should be provided to all senior officers together with opportunities to correct any apparent weaknesses or knowledge gaps. Senior officers should not be taking courses in which they have considerable expertise; a current problem. General courses such as the Executive Development Course mix students with widely varied backgrounds, levels of education, and previous police management training. For many students the material covered is a repeat of past courses, or at the wrong level. EDC and other general courses should be replaced with programs with more options. Improving police college programs and developing programs at the graduate level, should increase the pool of qualified chiefs of police. For future chiefs, graduate studies may become a critical requirement.

A Masters' Program in Police Studies

As a Canada-wide issue, one of the universities that offers an executive level masters' program in business and/or public administration could encourage senior police officers to enroll. Either of these programs could focus on security studies for senior executives in the public safety fields — corrections, the courts, fire service, military and private security agencies — at a reasonable cost.

In addition to an enhanced masters' program, several of the most promising senior officers, who are being considered for promotion to chief of police of the larger forces, should attend an executive course such as the one at Bramshill in England, or another major government strategic management course. The Bramshill course would bring future chiefs into contact with other like-minded officers from around the world, and teach them to focus on strategic issues with an understanding of the relationship factors in decision-making. Decisions made pertaining to one program often have linkages or otherwise affect many other programs. Strategic management and understanding decision-making relationships is seeing the "big picture" in leadership, which is missing from the current police college system and may be one of the keys to police executive development — possibly, to the development of executives in general.

Career Streaming

Senior officers selected to attend one of these programs should also have a career streaming package from their employer that includes assignments to the three major fields within the police service, and/or a year of work experience outside the police service. The educational package should include a comprehensive reading program, including ethics, legal theory, leadership, government, administrative principles and practices. Where required, this package should also include instruction on personal computers, public speaking, effective writing and any of the subjects identified in the senior leadership section of A Police Learning System for Ontario (see p. 48) and the Ontario Association of Police Services' Boards promotional manual (see p. 118-119). Each police officer, in a career streaming program should have the assistance of a career

planning officer and be encouraged to work with a mentor — preferably from outside their own organization. Regardless of the total number of police forces that the government review determines Ontario needs, this program should apply to a pool of potential chiefs for each department that has five hundred or more employees. It should be optional for departments with less than five hundred employees.

The product of this system should be a pool of police officers, who have the experience and capabilities, to provide high quality leadership to Ontario's police services. They should have the skills, abilities, and confidence levels to function effectively with executives outside the police system. Police officers who are well prepared for an executive role — a role that is not dependent on being part of the police fraternity — may find even greater job satisfaction and benefit from knowing what is required to be a chief of police and how to prepare for the role. Communities, through the police services' boards, will benefit in that they will have this larger and better prepared pool of senior police officers from which to select their future chiefs. Police officers and other members of the service will have the leadership they require.

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Ontario Provincial Police
General Headquarters
90 Harbour Street
Toronto, Ontario
M7A 2S1
March, 1995.

telephone (416) 000-0000
FAX (416) 000-0000

To: Chief :
Police Service

RE: DOCTOR OF EDUCATION (Ed. D.) PROGRAMME: THESIS TOPIC
LEARNING AND THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE POLICE EXECUTIVE

I am a doctoral candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (O.I.S.E.) University of Toronto, and a member of the Ontario Provincial Police. As a requirement of the degree, I am conducting a research project that pertains to the historical developmental opportunities police officers in Ontario receive as they progress through the ranks from probationary constable to chief of police or commissioner, and to identify the preferred career path and educational program for those who are on a career track to this chief executive position.

The first stage of my research is to establish the career patterns and training backgrounds of people serving as police chiefs in Ontario. The enclosed survey form has been designed for this purpose.

The second stage of my research will be to conduct interviews with approximately eight to fifteen police chiefs who have a combination of different career paths and are from different structures and sizes of policing services. I will request the assistance from these people once I have the material from the first stage of the study.

