Perspectives of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities Across Canada, 1996 and 2007

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2016

Introduction

       This paper focuses on the perspectives and work experiences of officers policing in Aboriginal communities in Canada in 1996 and 2007. It is based on two separate nation-wide surveys, the first in 1995-1996 by Clairmont and Murphy at the Atlantic Institute of Criminology and the second a nation-wide assessment of policing in Aboriginal communities by Alderson-Gill Associates in 2006-2007 (cited elsewhere on this web site). The latter was a more comprehensive assessment whereas the former exclusively dealt with the views and work of the officers. In the Alderson-Gill assessment essentially the same measures were used to determine officers' views and work roles as in the 1995-1996 research. Clairmont was also a co-author of the 2006-2007 report (the lead role was Richard Gill and Clairmont and Redmond were co-authors) and had responsibility especially for developing the research instruments used in obtaining the officers' data, describing and analyzing the comparative data, and preparing its first draft for the 2007 report. In dealing exclusively here with officers' perspectives and work experiences it is hoped that such a focus would highlight continuities and change in how officers see their policing impacting on the Aboriginal communities, thereby facilitating policy assessments and furthering academic research.

Choosing a Police Career

There was considerable similarity between the 1996 and 2007 samples with respect to the reasons that officers acknowledged in their wanting to become a police officer. The 1996 survey asked respondents to indicate the importance of seven factors in their decision to become police officers on a three-point scale. The 2007 survey included an additional four categories, and also included an 'other' category for a write-in response. The results of the comparable seven variables, compared across the two surveys, are summarized in the table below. Considering first the overall responses, the similarity is striking as the percentage giving the response "very important" for each was quite close to identical, and the rank order of the seven variables considered was exactly identical. "Always wanting to be a police officer" was indicated as very important for roughly 56% of respondents in each time period. A secure, well-paid job and the opportunity to travel and expand one's experience were the next cited very important motivating factors, provided by 41% and 35% of the 1996 sample and 46% and 39% of the 2007 sample. The chance to make a difference in effecting Aboriginal justice was cited as very important by approximately 30% of both samples and the encouragement of family and friends by roughly 22%. The same two considerations received the lowest "very important" rating in both periods, namely "it was the best job available" cited by 13% in both samples and "a way to get respect" cited as very important by 9% in 1996 and 5% in 2007. Additionally, in 1996, 43% of all the respondents reported that they had older relatives or in-laws who were police officers and in 2007, the overall rate was a quite similar 46%. .

The table also depicts the 1996-2007 variation by police service. Again the major pattern is continuity over time in response preferences. Among the RCMP there were no differences greater than ten percentage points in the 1996 to 2007 "very important" responses. Within that context there was a tendency for the 2007 responses to be greater for "a well-paid job" and "opportunities for travel" and less for impacting Aboriginal justice and the encouragement of family and friends. Perhaps this sub-pattern within the larger pattern of continuity can be explained in terms of the larger percentage of non-

Aboriginal officers constituting the 2007 RCMP sample. Within the other police services, the similarity of the 1996 and 2007 responses is even more evident save with respect to the percentage indicating that the encouragement of family and friends was very important; in 1996 51% gave that response while in 2007 only 20% did so, a quite dramatic decrease. In both time periods, RCMP officers more frequently cited as very important the opportunity to travel (42% in 1996 and 50% in 2007 compared to 34% and 28% among the other police services' respondents; this difference is quite appropriate given that the RCMP is a national police body committed to geography mobility of its officers.

Decision to become a police officer, 1996 & 2007

Motivating factors	1996 %				2007 %			
	1996 N	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important	2007 N	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Overall								
Family/Friends Encouraged	415	23	29	48	307	21	36	43
Way of Getting Respect*	395	9	19	72	302	5	22	73
Secure, well-paid job	418	41	38	21	306	46	39	15
Opportunity to Travel	416	35	36	29	303	39	35	26
Always wanted to	406	55	29	16	301	57	26	17
Change Aboriginal Justice	397	30	39	31	299	29	40	31
Best Job available	406	14	31	55	303	13	22	65
RCMP								
Family/Friends Encouraged	123	31	27	42	151	22	31	47
Way of Getting Respect*	118	11	23	66	149	4	20	76
Secure, well-paid job	123	39	38	23	152	48	40	12
Opportunity to Travel	123	42	38	20	150	50	35	15
Always wanted to	119	56	28	16	150	55	28	17
Change Aboriginal Justice	116	37	36	27	150	27	39	34
Best Job available	118	15	30	55	151	9	17	74
Other Police Services								
Family/Friends Encouraged	240	51	28	20	156	20	42	38
Way of Getting Respect*	224	8	17	75	153	6	25	69
Secure, well-paid job	244	42	39	19	154	45	37	17
Opportunity to Travel	241	34	35	31	153	28	35	37
Always wanted to	237	56	29	15	151	59	23	18
Change Aboriginal Justice	231	26	39	35	150	32	41	27
Best Job available	236	14	31	55	152	18	26	56

Source: *First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007*

There were four additional items added in 2007 to the list for assessments by the police officers. "Wanting to do a job that helps people" was by far the most significant motivating factor cited of these four and also the other items noted above. 87% of RCMP respondents and 78% of Other Police Service respondents reported that this consideration was 'very important' in their decision. "Wanting to promote self-government" was not much of a motivating factor for either group, with 79% of RCMP and 67% of Other Police Service respondents indicating that this was 'not important' in their decision to join the police service. The officers in the RCMP and Other Polices Services gave the motivating factor "I had a friend/family member who was a police officer" the same level of significance – roughly 22% in each grouping identified this as a very important consideration. Finally, roughly 30% in each grouping reported as very important the factor "I enjoyed positive relationships with local police who encouraged me to apply". In sum, then, as in the case of the items found in both the 1996 and 2007 surveys, these four items were of the same relative importance for the RCMP and Other Police Services samples.

Further analyses of the 2007 data

In order to explore officers' motivations for becoming a police officer, the items mentioned above (i.e., how important were the following reasons in your decision to become a police officer) were sorted by the usual statistical techniques (factor analyses) into three indexes. The indexes were all constituted of multiple items and the index scores were then divided into scores of low and high for purposes of analyses. The three indexes were (a) practical reasons (4 items such as "I was seeking a secure well-paid job"); (b) social reasons (3 items such as "My family and friends encouraged me to join"), and (c) ideological reasons (3 items such as such as "I wanted to improve the way the justice system operates in Aboriginal communities"). There was no statistically significant difference between the RCMP and SA officers with respect to the high scores on any of the three indexes. However, the marginally significant pattern was for the

RCMP members to more frequently have high scores on the "practical reasons emphasized" index (47% to 40%) while the SA officers more frequently had high scores on the indexes emphasizing social reasons (51% to 42%) or ideological reasons (42% to 32%). Consistent with this finding, within the RCMP grouping the above trends were duplicated for the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers. The latter tended to have higher scores for practical reasons (50% to 44%) but the Aboriginal officers in the RCMP sample were significantly more likely to have higher scores for social reasons (49% to 30, significant at <.03 as shown in the table below) and marginally significant for ideological reasons (38% to 25%, significant at <.07).

Crosstab

			Aboriginal Identity		
			aborg	Nonaborg	Total
Collapsed score for social reasons	Low	Count	42	41	83
		% within New abid	51.2%	69.5%	58.9%
	High	Count	40	18	58
		% within New abid	48.8%	30.5%	41.1%
Total		Count	82	59	141
		% within New abid	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

There was a similar pattern of responses between officers of the RCMP and the Other Police Services when asked how they were recruited. The number one factor was through contact with a family member or friend - overall (33% of the sample) and for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers (34% and 28% respectively). Other reasons varied over a range of factors with recruitment by a member of the police force and self-initiative being the most common. Also, RCMP and Other Police Services officers were essentially equally likely to report that they had an older close relative who had been or currently is a police officer or is working in other law enforcement capacity; 44% of RCMP respondents said yes and 47% of the SA officers did likewise. Within the RCMP grouping, the most significance difference was that the Aboriginal officers were roughly twice as likely (42% to 22%) to report that the chief factor in their recruitment was "an RCMP officer", suggesting that personal contact and encouragement by an RCMP

member who was not a family members or close friend has been important in recruitment of Aboriginal members.

In sum, then, in responding to a number of suggested possibilities about why they decided to become police officers, the respondents in both 1996 and 2007 emphasized the same factors as "very important" and ranked the different possibilities exactly the same. The top three factors were, in rank order, "always wanted to be a police officer", "a secure well-paid job", and "the opportunity to travel and expand my experience". There was the same high level of continuity between the two time periods by RCMP and Other Police Service affiliation. But there was some modest variation; the RCMP respondents emphasized more in 2007 than 1996 the factors of a secure job and opportunity to expand one's horizons and less the social or ideological reasons, while the members of the Other Police Services gave essentially the same responses as the Other Police Service members in 1996 with the exception of being notably less likely to cite the impact of family members and friends as very important. Examining just the 2007 data the major pattern was consensus among all the possible groupings of officers but there was some modest variation – here the RCMP and non-Aboriginal officers were more likely to cite practical reasons for their decision while members of the Other Police Services and Aboriginal members of the RCMP were more likely to cite social and ideological considerations as very important in their deciding to become a police office. In terms of how they were recruited, the number one mechanism for the sample as a whole and for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers was through contacts with and suggestions from family members and friends. For Aboriginal members of the RCMP the most important factor in their recruitment was self-reported to be contact with and encouragement from an RCMP member. Interestingly, in a separate question, roughly 45% of both RCMP and Other Police Services respondents indicated that they had an older close relative who was either a police officer or employed in the law enforcement area. Within the RCMP, the comparable percentages for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers were 49% and 37%.

Training

In 1996, survey respondents were asked if they had received the regular recruit training for their police organization. Overall, 83% of 1996 respondents indicated that they had. Such training was significantly higher among RCMP respondents, 95% of whom had received this training, compared to 85% of Other Police Service and less than half of the Band Constable respondents. In comparison, the 2007 survey asked respondents whether or not they had received any recruit training, either from their police organization or elsewhere, before their first assignment. Similar to the findings in 1996, 84% of overall respondents, with 92% of RCMP officers and 78% of Other Police Service respondents, indicated that they had received this training. This is a slight decrease for both RCMP and Other respondents; however, virtually all of those 2007 respondents who had not received training before their first assignment indicated that they had received this training at a later date. Thus, the rate of regularly-trained officers in 2007 is actually nearer 94%, which represents an overall increase.

With regard to special training, the 2007 survey's results are not directly comparable to the 1996 survey, although there is some common ground. In 1996, 70% of respondents reported receiving special training, and this number was higher for Other Police Service respondents, at 74%, than it was for RCMP respondents, at 65%. In the 2007 survey, respondents were asked to identify which specific special training they had received; in virtually all categories, the RCMP had training rates equal to or better than those found in Other Police Service respondents, with the RCMP significantly outpacing the Other respondents in many categories such as public safety, general crime investigation, use of less lethal equipment (e.g., taser), water transport, computer literacy, public speaking, leadership training, coaching and mentoring, aboriginal cultural training, community and problem solving, first aid, decision-making, radar and breathalyzer training (see the table below). This pattern could suggest that, between 1996 and 2007, RCMP had significantly increased its special training efforts among officers policing Aboriginal areas, while other police services had not done so, or at least not to the same degree. Areas where Other Police Service respondents responded at an equal or higher percentage than RCMP are highlighted in bold type. It seems clear that while respondents from the RCMP and Other Police Services were similar in terms of receiving basic recruit level training and upgrades in basic policing duties, the RCMP members have received

much more training in the requisites for a more elaborated policing role, something which might well be related to the greater resources available to that policing service.