It is not my intention to identify any person by name or department in my final report. The returned survey forms will be kept in a secure container when not in use and will only be used by me for the purposes of this study. Once I have a provincial master list completed, the forms will be shredded.

My thesis will be made available to the professors at the University of Toronto who compose my thesis committee, and once accepted, it will become a public document placed in the university library system. Information from the study will be made available to the chief executive officers taking part in the study and to the policing community, on request, for purposes of executive development within the police service(s). Parts of the study may later be published as a journal article.

This study should be of value to people planning their police careers and for those responsible for developing senior police executive courses and therefore, should benefit the police community in general.

Would you please assist me with this project, complete the enclosed survey and return it to me in the enclosed return addressed, stamped envelope as soon as possible.

Thank you for your assistance.

Yours truly,

Ken Turriff
Superintendent

I agree to take part in this study on the condition that I may withdraw at any time.

Name: _____

Organization: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

ONTARIO POLICE CHIEFS
Career Profile Survey

Chief
Police Service

Please return to:
Superintendent. Ken Turriff,
Ontario Provincial Police,
90 Harbour Street,
Toronto, Ontario.
M7A 2S1

Please complete or check the appropriate boxes

Police service

Year you first became a sworn police officer 19 ____
Year you joined your present police service (____ as above) or 19 ____
Year you were appointed Chief of Police 19 ____
Year you were appointed Chief of Police of your present service (____ as above) or 19 ____

Ranks held

Probationary Constable Constable Corporal Sergeant
 Staff Sergeant Detective Sergeant Traffic Sergeant
 Identification Sergeant
 Other Sergeant Rank(s) name _____

Inspector Detective Inspector Staff Inspector
 Other Inspector Rank(s) name _____
 Superintendent Staff Superintendent Chief Superintendent
 Assistant Commissioner Deputy Commissioner Deputy Chief

Chief of Police Commissioner

Education Level

Education when first sworn as a police officer: grade, diploma, or degree _____

Education level when appointed chief of police (___ as above) or _____

Police Related Courses Completed:

- ___ Recruit Training (in Ontario)
- ___ Recruit Training (other province) name _____
- ___ Senior Police Administration Course (SPAC)
- ___ Executive Development Course (EDC)
- ___ Ontario Police College Level I (formally Junior Command)
- ___ Ontario Police College Level II (formally Intermediate Command)
- ___ Ontario Police College Level III (formally Senior Command)
- ___ Internal: Police Supervisors Course
- ___ Internal: Sergeant Development Course
- ___ Internal: Inspector Development Course
- ___ Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) National Academy Program
- ___ Bramshill (UK) ___ Junior ___ Intermediate ___ Senior Command
- ___ Career Assignment Program (CAP) in Ottawa
- ___ National Defence College

Other Management Courses _____

Secondments to Other Organizations _____

Career Path In each five year period check the area where you spend most of your time. If in more than one area in any period, select the two where the most time was spent. *