Within the RCMP of the 40 or so items of extra-recruit training asked about, there were only 8 where there was a significant difference between the Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal members. In three instances more Aboriginal members reported the training, namely water transport (51% to 35%), Aboriginal cultural training (73% to 59%) and radar (87% to 75%). In the other five, more non-Aboriginal members reported the training; these were major crimes (25% to 14%), disclosure (55% to 35%), testifying (57% to 35%), working with volunteers (38% to 20%), and explosives (10% to 0%). These overall modest differences appear to reflect the locations in which the officers were located.

Special Training received by force type, 2007*

Special Training Area	RCMP %	Other Police Service %	% Difference
Public Safety	67	49	18
Firearms Instructor	24	19	5
Basic Instructor/Facilitator	30	24	6
Investigation	69	54	15
Police Supervision	49	35	14
Surveillance Techniques	**16**	**17**	**1**
Water Transport	44	19	25
Leadership Training	51	28	23
Drug Investigation	34	27	7
Undercover Operations	10	6	4
Sexual Assault Investigation	53	42	11
Aboriginal cultural Training	68	32	36
Bike Patrol	11	8	3
Major Crime	**18**	**20**	**2**
Accident Investigation	49	39	10
Case Management	**19**	**19**	**0**
Forensic Interviewing	35	24	11
Counseling	22	15	7
Less Lethal Weapons	95	79	16
Other Use of Force Skills	80	66	14
Search Warrant	**38**	**38**	**0**
Report Writing	52	47	5
Disclosure	43	32	11
Testifying	44	43	1

Domestic Violence	69	58	11
Media Relations	30	23	7
Public Speaking	43	26	17
Coaching or Mentoring	58	27	31
Computer Literacy	38	24	14
An Aboriginal Language	**8**	**11**	**3**
Working with Volunteers	28	16	12
Community/Problem-Oriented Policing	58	30	28
Mentally disturbed/suicidal people	**45**	**50**	**5**
First Aid/CPR	95	86	9
Vehicle Theft	**15**	**16**	**1**
Fraud	18	17	1
Hostage Negotiations	**8**	**8**	**0**
Computer Crime	6	4	2
Forensic Identification	19	17	3
Explosives	**4**	**4**	**0**
Intelligence	30	15	15
Drug Abuse Prevention	33	24	9
Crime Prevention	37	31	6
Radar	82	64	18
Breath Alcohol Testing	71	42	29
Decision-Making	50	32	18
Problem Solving	51	35	16

Source: Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007
*Note: Valid (N) was different for each variable. No response set was missing more than 12% of possible respondents.

Training Adequacy 2007

Asked if they were given timely opportunities for retraining in required areas, the majority said 'Yes', with 74% of all respondents, 80% of RCMP and 69% of Other Police Service responding in the affirmative. While the central pattern is clearly consensus among the officers that timely opportunities for upgrading their skills has been provided, there is some variation, some disparity between training available to RCMP officers and training available to Other Police Service officers. This secondary pattern is further highlighted by data on areas where officers reported that they require further training (outlined in the following table). There it can be seen that Other Police Service respondents were more likely to hold that they required a lot more training in any given

area of police work, and particularly in the areas of criminal investigation, drug investigation, and dealing with sexual assault cases.

The patterns found within the RCMP are interesting. It is important to note that there was no significant difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members in the percentage in the management rank but Aboriginal respondents had more years in the RCMP service; only 39% had less than 10 years service whereas 70% of the non-Aboriginal members had less than 10 years with the RCMP. However, the Aboriginal members were consistently more likely to hold that they required a lot more training in most of the areas asked about. In every case of a statistically significant difference (i.e., <.03 or lower) in the proportions holding that they required more training – 9 of the 17 areas or fields of police work – it was the Aboriginal officers not the non-Aboriginal officers who had the highest percentage - in criminal investigation (19% vs 5%), in dealing with gangs (38% vs 23%), in paperwork and case preparation (12% vs 2%), in domestic violence (24% vs 7%), in community policing (18% vs 5%), in sexual assault (26% vs 13%), in public speaking (24% vs 8%), in media relations (32% vs 10%), and in supervisory skills (34% vs 13%).

Do you require further training in the following areas: Respondents answering 'A lot' of training required. By force type, 2007

Special Training Area	RCMP %	Other Police Service %	% Difference
Criminal Investigation	13	47	34
Drug Investigation	38	65	27
Street Gangs/Organized Crime	31	39	8
Community Relations	18	31	13
Traditional Peacekeeping Techniques	23	29	6
Paperwork and Case Preparation	8	26	18
Dealing with Family Violence cases	17	36	19
Community Policing	12	28	16
Dealing with Sexual Assault cases	21	49	28
Mediation and Dispute Resolution	20	31	11
Vehicle accident investigation	13	27	14
Youth Programs	21	37	16
Public Speaking	17	23	6
Media Relations	22	25	3
Supervisory and management skills	25	43	18
Indian Act/Band by-Laws	31	34	3
Crime Prevention	14	33	19

Source: Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

Interestingly, however, roughly the same percentage of both RCMP and Other Police Service respondents affirmed that the training they had "received so far has been adequate for your police work in an Aboriginal community". Among the RCMP respondents, 21% considered the training very adequate and another 35% said it was adequate; among the members from Other Police Services, the respective percentages were 25% and 45%. Indeed, as shown there was a slight tendency for the RCMP members to consider their training less adequate than respondents from the Other Police Service did. Perhaps, this incongruent pattern indicates that the RCMP officers work in a more demanding organizational milieu from the training and upgrading perspective. Within the RCMP, there was no difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members concerning whether the training they had received has been adequate for their police work in an Aboriginal community; in both cases about 55% of the officers held that it was either very adequate or adequate.

Respondents in the 2007 survey were also asked about their supervisory and mentoring opportunities. The majority of respondents, both RCMP and Other Police Service members indicated that they had such opportunities (see table below). Again, significant differences between RCMP respondents and Other Police Service respondents were observed, with RCMP respondents consistently showing greater opportunities and experiences, essentially about 75% compared to about 60%. Overall, respondents indicating that they did not have such opportunities exhibited no clear pattern when asked why they thought the opportunities had not been available. Within the RCMP there were no differences between Aboriginal members and non-Aboriginal members in reporting opportunities to supervise or to be mentored.

With regard to Learning Development Plans (LDPs), the RCMP respondents were more likely to report that they had such a plan in place (48% to 31% among the Other Police Service members). About half of all respondents (56% of RCMP and 49% of Other Police Service) agreed that their location (i.e., where they are policing) made implementing a LDP difficult. Respondents from both types of police service were similarly equivocal on the level of support that their organizations gave in implementing LDPs. 58% of RCMP and 52% of Other Police Service respondents said that there was either strong or moderate support for LDP implementation, while 42% and 48%, respectively, suggested that there was little or no support from the organization. Within the RCMP, there was a major difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers with respect to having an LDP in place; only 35% of the former indicated they had whereas 66% of the non-Aboriginal reported that they did. Despite this significant difference, about the same percentage in each grouping (53% and 54%) agreed that the police organization provide strong or moderate support for their developing LDPs.

Supervisory and Mentoring Opportunities. By police service type, 2007

	RCMP %	Other Police Service %	% Difference
Given Supervisory Opportunities (e.g., file reviews, performance assessments)	72	58	14
Opportunity to be Mentored	72	56	16
Opportunity to act as a Mentor	79	63	16
Have Learning Development plan in place	48	31	17

Source: Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

Overall, then, virtually all respondents in 2007 had received, before or after their first posting, the appropriate recruit training for their police service. In terms of extra-recruit training or upgrading, members of the RCMP and of the Other Police Services were similar in their reported training in the areas most relevant for basic policing duties but the RCMP respondents reported much more training in areas requisite for a more elaborated policing role. While the majority of RCMP and Other Police Service respondents considered that they had received timely opportunities for retraining in required areas, the RCMP members were most likely to make that claim. Members of the Other Police Services, on the other hand, were more likely to state that they required a lot more training in most areas of policing, especially sexual assaults, drugs and criminal investigation. Within the RCMP, despite on average having more years of service in the RCMP, the Aboriginal members were much more likely than non-Aboriginals to hold that they required a lot more training in the seventeen areas asked about.

Despite stated differences in terms of required training, there was no important difference, by police service affiliation or Aboriginal identity, with respect to the high percentage of respondents affirming that the training that they had received thus far has been adequate for their policing in an Aboriginal community. Opportunities for supervision and mentoring roles were claimed by about two-thirds of the sample. There were modest differences by police service (the RCMP members having the higher percentage) but no appreciable difference within the RCMP between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members. Learning Development Plans were more commonly reported by the RCMP respondents than those in the Other Police Services, and within the RCMP more so by non-Aboriginal than Aboriginal members. Despite the variation, there was no difference in the proportion of respondents, whether by police service affiliation or Aboriginal identity, considering that their police service provided strong or moderate support for the implementation of such plans.

ENVISAGING THE POLICE ROLE: 1996 and 2007

This section deals with respondents' views of the nature of police work and whether there have been significant changes since the 1996 survey. The data suggest that attitudes towards the role of police in society have remained relatively stable over the past decade. While some shifts have occurred – for example, 13% fewer respondents in 2007 believe that making an arrest is not an optimal solution – there is striking similarity between distributions in the overall data sets. The major difference appears to be a modest decline in the absolute percentage of officers who strongly agree that "spending time talking to ordinary citizens is good police work" and that "police should be involved in all community problems" or the modest increase in officers agreeing that "too much police work is wasted on dealing with less important problems of citizens". It is not clear whether this modest change reflected a focus more on basic policing than a community-oriented style in communities where resources have been stretched because of serious problems and great public expectations but in their written concluding comments a number of officers suggested such a viewpoint.

Table 6.1 – Envisaging Police Work – Overall Data, 1996 & 2007

	1996	%			2007	%		
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Overall								
Restrict activities to law enforcement and fighting crime	7	19	43	31	8	22	52	18
Making an arrest is not the best way to solve a problem	25	60	13	3	14	60	22	4
Spending time talking to citizens is good police work	74	25	1	1	53	45	1	1
Highest priority for police is what disturbs the community the most	24	58	17	1	23	55	20	2
Maintaining peace is as important as catching criminals	41	57	3	0	38	58	3	1
Police should be involved in all community problems	38	46	14	2	24	48	23	4
Enforcing the law is most important	11	45	41	3	11	46	40	3
Measure efficiency by detection and arrest rates	2	14	60	24	1	13	70	16
Too much police time is wasted on petty problems	6	26	56	12	10	30	49	11

Source: **First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007**

Comparing views of the RCMP and Other Police Services' respondents, the data show (see table below) similar stability in attitudes, and reflect well the major overall trend noted above. There were some notable fluctuations between the RCMP data sets. RCMP respondents accounted for most of the shift towards favouring arrest as a problem-solving technique; while 87% of 1996 RCMP respondents did not believe arrest was the best way to solve a problem, in 2007 this figure dropped to 66% of respondents. RCMP respondents in 2007 also disagreed at a much higher rate with the statement that 'Police should be involved in all community problems,' rising from 16% (disagree or strongly disagree) in 1996 to 33% in 2007. Other Police Service respondents showed only one shift of this magnitude, namely a significant decrease in the percentage strongly agreeing that "spending time talking to citizens is good police work" (73% to 53%).

Table 6.1.2 – Envisaging Police Work – Data by service type, 1996 & 2007

Role	1996 %				2007 %			
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
RCMP								
Restrict activities to law enforcement and fighting crime	5	23	40	32	9	19	48	24
Making an arrest is not the best way to solve a problem	23	64	11	2	11	55	29	5
Spending time talking to citizens is good police work	73	26	0	1	54	43	1	2
Highest priority for police is what disturbs the community the most	29	57	14	0	16	57	24	3
Maintaining peace is as important as catching criminals	39	58	2	1	31	64	3	2
Police should be involved in all community problems	29	45	14	2	21	46	27	6
Enforcing the law is most important	7	45	45	3	10	48	39	3
Measure efficiency by detection and arrest rates	2	9	59	30	1	10	66	23
Too much police time is wasted on petty problems	9	32	55	4	12	29	47	12
Other Police Service								
Restrict activities to law enforcement and fighting crime	8	17	45	30	7	24	57	12
Making an arrest is not the best way to solve a problem	24	59	13	4	16	64	17	3
Spending time talking to citizens is good police work	73	25	0	1	53	47	0	0
Highest priority for police is what disturbs the community the most	20	60	19	1	29	53	17	1
Maintaining peace is as important as catching criminals	39	58	3	0	44	53	3	1
Police should be involved in all community problems	33	48	17	2	27	51	19	3
Enforcing the law is most important	11	46	39	4	13	44	40	3
Measure efficiency by detection and arrest rates	3	15	62	20	1	16	73	10
Too much police time is wasted on petty problems	3	23	58	16	8	30	51	11

Source: **First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007**

POLICING STYLES

In order to explore these data on policing styles more fully **,** questions 38 and 39, with 9 and 11 items respectively, were sorted for policing styles or preferred policing approaches among the respondents. Three styles were identified through content and factor analyses of the individual items, namely (a) a 4-item index labeled **enforcement style** (e.g., police should restrict their activities to law enforcement and fighting crime), a 3-item index labeled **social development approach** (e.g., to be effective police should be involved in all community problems not just crime-related problems), and a 6-item index labeled **community policing style** (e.g., I work a lot with community agencies and services).

Looking first at the social development style, the most significant correlate was police service affiliation. As shown in the table below, SA officers were much more likely than RCMP members (68% to 41%, significant at <.000) to report that style as their preferred strategy of policing in general. Congruently, officers raised in an Aboriginal community (see table below) were more likely to prefer that style than other officers (57% to 44% significant at <.03). There was also a significant difference within the RCMP between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers; the former were more likely to express preference for a social development approach (49% to 30%, significant at <.02). Age was also a salient factor – see the table below - as the older the officer, the more likely he or she would emphasize a social development style of policing. Variation in no other objective factor was significantly related to variations in index scores on this policing style; gender, aboriginal versus non-aboriginal identity in general, number of postings, rank level, educational attainment and marital status, all were not linked directly to preference for this approach, though marital status was marginally significant.

Crosstab

| | | | Police Service | | |
			RCMP	SA	Total
Social Developmnt score	Low	Count	86	42	128
		% within PolSer	58.5%	32.1%	46.0%
	High	Count	61	89	150
		% within PolSer	41.5%	67.9%	54.0%
Total		Count	147	131	278
		% within PolSer	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

| | | | Were you raised by an Aboriginal family? | | Total |
			Yes	No	
Social Developmnt score	Low	Count	71	65	136
		% within Q6a Were you raised by an Aboriginal family?	43.3%	56.5%	48.7%
	High	Count	93	50	143
		% within Q6a Were you raised by an Aboriginal family?	56.7%	43.5%	51.3%
Total		Count	164	115	279
		% within Q6a Were you raised by an Aboriginal family?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

| | | | Age categories #1 | | | Total |
			30 and under	31 to 40	over 40	
Social Developmnt score	Low	Count	37	62	40	139
		% within Age categories #1	55.2%	49.6%	40.0%	47.6%
	High	Count	30	63	60	153
		% within Age categories #1	44.8%	50.4%	60.0%	52.4%
Total		Count	67	125	100	292
		% within Age categories #1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

High scores for preference of a community policing approach also varied by police service as shown below, but here the RCMP officers were more likely than their SA counterparts to emphasize that preference (33% to 20%, significant at <.01). There was no difference within the RCMP between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers' scores. Age and marital status were also significant as officers over forty years of age were especially more likely than those under thirty years of age to have high scores (40% to 15%) and single officers more than married officers (34% to 24%). As in the case of the social development approach, other objective variables – gender, aboriginal / non-aboriginal identity, rank, number of postings, and educational attainment – were not linked to variation in scores for having a community policing approach.

Crosstab

| | | | Police Service | | Total |
			RCMP	SA	
Community Policing score	Low	Count	97	103	200
		% within PolSer	67.4%	80.5%	73.5%
	High	Count	47	25	72
		% within PolSer	32.6%	19.5%	26.5%
Total		Count	144	128	272
		% within PolSer	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

| | | | Age categories #1 | | | Total |
			30 and under	31 to 40	over 40	
Community Policing score	Low	Count	56	93	59	208
		% within Age categories #1	84.8%	77.5%	60.2%	73.2%
	High	Count	10	27	39	76
		% within Age categories #1	15.2%	22.5%	39.8%	26.8%
Total		Count	66	120	98	284
		% within Age categories #1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The third style or approach to policing delineated was an enforcement style. A number of objective variables were linked to variation in the preference scores for the enforcement approach. The officers most likely to emphasize the enforcement style were males (44% compared to 26% of the females, significant at <.01), younger officers (54% of those under 30 years of age compared to 27% of those over forty years of age), non-Aboriginal officers (50% compared to 38% of the Aboriginal officers), those with the fewest postings (i.e., the more postings the officer had had, the less preference on the enforcement approach) and constables more than higher ranked officers. Within the RCMP, non-Aboriginal officers were also substantially more likely than the Aboriginal officers to prefer an enforcement style (56% to 27%, significant at <.000). Other objective factors such as marital status, educational attainment, police service affiliation

and various measures of aboriginal rootedness, were not significant linked to this preferred approach to the police role.

Overall, the preferred policing styles fit well with expected findings. Few would be surprised that the young, the males, and the non-Aboriginal officers, especially constables in their first posting, would reflect a strong enforcement perspective congruent with their training and heightened sense of formal responsibilities. The greater preference for a social development approach among SA officers, those raised in Aboriginal communities, and older officers can readily be appreciated too given the socio-economic and development issues that may well be so deeply experienced by these officers. The formal organizational commitment to community policing (and the formal CP programs available) by the RCMP may well account for the RCMP officers having higher scores on this approach to policing.

Crosstab

			Age categories			
			30 and under	31 to 40	over 40	Total
Enforcemnt scores	Low	Count	31	69	74	174
		% within Age categories #1	45.6%	56.1%	72.5%	59.4%
	High	Count	37	54	28	119
		% within Age categories #1	54.4%	43.9%	27.5%	40.6%
Total		Count	68	123	102	293
		% within Age categories #1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstabs

			Number of postings)			
			1	2-3	4 or more	Total
Enforcemnt score	Low	Count	50	61	64	175
		% within Q8d - Number of postings (recoded)	47.2%	59.8%	70.3%	58.5%
	High	Count	56	41	27	124
		% within Q8d - Number of postings (recoded)	52.8%	40.2%	29.7%	41.5%
Total		Count	106	102	91	299
		% within Q8d - Number of postings (recoded)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Enforcemnt score	Low	Count	138	37	175
		% within Q2 Gender	56.1%	74.0%	59.1%
	High	Count	108	13	121
		% within Q2 Gender	43.9%	26.0%	40.9%
Total		Count	246	50	296
		% within Q2 Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Rank			Total
			Cst	Other	Mgmt	
Enforcemnt score	Low	Count	85	40	31	156
		% within q9_bb	54.1%	64.5%	67.4%	58.9%
	High	Count	72	22	15	109
		% within q9_bb	45.9%	35.5%	32.6%	41.1%
Total		Count	157	62	46	265
		% within q9_bb	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

POLICING STYLES IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

Both the 1996 and 2007 surveys asked officers about their current approach to policing in the Aboriginal communities where they were posted. Overall, as with other opinion variable sets, the response rates remain relatively stable. The largest fluctuation between the 1996 and 2007 data was in the number of respondents agreeing with the statement that "being physically or verbally aggressive helps in law enforcement". Response rates decreased from 23% of respondents in 1996 agreeing or strongly agreeing to 11% doing so in 2007. Smaller but notable response rate decreases were experienced in those agreeing with the statements "I try to police in ways that minimize the need for backup assistance" (83% in 1996 to 74% in 2007), "I think it is important for police officers to stick together and not discuss police problems with outsiders" (65% to 56%), and "My style of policing Aboriginal communities is different from the approach used in non-Aboriginal communities" (71% to 62%). However, again, continuity of response patterns was the overall trend.

Table 8.1 – Officers' approach to policing in Aboriginal communities – Overall data, 1996 & 2007

Statement re: your policing style	1996 %				2007 %			
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Overall								
Spend a lot of time getting to know people in the community	19	70	10	1	25	61	13	1
Prefer to use methods other than arrest for community problems	17	64	17	2	15	64	19	2
Physically/verbally aggressive is helpful	6	17	49	27	1	10	62	27
Style minimizes need for backup	21	62	14	3	15	59	23	3
Get assistance from community	13	61	23	3	11	58	24	7
Work with community agencies	15	70	13	2	17	68	14	1
Give breaks for minor crimes	10	65	22	3	11	62	25	2
Important for police to stick together	30	35	29	6	17	39	38	6
Detain without charge useful	8	30	45	17	5	31	45	19
My policing style is different from non-Aboriginal communities.	29	42	22	7	21	41	30	8

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

Exploring differences over time by police service (see table below) it was found that there was very strong continuity in the 1996 and 2007 responses for members of both police services. The RCMP officers in 2007 were more likely than the RCMP officers in 1996 to disagree that their style of policing Aboriginal communities was any different than policing comparable non-Aboriginal communities (46% in 2007 and 31% in 1996), a result consistent with the fact that non-Aboriginal officers made up a larger proportion of the RCMP respondents in 2007. There was no sharp difference in the 1996 and 2007 responses of officers in the Other Police Services. Other Police Service respondents were more likely than RCMP respondents to believe that police should stick together, both in 1996 and 2007. This is most pronounced in the 2007 data set, where 64% of Other Police Service respondents agreed with this statement, while only 48% of RCMP participants responded similarly. The emphasis on police solidarity may reflect the great challenges to the Other Police Services (self-administered police services) made by local leaders and interest groups. Also interesting is the drop in RCMP respondents who support physically and verbally aggressive policing, from 24% of respondents agreeing in 1996 to 9% in 2007. A less pronounced shift, from 21% to 13%, occurred among Other Police Service respondents. Other Police Service respondents were least likely to claim that they gave breaks for minor crimes in 2007, agreeing at a rate of 66% compared to the RCMP's 81%. This is a widening of a gap found in 1996, when 70% of Other Police Service respondents agreed with this statement, compared to 79% among RCMP participants.

This is surprising, if one assumes that self-administered police services would be less punitive and discretionary-oriented services. It is worth noting that, among 2007 respondents, Quebec SA officers (55% agree/strongly agree) were less likely than OPP (67%) or Other SA (73%), and least likely among all surveyed groups report that they "give breaks for minor crimes".