<u>1955-60</u>	<u>1961-65</u>	<u>1966-70</u>	<u>1971-75</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> operations	<input type="checkbox"/> operations	<input type="checkbox"/> operations	<input type="checkbox"/> operations
<input type="checkbox"/> investigations	<input type="checkbox"/> investigations	<input type="checkbox"/> investigations	<input type="checkbox"/> investigations
<input type="checkbox"/> marine	<input type="checkbox"/> marine	<input type="checkbox"/> marine	<input type="checkbox"/> marine
<input type="checkbox"/> training	<input type="checkbox"/> training	<input type="checkbox"/> training	<input type="checkbox"/> training
<input type="checkbox"/> comm. services	<input type="checkbox"/> comm. services	<input type="checkbox"/> comm. Services	<input type="checkbox"/> comm. Services
<input type="checkbox"/> youth bureau	<input type="checkbox"/> youth bureau	<input type="checkbox"/> youth bureau	<input type="checkbox"/> youth bureau
<input type="checkbox"/> administration	<input type="checkbox"/> administration	<input type="checkbox"/> administration	<input type="checkbox"/> administration
<input type="checkbox"/> communications	<input type="checkbox"/> communications	<input type="checkbox"/> communications	<input type="checkbox"/> communications
<input type="checkbox"/> chief of police	<input type="checkbox"/> chief of police	<input type="checkbox"/> chief of police	<input type="checkbox"/> chief of police
<u>1976-80</u>	<u>1981-85</u>	<u>1986-90</u>	<u>1991-95</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> operations	<input type="checkbox"/> operations	<input type="checkbox"/> operations	<input type="checkbox"/> operations
<input type="checkbox"/> investigations	<input type="checkbox"/> investigations	<input type="checkbox"/> investigations	<input type="checkbox"/> investigations
<input type="checkbox"/> marine	<input type="checkbox"/> marine	<input type="checkbox"/> marine	<input type="checkbox"/> marine
<input type="checkbox"/> training	<input type="checkbox"/> training	<input type="checkbox"/> training	<input type="checkbox"/> training
<input type="checkbox"/> comm. services	<input type="checkbox"/> comm. services	<input type="checkbox"/> comm. Services	<input type="checkbox"/> comm. Services
<input type="checkbox"/> youth bureau	<input type="checkbox"/> youth bureau	<input type="checkbox"/> youth bureau	<input type="checkbox"/> youth bureau
<input type="checkbox"/> administration	<input type="checkbox"/> administration	<input type="checkbox"/> administration	<input type="checkbox"/> administration
<input type="checkbox"/> communications	<input type="checkbox"/> communications	<input type="checkbox"/> communications	<input type="checkbox"/> communications
<input type="checkbox"/> chief of police	<input type="checkbox"/> chief of police	<input type="checkbox"/> chief of police	<input type="checkbox"/> chief of police

- operations includes traffic, general and foot patrol
- * investigations means full time role as criminal investigator in a special branch such as CIB, ARB, etc
- marine includes snow vehicle duties in the winter
- * training includes full time in-service trainer and duties at a police college
- * community service includes news bureau
- * youth bureau, includes juvenile crime and missing children
- administration includes unit administration and such activities as planning and research, and budget
- * communications includes radio duty and records

64 S Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
CODE
February 15, 1996

Tel. (416) 000-0000

Chief
Police Service

Dear Chief:

RE: Thesis Topic: Learning and the Changing Role:
From Patrol Officer to Chief Executive Officer

Last year I sent a survey form to all chiefs of police in Ontario in support of a research project I am conducting towards fulfilling the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Education, in the Department of Education, at the University of Toronto. The focus of this research project pertains to the historical developmental opportunities police officers in Ontario receive as they progress through the ranks from probationary constable to chief of police or commissioner, and to identify the preferred career path and educational program for those who are on a career track to this chief executive position.

I have conducted a review of the literature pertaining to this subject and an analysis of the responses from the chiefs. The next stage is to conduct interviews with a number of chiefs from different sizes and structured departments in different parts of Ontario.

The purpose of this letter is to request that you take part in the interview stage. I will give you a copy of the questions before the interview and you may skip any questions that you wish. The information collected is being kept confidential and in a locked cabinet when not in use. None of the subjects being interviewed or their departments will be identified by name in the final document. A summary of the thesis findings will be made available to all participants who request one.

Further to our telephone conversation I will come to your office on ___ to conduct the interview. Would you please sign the bottom of this document and return it to me at the time of the interview.

Yours truly,

Ken Turriff
Chief Superintendent
Ontario Provincial Police (retired)

I have read the letter from Ken Turriff pertaining to the research project he is conducting towards a Doctor of Education Degree at the University of Toronto. I agree to take part as he requests. I understand that I may withdraw at any time and all records made of our conversation up to that time will be destroyed.