Table 8.1.1 – Officers' approach to policing in Aboriginal communities – Data by service type, 1996 & 2007

Role	1996 %				2007 %			
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
RCMP								
Spend a lot of time getting to know people in the community	25	67	6	2	32	57	11	0
Prefer to use methods other than arrest for community problems	16	69	14	1	21	60	18	2
Physically/verbally aggressive is helpful in law enforcement	6	18	46	30	1	8	59	32
Style minimizes need for backup	25	68	5	2	14	60	23	3
Get assistance from community	18	66	15	1	15	58	19	8
Work with community agencies	16	72	11	1	22	65	12	1
Give breaks for minor crimes	11	68	20	1	12	69	18	1
Important for police to stick together/not discuss problems	22	36	35	7	12	34	46	7
Detain without charge useful	3	32	46	18	8	33	42	17
My policing style is different from non-Aboriginal communities.	27	42	24	7	19	35	35	11
Other Police Service								
Spend a lot of time getting to know people in the community	15	72	12	1	19	65	14	2
Prefer to use methods other than arrest for community problems	15	62	21	2	9	68	21	2
Physically/verbally aggressive is helpful	5	16	51	27	1	12	66	22
Style minimizes need for backup	18	60	19	3	17	58	22	3
Get assistance from community	11	60	25	4	6	59	28	7
Work with community agencies	15	68	15	2	12	71	16	1
Give breaks for minor crimes	7	63	25	5	10	56	32	3
Important for police to stick together	29	37	28	6	21	43	29	6
Detain without charge useful	7	26	49	18	3	30	47	20
My policing style is different from non-Aboriginal communities.	31	42	21	6	22	48	25	5

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

The 2007 survey also included the variable, 'I work a lot with Other Police Services.' Other Police Service respondents as expected were much more likely (82%) to agree with this statement than RCMP respondents (42%).

Ensuring culturally appropriate policing in Aboriginal communities

In the survey, respondents were asked about the views on what is important in order to ensure a culturally appropriate policing in Aboriginal communities. The table below indicates that having the police undertake aboriginal awareness training, learning the Aboriginal culture and being more visible or involved in the community are all deemed to be very or somewhat important (i.e., over 90% of the respondents held this view). The differences between RCMP respondents and those of Other Police Services centered on whether or not an Aboriginal police chief and Aboriginal officers were important; the respondents from Other Police Services – self-administered First Nation services – were much more likely (i.e., by an absolute percentage difference of at least 20%) to affirm that view.

Important way to ensure culturally-appropriate Aboriginal Policing – Data by service type, 2007

Characteristic (% responding very or somewhat important)	Overall %	RCMP %	Other Police Service %	Difference (RCMP%-OPS%)
Aboriginal Police Officers	77	71	84	-13
Police officers w/ aboriginal awareness training	92	92	92	-1
Police officers who live in the community	64	74	54	20
An aboriginal police chief	42	28	56	-28
Learning the aboriginal culture	92	96	88	8
Being more visible or involved in the community	94	93	95	-2
Speaking or understanding the language	61	58	63	-5
Being well-trained and acting professionally	99	100	99	1
Understanding aboriginal justice methods	88	91	84	7

Source: Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities

To explore this further, the responses to the nine items considered (i.e., question 42) were factor analysed and two dimensions were found to be tapped by the question. One dimension advances the position that being deeply rooted in aboriginal identity and cultural life are crucial prerequisites while the other position considers that cultural

awareness and sensitivity training and policing strategies (e.g., visibility) along with acting professionally are crucial factors. Here there is a modest examination of these two dimensions, given the acronyms "realab" and "profab" respectively. The respondents were also asked their views on how different Aboriginal policing is from policing elsewhere and these views are also examined below where the acronym for the index created is "abpoldif".

Concerning "realab", high scores did vary of course by police service affiliation. As the table below shows, SA officers were more likely than RCMP officers (55% to 38%, significant at <.006) to hold that, to ensure culturally appropriate policing, Aboriginal officers, an Aboriginal police chief, speaking the language, and living in the community were very important. As the tables below show, high "realab" was also emphasized by respondents raised in Aboriginal families and those with the deepest Aboriginal ties (e.g., 57% to 31% among others, significant at <.000), and among Aboriginal (i.e., registered North American Indian) compared to non-Aboriginal officers (60% to 27%, significant at <.000). Within the RCMP, Aboriginal officers were more likely than non-Aboriginal to emphasize "realab" prerequisites (48% to 27%, significant at <.01). High school graduated respondents were more likely than university-educated officers to take this position as well (58% to 40%). In addition to identity issues largely accounting for these differences, experience may play a significant role in itself. That is suggested by the findings that indicate (a) that older officers (over 40 years of age) were almost twice as likely as younger officers (under 30 years of age) to have high "realab" scores (64% to 37%), and (b) that rank matters as supervisors and other managers were more likely than constables to stress the "realab" prerequisites (62% to 38%, significant at <.01). Gender, marital status, the number of postings, and other objective variables were not linked to differences in "realab" scores. A regression analysis found that among the variables identified as having an impact, three were most important, namely age of the officer, rank of the officer and whether or not he/she had an Aboriginal background ($r2 = .18 <000$).

Crosstab

			Police Service		
			RCMP	SA	Total
realab score	Low	Count	92	59	151
		% within PolSer	61.7%	45.4%	54.1%
	High	Count	57	71	128
		% within PolSer	38.3%	54.6%	45.9%
Total		Count	149	130	279
		% within PolSer	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Rank Level			Total
			Cst	Other	Mgmt	
realab score	Low	Count	96	32	17	145
		% within q9_bb	61.1%	50.0%	37.8%	54.5%
	High	Count	61	32	28	121
		% within q9_bb	38.9%	50.0%	62.2%	45.5%
Total		Count	157	64	45	266
		% within q9_bb	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Were you raised by an Aboriginal family?		
			Yes	No	Total
realab score	Low	Count	71	79	150
		% within Q6a Were you raised by an Aboriginal family?	43.3%	68.7%	53.8%
	High	Count	93	36	129
		% within Q6a Were you raised by an Aboriginal family?	56.7%	31.3%	46.2%
Total		Count	164	115	279
		% within Q6_a Were you raised by an Aboriginal family?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Aboriginal background (count of 3; pairwise deletion)				
			0	1	2	3	Total
realab score	Low	Count	79	38	11	30	158
		% within Q6 - Aboriginal background (count of 3; pairwise deletion)	69.3%	60.3%	47.8%	32.6%	54.1%
	High	Count	35	25	12	62	134
		% within Q6 - Aboriginal background (count of 3; pairwise deletion)	30.7%	39.7%	52.2%	67.4%	45.9%
Total		Count	114	63	23	92	292
		% within Q6 - Aboriginal background (count of 3; pairwise deletion)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Status (Registered) North American Indian	Non-Aboriginal	
realab score	Low	Count	65	67	157
		% within Q4 Ethnocultural identity	40.1%	72.8%	53.6%
	High	Count	97	25	136
		% within Q4 Ethnocultural identity	59.9%	27.2%	46.4%
Total		Count	162	92	293
		% within Q4 Ethnocultural identity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The "profab" index measured the position that cultural awareness and sensitivity training and policing strategies (e.g., visibility), along with acting professionally, are crucial factors in ensuring a culturally appropriate policing. Police service affiliation was an important factor in accounting for variation in "profab" scores (see the table below). More RCMP officers held that these training and attitudinal / behavioural adjustments were very important (52% to 37%, significant at <.01). There was no significant variation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers' scores either in general or within the RCMP grouping so the variation by police service represents an organizational difference not just the fact that there are fewer Aboriginal officers in the RCMP grouping. The number of postings experienced was significant as those with many postings were the most likely to report high "profab" scores (56% to 43% among those with just one posting to date, significant at <.03). Variations in age and rank were also linked to different levels of "profab". Older officers (over forty years of age) were more likely than youngest officers (those under thirty years of age) to have high "profab" scores (59% to 38%, significant at <.003). Rank variation was also linked to "profab" scores as 54% of the managers and others had high scores compared with 38% of the constables. These age and rank patterns suggest that veteran and management officers appreciated the need for "profab" as much as they valued the Aboriginal identity factors in shaping a culturally appropriate policing in today's Aboriginal communities. Variations by gender, marital status, and the various measures of aboriginal identity and rootedness, were not linked to variations in "profab" scores. A regression analysis found that among the few variables identified above as having a significant relationship to "profab", only police service affiliation remained significant when all variables were simultaneously included ($r2 = .08$ <001).

Crosstab

| | | | Police Service | | Total |
			RCMP	SA	
Profab score	Low	Count	70	82	152
		% within PolSer	47.9%	63.1%	55.1%
	High	Count	76	48	124
		% within PolSer	52.1%	36.9%	44.9%
Total		Count	146	130	276
		% within PolSer	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Is Aboriginal Policing Different?

The 2007 survey also included variables gauging officers' characterizations of Aboriginal policing. The table below summarizes respondents' agreement / disagreement with a series of statements about Aboriginal policing. Overall there was a high level of consensus. Over 80% of the RCMP and Other Police Services officers agreed that

Aboriginal policing entails "a different relationship between the police and the community". At the same time, at least two-thirds of the officers in both types of police services considered that "Aboriginal policing is regular policing but more of it" and that "It is primarily community-based policing". The chief difference was that officers with the Other Police Services were especially likely to say that "it is too early to grasp its [Aboriginal policing] unique features" (39% to 14% among the RCMP). The same high percentage – 82% - of both RCMP and Other Police Services officers agreed that in Aboriginal policing there is a different relationship between police and community.

Table 8.5 – Characteristics of Aboriginal Policing – Data by service type, 2007

Characterization of Aboriginal Policing	Overall 'Yes' %	RCMP 'Yes'%	Other Police Service 'Yes'%	Difference (RCMP%-OPS%)
It is primarily community-based policing	71	75	66	9
Different relationship b/w police & community	82	82	82	0
It is regular policing, but more of it	69	69	68	1
Different objectives than regular policing	63	63	63	0
It operates on different principles	61	57	64	-7
It is too early to grasp its unique features	27	14	39	-25

Source: *Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities*

Respondents were asked their views on whether Aboriginal policing differs from other policing on the six items noted in the above tables (e.g., different underlying principles, different relationships with the community, etc). Variations in the "abpoldif" scores were limited with the result that only age differences (see the table below) were linked to variation in scores for "abpoldif". Older officers were more likely to emphasize that Aboriginal policing is different (50% to 30%, significant at <.03). With one exception, there were no differences in"abpoldif" scores by police service affiliation (within or between police services), gender, Aboriginal identity or rootedness, level of rank, number of postings, educational attainment or marital status; the one exception was that officers reporting a North American Indian identity were more likely than non-Aboriginals to emphasize that Aboriginal policing is different (44% to 34%, marginally significant). As might be expected, officers scoring high on the need for an aboriginal background to carry out culturally appropriate policing (i.e. having high "realab" index scores) also had higher scores for the view that aboriginal policing is different from other policing (see the table below). Surprisingly, though, so did those officers with high scores for "profab", the view that culturally appropriate aboriginal policing can be learned.