Signature_____

Department: Police Service

Date: March 1996

Questions
Chiefs of Police

1. Briefly tell me about your background before you joined the police service.
2. What did your father do for a living? (Had he been in the police service or military?)
3. What were your thoughts on going to college, or university, before you joined the police service. (Did your parents encourage you to go to college or university?)
4. Why did you join the police service?
5. When did you seriously start thinking about becoming a chief of police?
6. How did you become a chief of police? (Did you have a plan?)
7. Where there any outside factors that helped you become a chief of police?
8. Before you became chief of police, did you think about what you were going to do differently with your department, once you became chief?
9. In your opinion, what are the most important characteristics and skills of a chief of police?
10. What are the three most important duties of a chief of police?
11. As chief, what do you spend most of your time doing?
12. The style of management and discipline in police forces has been said to have relaxed in recent years. Is a good thing or not? (Are there any benefits or problems.)

13. Is the role of police chief changing? (How?)
14. What past career experiences are most helpful to you now that you are a chief of police?
15. What value, if any, have the supervisor and management courses, you have taken at one or more of the police colleges, been to you in your position as chief of police?
16. What other courses, if any, have you taken that are of value to you as chief of police? (How have they been of value?)
17. Have you tried to implement a specific management program into your department? (total quality management, management by objectives, re-engineering)
18. What if anything, would you do differently in your police career if you had known, when you were a constable, that one day you would be chief of police?
19. Are there any career experiences or training that you wish you had had before you became chief of police?
20. What in your opinion, are the preferred career paths, education, and training programs for future chiefs of police?
21. Finally, is there anything you would like to say about this interview or other comments you would like to make?

Police Ranks and Markings

Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Commissioner Officers

Commissioner: a crown, a star, and a crossed sword and baton
 Deputy Commissioner: a crown, and a crossed sword and baton
 Assistant Commissioner: a crown, and three stars in a cluster
 Chief Superintendent: a crown, and two stars
 Superintendent: a crown, and one star
 Inspector: a crown

Non-Commissioned Officers

Corps Sergeant Major: Coat of Arms of Canada (metal and cloth)
 Staff Sergeant Major: a crown emblazoned with maple leaves
 Sergeant Major: four chevrons, points down, surmounted by a crown
 Staff Sergeant: four chevrons, points up
 Sergeant: three chevrons, points down, surmounted by a crown
 Corporal: two chevrons, points down
 Constable: no markings

Ontario Provincial Police

Commissioned Officers

Commissioner: a crown, a star, and crossed tip staves
 Deputy Commissioner: a crown, and crossed tip staves
 Chief Superintendent: a crown, and two stars
 Superintendent: a crown, and one star
 Inspector: a crown

Non-Commissioned Officers

Sergeant Major: Coat of Arms of Ontario
 Staff Sergeant: three chevrons, points down, surmounted by a crown
 Traffic Staff Sergeant: three chevrons, points down, T and crown
 Identification Staff Sergeant: no markings
 Sergeant: three chevrons, points down
 Senior Constable: half chevron with crown within a circle
 Provincial Constable: no markings

* The prefix "detective" is used with all OPP ranks up to and including chief superintendent, if approved, for members engaged as full time investigators.

City, Municipal and Regional Police

Senior Officers

Chief of Police: a crown, and three maple leaves in a cluster or triangle

Deputy Chief of Police: a crown, and two maple leaves side by side

Staff Superintendent: a crown, and a maple leaf

Superintendent: a crown

Staff Inspector: three maple leaves in a line

Inspector: two maple leaves

Other Ranks

Staff Sergeant: three chevrons, points down, surmounted by a crown

Sergeant and Patrol Sergeant: three chevrons, points down

Constable: no rank markings

* The prefix "detective" may be assigned to members of constable and sergeant rank who are assigned as full time investigators

Each police entity has some distinctive feature in the design of its uniforms. The RCMP has a yellow hat band and stripe on the trouser legs. The OPP has the same design feature in light blue and other departments generally use red. There are additional differences in dress uniforms. Each department has its own distinctive shoulder badge.