There were significant differences for specific items in the index measuring the view that aboriginal policing is different, by police service affiliation and by whether or not the respondent was Aboriginal. SA officers as noted were more likely than RCMP to agree that "Aboriginal policing operates on different principles" (69% to 57%) and especially that "It's too early to grasp its unique features" (40% to 14%). Respondents identifying themselves as Aboriginal also were more likely than other officers to agree

that it is too early – some SA police services have been in place for only a decade and none were constituted as such prior to 1989 - to appreciate the unique features of Aboriginal policing (31% to 17%). Within the RCMP, there were no significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members on these two items. In sum, then, while few variables were linked to variations in "abpoldif" scores, there was some sense among SA and Aboriginal officers in the total sample that unique features in Aboriginal policing could emerge or be enhanced in time.

Crosstab

			Realab score		
			Low	High	Total
Abpol differs scores	Low	Count	105	67	172
		% within Collapsed realab score	66.9%	50.8%	59.5%
	High	Count	52	65	117
		% within Collapsed realab score	33.1%	49.2%	40.5%
Total		Count	157	132	289
		% within Collapsed realab score	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Age categories #1			
			30 and under	31 to 40	over 40	Total
Abpol differs scores	Low	Count	47	77	50	174
		% within Age categories #1	70.1%	62.6%	50.5%	60.2%
	High	Count	20	46	49	115
		% within Age categories #1	29.9%	37.4%	49.5%	39.8%
Total		Count	67	123	99	289
		% within Age categories #1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

POLICING VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES

In this section, there is an examination of the respondents' positive and negative views of the police role, each measured by an index of items derived from question 17, and of the officers' assessments of how their policing experience thus far has met or exceeded their hopes and expectations about being a police office, or, conversely, has not lived up to them. With respect to positive views of the police role in society (e.g., it is exciting, challenging, a good way to help people etc), SA officers, as shown in the table below, were more likely than RCMP officers to have high "posviews" scores (49% to 29%, significant at <.001). With the RCMP, the scores of Aboriginal officers and those of the non-Aboriginal officers differed with 39% of the latter but only 23% of the former having high "posviews" scores. Males were more likely than female officers to have high scores too (40% to 26%, significant at <.05), There were no differences by age, marital status, educational attainment, rank, number of postings, Aboriginal identity (apart from the RCMP variation noted) or the various other measures of Aboriginal rootedness.

There were more objective variables linked to negative views of the police role (e.g., police work makes it difficult to lead a normal life). Again, police service affiliation was most important and again, as shown in the table below, SA officers had higher scores than RCMP officers (52% to 37%, significant at <.009). The fact that the SA officers had significantly higher scores for both the positive and negative aspects of policing indicates perhaps that living in the community one polices enhances or spikes both the best and the worse aspects of the job. There was no difference in "negviews" within the RCMP between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers. Other correlates of high "negviews" scores were the number of postings (a proxy for experience to some extent) and marital status where single persons more than married officers (60% to 44%) and those with fewest postings (see the table below) were more likely than others to have negative views about the police role. Gender, age , rank, Aboriginal identity or rootedness did not impact on the level of negative views.

The respondents were also asked about their experience in policing thus far and whether it has met / exceeded or been below their expectations. The main factor, by far, in meeting or exceeding expectations was reported to be intrinsic considerations such the amount of learning obtained or the satisfaction in solving crimes; fully 57% of the 231 officers answering the question highlighted that factor. Roughly 15% of the officers emphasized extrinsic factors such as pay and / or working conditions and 7% pointed to their being a role model in the local community. As for the factors causing their expectations not to be met, there were three, each noted by about 15% of the 200 plus respondents, namely police service policies, the **"politics",** and intrinsic features such as the job is boring or I accomplish little.

Crosstab

			Police Service		Total
			RCMP	SA	
Score for Positive Views	Low	Count	107	69	176
		% within PolSer	70.9%	51.1%	61.5%
	High	Count	44	66	110
		% within PolSer	29.1%	48.9%	38.5%
Total		Count	151	135	286
		% within PolSer	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Police Service		Total
			RCMP	SA	
Scores for negative views	Low	Count	96	67	163
		% within PolSer	63.2%	47.9%	55.8%
	High	Count	56	73	129
		% within PolSer	36.8%	52.1%	44.2%
Total		Count	152	140	292
		% within PolSer	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Number of postings (recoded)			
			1	2-3	4 or more	Total
Scores for negative views	Low	Count	53	53	61	167
		% within Q8d - Number of postings (recoded)	47.3%	51.0%	63.5%	53.5%
	High	Count	59	51	35	145
		% within Q8d - Number of postings (recoded)	52.7%	49.0%	36.5%	46.5%
Total		Count	112	104	96	312
		% within Q8d - Number of postings (recoded)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

POLICE ACTIVITIES

Both the 1996 and the 2007 national surveys asked officers policing in the Aboriginal communities to indicate whether they engaged in each of nineteen policing activities (ranging from car patrol to dealing with local political leaders and elected officials) "a lot", "a moderate amount" or "none/little". The response options are clearly subjective and might well vary by idiosyncratic considerations but it was decided to go with that format in 2007 both to ensure comparability to the 1996 data and to increase the likelihood of securing responses; previous studies had indicated a reluctance among respondents to consider responses based on hours spent in the various policing duties. Here there will be first a comparison of the 1996 and 2007 data sets, then a focus on the 2007 data including analysis of a created variable labeled an SA style of policing.

Comparison: 2007 to 1996

Overall, the distributions of time spent on the various activities were quite similar in the 1996 and 2007 data sets. Doing paperwork, investigating, patrolling and answering calls for service were the major time-consuming activities but dealing informally with minor disputes increased to the point where 41% of the officers indicated they spent a lot of time in that activity. The data suggest a modest decrease overall in car patrol and court appearance activities in 2007, as both categories experienced a 13% increase in respondents indicating that they spent none or little time on these activities. Officers continued to report that they spend a lot of time doing paperwork, with respondents in this category increasing by 10% over the past decade.

Table 7.1 – Doing Police Work - Overall data, 1996 & 2007

How much time do you spend on the following activities?	1996 %			2007 %		
	None/Little	Moderate	A lot	None/Little	Moderate	A lot
Overall						
Patrolling in cars	16	44	40	29	33	38
Patrolling on foot	78	19	3	79	19	2
Informal minor disputes	10	60	30	14	45	41
Informing citizens re: law, police	20	59	21	22	55	23
Doing paperwork	3	22	74	5	11	84
Court prep/appearance	15	52	33	28	36	36
Traffic Enforcement	38	45	17	49	40	11
Answering service calls	10	52	38	13	40	47
Investigating Crimes	9	43	48	16	41	43
Public talks/presentations	47	45	9	57	31	12
School, liaison and youth work	47	41	12	54	34	11
Dealing with political leaders	47	37	16	45	35	20
Non-crime related services*	62	30	8	53	38	9

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

Note: The 2007 survey added, 'such as escorts at funerals and public events' to this variable. This may account in whole or part for the increase in responses from 'none/little' to 'moderate' between 1996 and 2007.

Comparing data at the force level, both RCMP and Other Police Service officers spent more time in 2007 than in 1996 dealing informally with minor disputes, answering calls for service and, especially the RCMP officers, doing required paperwork. There may well be a trade-off in reduced time for other duties. Whether RCMP or Other Police Service, an increasing percentage of officers reported that they spend little or no time on court-related duties and in general car patrolling (among the RCMP there was an absolute increase of 15% in respondents reporting the None/Little response). As well, respondents from both services indicate a decreasing proportion of time spent doing public talks, or school or youth liaison work. This trend is most pronounced among Other Police Service respondents, where 18% (absolute percentage difference) more respondents in 2007 have indicated that they spend little or no time on public talks when compared to 1996 data; and 17% more indicated they spend little or no time on liaison work. The data suggest an activity shift which might reduce visibility / presence in the case of RCMP officers and school and other liaison in the case of SA officers.

Table 7.1.2 – Doing Police Work – By force type, 2007

How much time do you spend on the following activities?	1996 %			2007 %		
	None/Little	Moderate	A lot	None/Little	Moderate	A lot
RCMP						
Patrolling in cars	25	51	24	39	42	19
Patrolling on foot	76	22	2	84	13	3
Informal minor disputes	13	55	32	12	51	37
Informing citizens re: law, police	23	59	18	23	55	22
Doing paperwork	0	11	89	0	7	93
Court prep/appearance	8	48	43	28	32	40
Traffic Enforcement	37	48	15	56	39	5
Answering service calls	10	56	34	14	46	40
Investigating Crimes	6	27	67	16	47	37
Public talks/presentations	26	59	15	40	43	17
School, liaison and youth work	31	50	19	39	45	16
Dealing with political leaders	45	41	14	33	41	25
Non-crime related services	71	24	5	61	33	6
Other Police Service						
Patrolling in cars	14	44	42	18	26	56
Patrolling on foot	81	16	3	74	25	1
Informal minor disputes	10	63	27	16	40	44
Informing citizens re: law, police	20	60	20	21	55	24
Doing paperwork	2	23	74	10	15	75
Court prep/appearance	12	56	32	28	40	32

Traffic Enforcement	39	43	18	43	40	17
Answering service calls	10	52	38	12	35	53
Investigating Crimes	10	47	43	15	36	49
Public talks/presentations	56	37	7	74	20	6
School, liaison and youth work	53	37	10	70	23	7
Dealing with political leaders	52	32	16	55	30	15
Non-crime related services	64	29	7	46	43	11

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

The new activities on which information was sought in the 2007 survey were: developing and using informants, working with other agencies (e.g., social services), and gathering criminal intelligence. Around two-thirds of both RCMP and Other Police Service respondents indicated that they spend little or no time developing informants, and about three-fifths of both groups indicated that they spent some or a lot of time gathering intelligence. About 10% more Other Police Service respondents than RCMP respondents indicated that they spent some or a lot of time working with other local agencies (89% versus 79%).

The 2007 Data Set

The above tables provided the overall sample frequencies for each of the 19 policing activities, comparing the 1996 and 2007 data sets. Turning to the 2007 results, the emphasis in the analyses was on comparison but it should be noted that the officers especially highlighted the amount of paperwork they must carry out - more than 80% of the officers reported having to spend "a lot of time" each month doing "paperwork". The frequencies were examined to determine the variation if any that occurred by gender, police service, aboriginal identity and age. In carrying out these comparisons, the focus was limited to the percentage reporting that they spent "a lot of time" over an average month engaged in the specific activity. For the most part there was little difference between male and female officers in terms of the standard activities such as patrolling by car, doing traffic enforcement, investigating crimes and so forth. There was however a consistent difference in female officers spending more time engaged in administrative and special programs; for example, 22% of the female officers, compared to 9% of the males, reported spending a lot of time on average months doing school liaison and youth work, while for providing non-crime related services (e.g., transportation for residents) the percentages were 14% for females and 8% for males, and for court preparation work it was 50% females reporting a lot of time spent compared to 33% for males**.** There were no activities where male officers reported spending "a lot of time" at a percentage significantly greater than the females did. In terms of Aboriginal identity, there were no significant differences on any of the 19 items between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal police officers within or between the police services.

There were many significant differences by age of the officers and by police service affiliation (RCMP or SA). RCMP officers were much more likely to report spending "a lot" of time on average months doing paperwork (93% to 74%), speaking at public meetings or making presentations (17% to 6%), and carrying out school liaison and youth programs (16% to 6%). Clearly such differences point to the more formal bureaucratic imperatives of a large organization. There were no significant differences within the RCMP between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers. The SA officers, on the other hand, were more likely to report spending a lot of time each month patrolling in the cars (55% to 19% for RCMP officers), answering calls for service (52% to 40%), and gathering local information about crime (20% to 8%), an emphasis on responding to demand rather than shaping demand. Such a difference appears related to the scale and resources of the micro-level police detachments that make up SA policing.

Age, predictably, was a major factor in accounting for different time-budgets among the responding officers. Officers under 30 years of age were more likely than officers over 40 years of age to report spending a lot of time on patrol (46% to 29%), answering calls for service (58% to 36%), investigating crimes (57% to 27%), traffic enforcement (24% to 3%), and in court preparation and appearances (46% to 28%). The older officers, over forty years of age, were more likely than those under 30 years of age to spend a lot of time each month dealing with local leaders (32% to 7%), making local presentations about policing policy and programs (22% to 1%), doing school liaison and youth work (17% to 3%) and working with other local agencies (40% to 25%). In other words, and predictably, the younger officers were basically doing reactive, 911 policing while the older officers were much more engaged in planning, publicizing / explaining and dealing with policing-related social issues.

It was noted above that the RCMP and SA officers do differ somewhat in terms of the time spent on diverse policing activities. To examine more deeply the time budget analysis, a special index was created from four items in question 37 where the items were thought to reflect an SA policing style in theory if not in practice. The items were (a) the time spent dealing informally (i.e., not charging) with minor disputes, (b) dealing with local political leaders and elected officials, (c) providing non-crime –related community services, and (d) working with other local agencies There was indeed a significant difference – see the table below - by police service; in comparison with the RCMP officers, members of the Other Police Services were more likely (49% to 36%, significant at <.02) to have high SA style scores. Officers policing where they were reared, and those living in communities where they were policing, were modestly more likely (significant at <.04) to have high SA style scores. Within the RCMP sample, there was no difference at all in SA policing style scores between officers reporting an Aboriginal identity and those who did not. As for the other objective variables, there were no linkages to SA style by gender, age, rank, aboriginal background and marital status (though here married officers were more likely than single officers to have high SA style scores).

The only attitudinal or subjective variables related to SA style were whether one held that Aboriginal policing was different than policing in other similar-sized non-Aboriginal communities (53% to 38% among those not having such views) and whether

one held that the key to culturally appropriate policing – see the table below - was having an aboriginal background (50% to 35% among the non-Aboriginal officers). There was also a significant relationship between having high scores for negative views of the police role (i.e., getting caught up in local politics and being difficult to lead a normal life) and having an SA style of policing (50% to 36% for those with low scores for negative views).

Overall, then, it appears that the basic set of activities – patrolling, investigation, answering calls for service and doing the required paperwork – consumed the lion's share of officers' time in both 1996 and 2007, in both RCMP and Other Police Services. But there were possible significant changes, in particular more time allocated to some of the basic tasks (especially paperwork) and more time spent on informally dealing with minor disputes. These may well have to do with the expansion of police cautions and restorative justice initiatives. In any event, the trade-offs appear to have been possibly less visibility / presence for RCMP officers and a significant reduction in crime prevention and public information activities on the part of resourced-stretched Other Police Services' members. The variations in time spent on specific activities in 2007 were largely associated with the age and gender of the police officers and whether the respondents were RCMP or Other Police Services' members. A special index to capture the theoretical character of the self administered policing style was created and it was indeed found that officers with the highest scores on the index were most often officers outside the RCMP, those policing where they were reared and /or currently live, and those who held that being Aboriginal is the key to culturally appropriate policing in the Aboriginal context.

Crosstab

| | | | RCMP or Other | | |
			RCMP	Other	Total
score for SA style policing	Low	Count	94	77	171
		% within RCMP or Other	63.9%	51.0%	57.4%
	High	Count	53	74	127
		% within RCMP or Other	36.1%	49.0%	42.6%
Total		Count	147	151	298
		% within RCMP or Other	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Need Aboriginal Background		Total
			Low	High	
Score for SA style policing	Low	Count	103	65	168
		% within Aboriginal Background	64.8%	49.6%	57.9%
	High	Count	56	66	122
		% within Aboriginal Background	35.2%	50.4%	42.1%
Total		Count	159	131	290
		% within Aboriginal Background	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

OFFICERS' VIEWS ON POLICING ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

Officers were asked a number of questions about the challenges of policing in Aboriginal communities**.** Question 24 asked the officers how serious (the response categories were very serious, somewhat serious, not too serious, not at all serious and don't know) they considered each of nineteen possible problems at the community level were**.** Subsequently, factor analyses isolated four major dimensions – crime problems, geo-demographic problems, social problems, and police service problems – and the scores for each dimension were divided into low and high for further analysis. Questions 25 and 26 asked the officers to rate, for the same six items**,** the safety of residents being policed from the officers' own perspective and from that of community perceptions (as the officers understood it). Question 27 asked the officers to "rate the relationship between most people in your community [being policed] and the police", selecting a response option from excellent, good, fair or poor.

Question 49 sought one of three possible responses – no problem, somewhat of a problem, big problem - for 27 work-related problems ranging from "language and communication difficulties" to "inadequate police facilities". The top eight items having the most frequent "big problem" designation are indicated below. Also, an index was created of low, medium and high scores for perceived work problems and the variation in index scores were analysed by both objective and attitudinal variables. Twelve comparable items to those in question 49 were asked of respondents in 1996 and the 1996 – 2007 response patterns are compared below.

WORK PROBLEMS: COMPARISON TO 1996

Overall, as indicated in the table below, in both 1996 and 2007, dealing with mostly unsolvable social problems was most likely to be considered a problem in officers' work. 80% of 1996 respondents and 86% of 2007 respondents indicated that this was either somewhat of a problem or a big problem. Conversely, isolation from other police officers was considered a problem by 39% of 1996 and 43% of 2007 respondents, and was thus consistently the least likely issue to be a concern to officers' work. There was considerable similarity between the 1996 and 2007 officer responses on whether or not an item posed a "big problem" to their police work. Of the twelve exactly comparable items inquired about, only one elicited a significantly different overall response in 2007, namely in the latter sample more officers considered that "dealing with mostly unsolvable social problems" was a big problem in their police work (38% to 25% in 1996). On all other items there was little difference; for example, in both 1996 and 2007, 19% considered "community mistrust of police" to be a big problem, and in both periods only 7% to 8% of the sample held that incorporating Aboriginal culture into their regular policing practices constituted a big problem for them. It can also be noted that two of the top three "big problems" in 1996 were also among the top three in 2007 (lack of back-up and having to deal with mostly unsolvable social problems). The third one, "lack of programs and materials to do my job" was identified by fewer officers in 2007 as

a big problem (i.e., 17% to 29% in 1996); the decline here was entirely the result of fewer SA officers in 2007 indicating that such a lack was a big problem than the SA officers had reported in 1996, and this suggests, in turn, that the SA police services had improved in terms of providing members with these requisite resources for their policing.

Comparisons within RCMP and the Other police services are interesting (see the table below). The RCMP officers in 1996 and 2007 provided virtually identical results to the same questions with one exception – more members in 2007 reported that "dealing with mostly unsolvable social problems" in the communities policed was a "a big problem for my policing" (45% to 30% in 1996). Among the Other police services' members, there was more change over the decade, though, overall, much continuity. Here too, there was an increase in the percentage of officers reporting having to "deal with unsolvable social problems" (31% to 24% in 1996). Also, the Other officers in 2007 were more likely than their 1996 equivalents to report inappropriate expectations from the community as a big problem (21% to 12%) and less likely, as noted above, to report lack of programs and materials as a big problem (18% to 28% in 1996). In sum, then, the major change in work problems as perceived by the officers was in an increase in the number one problem, namely having to deal with "unsolvable social problems". For the officers outside the RCMP, a major shift appeared to be from reporting shortfalls in available programs and materials to reporting the combination of "unsolvable social problems" and "inappropriate community expectations of policing".

Table 8.2 – Extent of Problems in Officers' Work - Overall data, 1996 & 2007

Problem Category	1996 %			2007 %		
	No Problem	Somewhat	Big Problem	No Problem	Somewhat	Big Problem
Overall						
High levels of community factionalism	25	54	21	33	48	19
Lack of policing programs and materials to do job	32	39	29	35	48	17
Lack of back-up*	37	36	27	31	39	30
Unreasonable expectations from police organization	46	37	17	33	43	24
Community mistrust of police	36	45	19	30	51	19
Dealing with community politicians**	40	42	18	40	46	15
Isolation from other officers	61	29	10	57	32	11
Inappropriate expectations from community	32	55	13	26	55	19
Dealing with unsolvable social problems	20	55	25	14	48	38
Dealing with rules/policies	59	34	7	53	39	8
Incorporating traditional customs into policing	56	37	7	53	39	8
Policing friends/family	46	38	16	63	27	10

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

*Note: This variable was changed from "Inadequate policing – lack of back-up" in 1996 to "Lack of back-up" in 2007.

**Note: This variable was changed from "community politicians" in 1996 to "local political leaders and elected officials" in the 2007 survey.

Table 8.2.1 – Extent of Problems in Officers' Work - Data by Force Type, 1996 & 2007

Problem Category	1996 %			2007 %		
	No Problem	Somewhat	Big Problem	No Problem	Somewhat	Big Problem
RCMP						
High levels of community factionalism	30	50	20	32	49	19
Lack of policing programs and materials to do job	50	34	16	37	48	15
Lack of back-up*	32	40	28	29	38	33
Unreasonable expectations from police organization	39	38	23	27	45	28
Community mistrust of police	38	43	19	29	56	15
Dealing with community politicians**	45	43	12	45	43	12
Isolation from other officers	62	30	8	57	34	9
Inappropriate expectations from community	38	47	15	26	56	18
Dealing with unsolvable social problems	23	47	30	10	45	45
Dealing with rules/policies	47	41	12	46	42	12
Incorporating traditional customs into policing	57	35	8	55	35	10
Policing friends/family	58	32	10	77	14	9
Other Police Services						
High levels of community factionalism	23	54	23	33	48	19
Lack of policing programs and materials to do job	27	45	28	33	49	18
Lack of back-up*	38	35	27	33	40	27
Unreasonable expectations from police organization	51	35	14	39	42	19
Community mistrust of police	37	46	17	30	46	24
Dealing with community politicians**	39	43	18	34	48	18
Isolation from other officers	61	28	11	57	30	13
Inappropriate expectations from community	28	59	12	25	53	21

Dealing with unsolvable social problems	19	57	24	17	52	31
Dealing with rules/policies	65	31	4	60	37	3
Incorporating traditional customs into policing	56	38	6	51	43	6
Policing friends/family	44	41	15	48	41	11

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

Table 8.3 – Problems in Officers' work, 2007 new variables – Data by force type, 2007

Problem Category (% responding somewhat or big problem)	Overall %	RCMP %	Other Police Service %	Difference (RCMP%-OPS%)
Violence and abuse from community	68	65	71	-6
Racial slurs from community	56	55	56	-1
Racial slurs from other officers	25	22	28	-6
Not enough officers in force	78	79	78	1
Intimidation by local residents	35	25	45	-20
Balancing paperwork and policing	73	83	63	20
Intimidation of family from locals	32	22	42	-20
Inefficient police board	49	40	57	-17
Dealing with police ethics body	26	18	33	-15
Poor access to JPs (holding problems)	46	49	43	6
Inadequate police station building	55	56	55	1
Inadequate equipment/technology	59	64	53	11
Inadequate reporting system	44	45	43	2

Source: Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

PERCEIVED WORK PROBLEMS 2007

The eight potential work problems most frequently identified by the officers as "big problems in my work" out of a list of 27 items (Question 49) were, with the percentage selecting that response option in brackets,

1. Not enough officers in my force/detachment (46%)
2. Dealing mostly with unsolvable social problems (38%)
3. Lack of back-up (30%)
4. Balancing paperwork and policing services (30%)
5. An inadequate police building (28%)
6. Inadequate equipment / technology (25%)
7. Unreasonable expectations from my policing organization (24%)
8. Inappropriate community expectations of policing (20%)

The eight potential work problems least frequently identified by the officers as "big problems in my work" were

1. Language and communication difficulties with other officers (1%)
2. Language and communication difficulties with citizens (2%)
3. Racial slurs or put-downs from other police officers (3%)
4. Dealing with police ethics body (3%)
5. Intimidation of officers' family by local residents (4%)
6. Intimidation by local residents (6%)
7. Dealing with the rules and policies of my police service (8%)
8. Incorporating Aboriginal traditions, local customs and spirituality into regular policing practices (8%)

Clearly, the officers, overall, identified the central work problems as resources (human and otherwise), the difficult social problems in the communities, and, from their perspective, the unreasonable and inappropriate expectations that they must contend with from the police organization and / or the community. Language and cultural issues (and adapting to these issues), as well as local intimidation, were not considered to be big problems. For the most part, these assessments were common among both RCMP and SA police officers but there were a few statistically significant differences by police service. RCMP officers were more likely than their SA counterparts to identify the following as big problems in their police work: balancing paperwork and policing services (43% to 15% in table below), dealing with mostly unsolvable social problems (45% to 32%), and unreasonable expectations from my police service (28% to 18%). Within the RCMP, there was no significant difference overall between Aboriginal officers and non-Aboriginal officers.