History of Police Ranks

Police ranks have their roots in British and European history with the term "constable" probably being the oldest police rank still in use. Ranks such as corporal, sergeant, staff sergeant and sergeant major are based on military ranks. Ranks for senior officers such as inspector, superintendent, chief constable or chief of police, and commissioner come from the British police system. Some police forces, particularly the state police in the United States, use military ranks such as lieutenant, captain, major and colonel for senior officers as well. The head of a state force might hold the military rank of colonel and as head of the force be referred to as superintendent. The police service in Quebec uses both military ranks up to the rank of captain and more continental ranks for senior officers above the rank of captain. The head of the Quebec Police Force, for example is a Director General. The heads of Quebec municipal police forces are called "director" and sometimes referred to as "chief," (Bunyard, 1978; Higley, 1984).

The police rank structure is not a standard system throughout Canada. In Ontario, there are three basic rank structures, one for the RCMP, one each for the OPP and the municipal police services. The rank structures for the OPP and municipal services are established by legislation and are set-out in PSA. Rank markings are worn either on an epaulette on the member's shoulder or the sleeve of a jacket or shirt. See the chart on pages 256-257 for a description of rank markings (O.P.P. Service Etiquette Manual, 1995).

Police officers are referred to as "members" of the police service, or sworn officers or uniformed officers. The term "officer" alone should only be used for members of

inspector rank and above, as it is more appropriate to refer to members below this level by their specific rank. However, although not correct, the term "officer" is in common use in the public domain for all police members regardless of rank. The term "cop" is also in common use, sometimes in a derogatory fashion. Tradition suggests that it either stands for "constable on patrol" or is a short form for "copper," from the copper buttons worn on early police uniforms in England. In England, police members are still referred to as "coppers." Employees of a police service who are not police officers are also referred to as "members" of the police service or as "civilians" or "civilian members."

Queen's Commission

In Canada some police officers are awarded a "Queen's Commission" as a symbol of their position of authority within the police service. Authority to award a Queen's Commission to members of the OPP is set-out in the Police Services Act. Throughout the rest of Canada, a Queen's Commission may be awarded to members of a police service of inspector rank and above who are employees of the Crown; that is to civil and public servants who are employees of the Federal or a provincial government. In addition to the OPP, the RCMP, The Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, and the Canadian Forces award a Queen's Commission to their officers.

According to the OPP's Service Etiquette Manual (1995), the main difference between an officer holding a Queen's Commission and his or her comrades in the ranks is that an officer is personally responsible to the Queen, the Head of State, and thereby their country by virtue of holding the Queen's Commission for the good name and

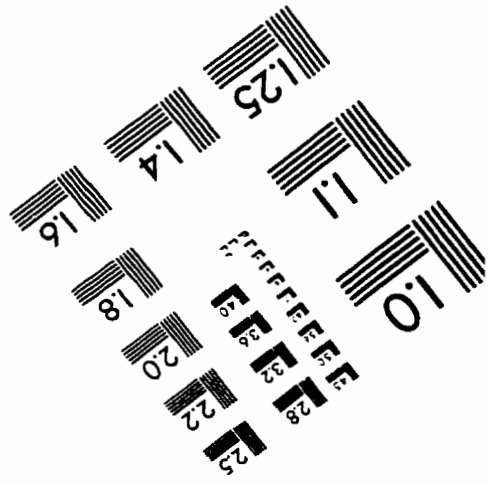
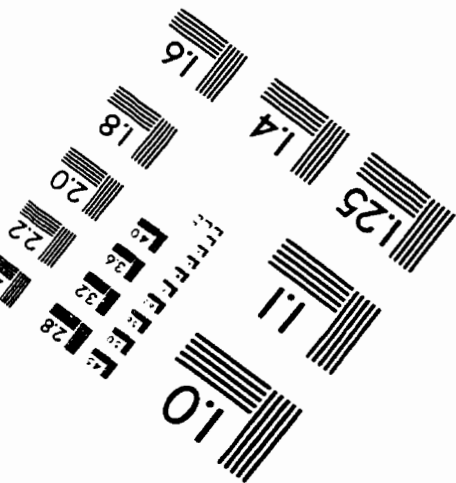
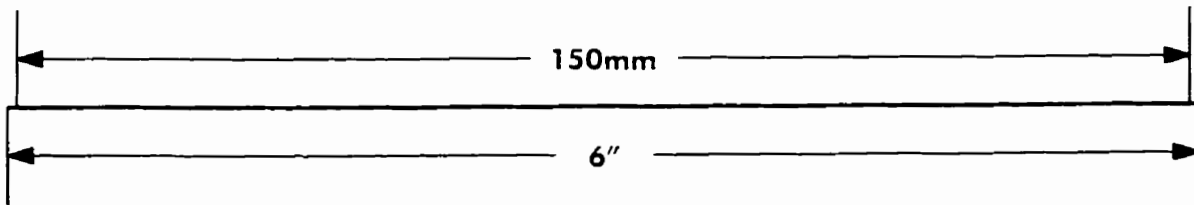
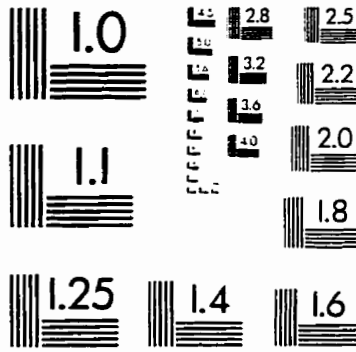
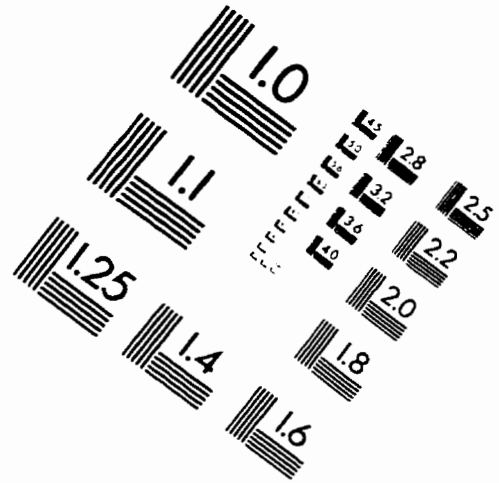
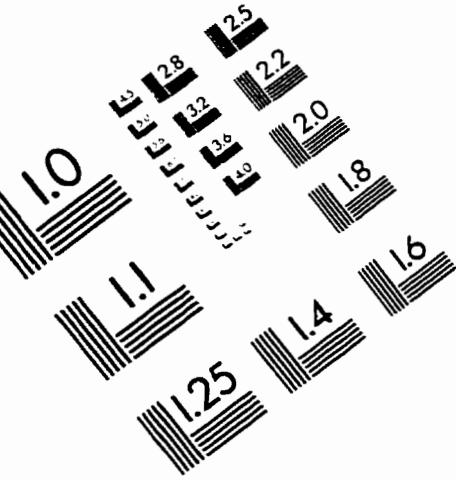
effectiveness of the Service. The Queen's Commission is simply this:

it is the Queen's authority delegated to selected persons, thus creating them officers so that they can exercise command over the service on the Queen's behalf (OPP Service Etiquette Manual, 1995, p.3).

Municipal police officers are not considered employees of the Crown and, therefore, are not awarded a Queen's Commission. Municipal officers of inspector rank and above are, however, referred to as "senior officers" and for all intents and purposes are treated, dressed, and are expected to act as commissioned officers.

END

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
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