The SA officers were more likely than their RCMP counterparts to identify as big problems, community mistrust of police (24% to 14%), and an inefficient police board or governing body (21% to 11%). These latter two considerations reflected a consistent, strong pattern for the SA or Other police officers to be more likely than the RCMP officers to be concerned about their independence and acknowledgement as professionals in the communities. They were more likely to report as a big problem "dealing with local political leaders", and twice as likely as RCMP members (i.e., 43% to 22%) to identify intimidation of themselves or their family members by local residents as either somewhat a problem or a big problem.

			Police Service		Total
			RCMP	SA	
Q49_t Balancing paperwork and policing services	No problem	Count	26	48	74
		% within NoOPP	17.3%	37.5%	26.6%
	Somewhat of a problem	Count	60	61	121
		% within NoOPP	40.0%	47.7%	43.5%
	Big problem	Count	64	19	83
		% within NoOPP	42.7%	14.8%	29.9%
Total		Count	150	128	278
		% within NoOPP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

PERCEIVED COMMUNITY PROBLEMS IN AREAS POLICED in 2007

The following two tables provide the basic frequencies for the officers' responses when asked about the seriousness of nineteen possible problems in the communities that they policed. It can be seen that there was a broad consensus across police services.

Table 8.4 – Problems in communities served by respondents – Data by service type, 2007

Problem Category	RCMP		%		O.P.S.		%	
	Very Serious	Somewhat serious	Not too serious	Not serious	Very Serious	Somewhat serious	Not too serious	Not serious
Large patrol area	20	22	28	30	23	19	29	29
Violent crime	36	34	24	6	27	46	21	6
Social disorder	51	29	16	4	34	39	23	4
Feuding families/groups	32	42	21	5	31	35	26	8
Gang activity	18	21	30	31	8	28	38	26
Suicide	24	31	31	14	21	25	34	20
Gambling	13	25	42	20	12	36	36	16
Organized crime	14	16	31	39	12	25	31	32
Poverty/underemployment	51	30	17	2	39	29	31	11
Inadequate housing	34	34	33	10	36	22	26	16
High community expectations	36	40	21	3	38	37	20	5
Difficult to recruit/keep officers	27	32	25	16	36	28	21	15
Inadequate protocols with other police services	3	8	38	51	14	22	34	30
Family violence	55	35	9	1	47	35	14	4
Child welfare problems	52	35	12	1	41	35	17	7
Political interference	18	33	35	14	26	30	33	11
High levels of property crime	34	31	29	6	34	36	24	6
Alcohol or drug problems	78	19	3	0	71	23	5	1
Technological barriers	23	28	28	21	14	22	34	30

Table 8.4.1 – Serious problems in communities served by respondents – Data by force type, 2007

Problem Category (% responding very or somewhat serious)	Overall %	RCMP %	Other Police Service %	Difference (RCMP%- OPS%)
Large patrol area	42	42	42	0
Violent crime	72	70	73	-3
Social disorder	76	80	73	7
Feuding families/groups	70	74	65	9
Gang activity	37	39	35	4
Suicide	50	55	46	9
Gambling	43	38	48	-10
Organized crime	33	30	37	-7
Poverty/underemployment	74	80	68	12
Inadequate housing	63	68	58	10
High community expectations	75	76	75	1
Difficult to recruit/keep officers	62	59	64	-5
Inadequate protocols with other police services	25	12	36	-24
Family violence	86	91	82	9
Child welfare problems	82	87	77	10
Political interference	54	51	56	-5
High levels of property crime	68	65	70	-5
Alcohol or drug problems	96	97	94	3
Technological barriers	49	51	36	15

From the list of nineteen possible community problems / issues that could bear on their policing strategies and activities, the four garnering the most frequent "very serious" responses, were ranked similarly by both RCMP and Other police services' members. They are, in terms of the percentage so responding, first for RCMP then for Other police service officers

1. Alcohol and Drug Problems (78% RCMP, 71% Other)
2. Family Violence (55%, 47%)
3. Child welfare problems (52%, 41%)
4. Poverty and Unemployment (51%, 39%)

The fifth highest rank community problem for the RCMP members was social disorder (51% compared to 34% for the Other officers) while, for the Other, basically SA, officers, it was high community expectations for police service. It is clear then that officers across the board identified social problems as generating the most serious community challenges for policing, and that RCMP officers in particular adopted that position. Given that these officers were far more likely to be non-Aboriginal and to come from and live outside the communities, such a perspective might well be expected. As

depicted elsewhere, there were no significant differences between RCMP and SA officers in terms of assessment of crime (e.g., gang activity, levels of violent crime, organized crime, property crime) or of geo-socio-demographic problems (e.g., large geographical areas, inadequate housing).

Illustrating the above comments, there were significant differences by service affiliation on several social and policing problems as indicated below where the percentage responding either "very serious" or "somewhat serious" is given for RCMP and Other officers respectively.

1. Gambling (38% RCMP, 48% Other)
2. Poverty and Unemployment (80% RCMP, 68% Other)
3. Inadequate housing (68% RCMP, 58% Other)
4. Child welfare problems (87% RCMP, 77% Other)
5. Suicide (55% RCMP to 46% Other)
6. Inadequate protocols with other police services (12% R, 36% O)
7. Technological barriers (51% RCMP, 36% Other)

Clearly, RCMP officers were more likely to highlight the social problems, while with respect to policing issues, the RCMP and SA officers highlighted some different issues, technological shortcomings by the RCMP, and inadequate protocols by the SA members.
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How Safe is the Community?

Asked to provide their view of how safe or unsafe the residents in their policing area were with respect to six items, the officers indicated that there were indeed some quite serious safety issues from their point of view and also from that of community residents as they perceived the latter's views. The following table provides the percentage considering each item as either "somewhat unsafe" or "very unsafe" for each perspective.

Item	% Unsafe Officers' View	% Unsafe Residents' View*
Public disorder	22%	33%
Assaults	**51%**	**59%**
Property crime	61%	69%
Gang activity	33%	41%
Drug-related crime	**64%**	**72%**
Illegal Use Firearms	43%	46%

- As perceived by the officers in the sample.

It is striking that a majority of the officers considered that the residents were unsafe from assaults, property crime and drug-related crimes, and that a significant minority held they were also unsafe from gang activity and social disorder more generally. It is also important to see that the officers, overall, perceived residents to be even more likely to consider themselves unsafe on every item and especially (in absolute percentage terms) with respect to violent and property crime. There were differences by police service and by gender in terms of the officers' reported personal views, with RCMP members and females being more likely than their counterparts (i.e., SA members and males) to provide the response "unsafe". These differences either vanished or were sharply reduced when the officers gave their assessment of the residents' perspectives; this is illustrated below in the two tables dealing with officers' and residents' consideration of safety with respect to assaults. Within the RCMP, there were no significant differences between the Aboriginal officers and non-Aboriginal in their perceptions of community problems and safety.

Crosstab

Their Own Views			Police Service		Total
			RCMP	SA	
Q25_b Assault (physical, sexual, etc.)	Very safe	Count	5	12	17
		% within Police Service	3.4%	8.7%	5.9%
	Somewhat safe	Count	52	64	116
		% within Police Service	35.1%	46.4%	40.6%
	Somewhat unsafe	Count	45	38	83
		% within Police Service	30.4%	27.5%	29.0%
	Very unsafe	Count	46	24	70
		% within Police Service	31.1%	17.4%	24.5%
Total		Count	148	138	286
		% within Police Service	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

Their Sense of the Community's Views			Police Service		
			RCMP	SA	Total
Q26_b Assault (physical, sexual, etc.)	Very safe	Count	5	6	11
		% within Police Service	3.5%	4.6%	4.0%
	Somewhat safe	Count	45	49	94
		% within Police Service	31.3%	37.4%	34.2%
	Somewhat unsafe	Count	53	50	103
		% within Police Service	36.8%	38.2%	37.5%
	Very unsafe	Count	41	26	67
		% within Police Service	28.5%	19.8%	24.4%
Total		Count	144	131	275
		% within Police Service	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In their assessments of the relationship between police service and most community residents (Question 27), the majority of the officers rated it as "good" (53%) with 31% saying "fair" and the remainder about equally split between "excellent" and "poor". There were no differences in these assessments by objective criteria such as police service affiliation and gender. Indeed, as shown in the table below, RCMP and SA officers gave essentially the same pattern of responses.

Crosstab

| | | | Police Service | | |
			RCMP	SA	Total
27 How would you rate the relationship between most people in your community and the police?	Excellent	Count	12	8	20
		% within Police Service	7.9%	6.0%	7.0%
	Good	Count	78	67	145
		% within Police Service	51.7%	50.4%	51.1%
	Fair	Count	46	46	92
		% within Police Service	30.5%	34.6%	32.4%
	Poor	Count	15	12	27
		% within Police Service	9.9%	9.0%	9.5%
Total		Count	151	133	284
		% within Police Service	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

MORE IN-DEPTH ANALYSES OF PERCEIVED WORK PROBLEMS

After computing overall scores for perception of work-related problems and dividing the sample into low, medium and high categories, cross tabulations were done first with objective variables and then with binary categories of other subjective variables. Looking first at the objective variables, age, rank, marital status, educational attainment, aboriginal identity, reared in the community now policing, and police service affiliation (i.e., RCMP or SA) did not differentiate among the low, medium and high categories of "work-related problems" scores. Also, there was no significant difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members of the RCMP. Gender however was statistically significant as 42% of the males, compared to 20% of the females, had the highest level of perceived work problems scores (see the table below).

The subjective variables, whose variations were most strongly correlated with variations in the work problem scores, were job dissatisfaction, job stress, organizational dissatisfaction, perception of serious community problems - whether crime, social or policing-related community problems – and having a high enforcement approach to policing. In all these cases, high scores on the variable yielded the higher scores for perception of work problems. The associations were statistically significant at the <.000

level. A few of the crosstab tables – one dealing with job stress and another dealing with an enforcement approach to policing - are reproduced below for illustrative purposes. It is clear then that officers perceiving a high degree of community problems also reported a high degree of work problems, that job dissatisfaction and job stress correlate strongly with perceived work problems, that organizational dissatisfaction was a strong predictor of high work problem scores, and that officers with high scores for an enforcement style of policing were more likely to identify major work problems compared to officers with low attachment to an enforcement approach (47% to 32% significant at <.005). Other subjective variables such as perception of organizational limitations for career advancement and having various non-enforcement policing styles were not significantly correlated with scores for perceived work problems.

A regression analysis was carried out where all the variables significantly related to variations in the work problems scores were simultaneously entered into an equation. The results showed that the only statistically significant variables were job stress, organizational dissatisfaction, enforcement style and perception of serious community problems. The equation accounted for 23% of the variation in work problem scores and was significant at the <.000 level. In sum, then, officers with high scores for job stress, organizational dissatisfaction, perception of the community having serious problems, and an enforcement style of policing were most likely to have high scores for perception of work problems. It is not suggested that these factors cause the officers to perceive high levels of work problems but rather that they fit together with such perceptions, constituting a particular gestalt of the work experience.

Crosstab

| | | | Q2 Gender | | Total |
			Male	Female	
Work problems	Low	Count	74	19	93
		% within Q2 Gender	31.8%	38.0%	32.9%
	Medium	Count	62	21	83
		% within Q2 Gender	26.6%	42.0%	29.3%
	High	Count	97	10	107
		% within Q2 Gender	41.6%	20.0%	37.8%
Total		Count	233	50	283
		% within Q2 Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Job stress		Total
			Low	High	
Work problems	Low	Count	58	36	94
		% within Job stress	45.3%	24.0%	33.8%
	Medium	Count	41	41	82
		% within Job stress	32.0%	27.3%	29.5%
	High	Count	29	73	102
		% within Job stress	22.7%	48.7%	36.7%
Total		Count	128	150	278
		% within Job stress	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Assessment of Seriousness of Crime		Total
			Low	High	
Work problems	Low	Count	59	33	92
		% within Collapsed sercrime	43.4%	22.4%	32.5%
	Medium	Count	39	44	83
		% within Collapsed sercrime	28.7%	29.9%	29.3%
	High	Count	38	70	108
		% within Collapsed sercrime	27.9%	47.6%	38.2%
Total		Count	136	147	283
		% within Collapsed sercrime	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

MORE IN-DEPTH ANALYSES OF PERCEIVED COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

In order to carry out more in-depth analyses, three indexes were created to represent **crime problems** (e.g. high levels of violent crime, gang activity, presence of organized crime), **social problems** (e.g., poverty and unemployment, inadequate housing) and **other policing-related problems** (e.g., high community expectations for police service, political interference)**.** In examining the linkages between the three dimensions of perceived community problems – crime, social conditions, other issues for policing – and objective factors such as age, gender and police service affiliation, it was found that only differences in age produced significant variation in the scores for these

diverse facets of community problems. The older the officers, the less serious they perceived the crime problems, the social problems and other policing –salient problem community characteristics**.** This is illustrated well in the table below depicting the cross-tabulation between age levels and low and high scores for perceived serious social problems; further examples are that 60% of the officers under 30 years of age had high scores for perceived serious crime problems compared with 44% of those over 40 years of age, and the comparable percentages for serious other policing-salient community problems were 38% and 27%. Variation in all other objective variables – gender, police service, rank, marital status, education, aboriginal background, and aboriginal identity – was not significantly related to variation in the scores for the different dimensions of perceived community problems, nor was there any appreciable difference within the RCMP between the scores of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers.

Crosstab

			Age categories #1			
			30 and under	31 to 40	over 40	Total
Serious social problems	Low	Count	31	67	66	164
		% within Age categories #1	43.7%	51.1%	61.7%	53.1%
	High	Count	40	64	41	145
		% within Age categories #1	56.3%	48.9%	38.3%	46.9%
Total		Count	71	131	107	309
		% within Age categories #1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In the case of subjective or attitudinal variables, there were several variables where variation was associated with variation in the community problems scores. Essentially the same set of four variables were important correlates for all three dimensions of perceived community problems, namely job stress, job dissatisfaction, organizational dissatisfaction and a negative view of the police role in society. In all instances, high scores on the variable were associated with high scores for the perceived serious problems; for example, 54% of the officers with high scores for organizational dissatisfaction had high scores for perception of social problems as very serious, compared with 39% of those with low scores for organizational dissatisfaction (significant at <.008). Clearly, then, officers viewing their job, police organization, and the police role generally with some angst or disfavour were also the officers most likely to perceive the communities they policed as having a slew of different serious problems; of course, the reference here is to correlates and it could be argued that frustration with the perceived community problems was an important cause of their job stress and related dissatisfactions, more than vice versa. High scores for job satisfaction, organizational satisfaction and positive views about the police role had little relationship to the community problem scores.

Apart from the four variables identified above, variation in the scores for most other potentially salient, subjective variables was not related to variation in the scores for perceived community problems. Variables such as the reasons the officers reportedly became police officers, their style of policing, and their views about the distinctiveness of aboriginal policing were not significantly related to perceptions of serious community problems. There were two exceptions. Officers with high scores for an enforcement approach to policing were more likely than those with low scores to perceive serious crime problems in their communities (58% to 47%, significant at <.05) and serious social problems as well (56% to 40%, significant at <.005). These correlates suggest a certain frustration for officers with an enforcement approach working in communities with many deep social issues. Also, officers engaged in more informal, service-oriented policing, and in close contact with local leaders (the SA style as defined earlier) were more likely than other officers to have high scores for perceiving serious crime (61% to 44% significant at <.006), serious social problems (54% to 42%, significant at <.03), and other

community features problematic for policing (45% to 23%, significant at <.000). The tables below depict a few of the interesting significant relationships. A regression analysis entering all statistically significant variables simultaneously showed that overall no single variable was dominant. In the case of serious crime scores, high job dissatisfaction and younger age were key factors, whereas for serious social problems scores, the most important predictors were an enforcement approach to policing and a negative conception of the police role in society. For other serious salient community problems scores, the only variable left standing in a statistically significant sense was having an SA style of policing.

Overall, then there was a fairly substantial consensus among the officers as to the considerable seriousness of various community problems. Apart from that consensus, there was some variation associated with the age of the officers, with the older officers being more sanguine about the community problems. Attitudinally, officers viewing their job, police organization, and the police role generally with some angst or disfavour were also the officers most likely to perceive the communities they policed as having a slew of different serious problems. The different types of perceived community problems were particularly associated with somewhat different mixes of these factors. Perceptions of very serious crime problems in the community were linked to high job dissatisfaction and younger officers. Perceptions of very serious social problems in the community were associated most with officers having a strong enforcement approach to policing and to those with a more negative view of the police role in society. Perceptions of other policing-related very serious problems in the community were linked to those having more of what was defined earlier as an SA style of policing.

Crosstab

			Negative view police role		
			Low	High	Total
Serious Crime score	Low	Count	92	55	147
		% within negview	57.1%	38.2%	48.2%
	High	Count	69	89	158
		% within negview	42.9%	61.8%	51.8%
Total		Count	161	144	305
		% within negview	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

| | | | SA style policing | | Total |
			Low	High	
Serious crime score	Low	Count	94	50	144
		% within Collapsed score for SAstyle policing	55.6%	39.4%	48.6%
	High	Count	75	77	152
		% within Collapsed score for SAstyle policing	44.4%	60.6%	51.4%
Total		Count	169	127	296
		% within Collapsed score for SAstyle policing	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

| | | | Enforcement style score | | Total |
			Low	High	
Serious social problems	Low	Count	105	54	159
		% within Enfscore	60.0%	43.5%	53.2%
	High	Count	70	70	140
		% within Enfscore	40.0%	56.5%	46.8%
Total		Count	175	124	299
		% within Enfscore	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

THE OFFICERS AND THE POLICE SERVICE

Several questions sought the members' views about working in their police service. Question 43 asked the respondents whether they agreed or disagreed, strongly or otherwise, with 13 distinct statements. Question 44 sought their views on the quality of supervision in their police service. Question 45 asked whether there was a particularly challenging issue for their police service while question 46 asked whether there was some feature of their police service of which they were especially proud. Question 50 asked their opinion about a number of possible features of their organization, most notably whether there were built-in limits on their own career advancement associated with being in that police service. The items that constituted question 43 were similar to those asked of officers in the 1996 national survey and that comparison will be considered first.

THE 1996 COMPARISON

Table 9.1 describes the officers' responses in the two time period. In terms of the overall patterns (i.e., all 2007 compared to all 1996 respondents) table 9.1 indicates that there has been remarkable continuity over the ten year period. Respondents in 2007 however were less likely to believe that their police organization protected its members than were their 1996 counterparts; where 45% of 1996 respondents thought so, this figure dropped to 34% in 2007. On the other hand, the officers in 2007 were more likely to agree that "I feel very loyal to this police organization" (87% to 70%) but this difference is partly the result of more "don't know" or "missing" responses in 1996. Otherwise, in both time periods, respondents gave a largely positive assessment of their organizations, agreeing at high rates to the positively phrased assessment variables (e.g., good working relationships with local leaders, officer loyalty, fair evaluation procedures) and only at low rates to the negatively phrased variables (e.g., wishing to leave the force, being hampered by rules, there is too much community input).

The overall continuity does mask some dramatic changes over time by police service affiliation as indicated in Table 9.1.1 which compares the RCMP vis-à-vis Other officers. Perhaps most significant is the change in assessment of performance evaluation; whereas in 1996, Other police officers were 12 points more likely than RCMP members (74% to 62%) to agree that such performance evaluation was carried out in a competent and fair manner, in 2007 the RCMP officers were 17 points more likely to express that view (80% to 63%), a huge turnaround of some 30 percentage points. There were also significant changes in terms of agreeing that "I feel very loyal to police organization" and "This organization protects its members from external pressures and criticisms". In 1996, RCMP and Other Police Services' respondents were equally likely to agree that it would take very little for them to leave the force (i.e., 22% agreement from both force types). In 2007, RCMP response rates stayed the same, while Other Police Services respondents went from 22% in agreement to 37% in agreement. This could suggest a problem for the SA police services. On one measure though, the change could be defined as favourable to the officers in the Other police services – in 1996 the Other respondents were 9 points

more likely than the RCMP grouping (47% to 38%) to report organizational protection against external pressures and criticisms but in 2007 they were 20 points more likely (44% to 24%). In the table below a separate column was added for SA officers in 2007 on the comparison questions but the responses were similar to those for the Other police services (OPS) as a whole.

Table 9.1 – Organizational Assessment – Overall data, 1996 & 2007

Organizational Statement	1996 %				2007 %			
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Overall								
Good working relations with governing authorities*	23	58	13	6	21	64	13	2
Take very little for me to leave	7	17	47	29	7	23	42	28
Rules and regs hamper my job	7	20	60	13	5	18	62	15
Organization protects members from external pressure/criticism	7	38	40	15	4	30	50	16
Feel very loyal to organization	31	39	8	2	34	53	11	2
Helpful to members regarding personal problems	13	49	29	9	10	50	26	14
Performance evaluation fair	12	58	20	10	14	58	19	9
Too much community input	7	28	57	8	11	29	54	6

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

*This variable has been changed in the 2007 survey to 'good working relations with local political leaders and elected officials.'

Table 9.1.1 – Agreement with Organizational Assessment – Data by force type, 1996 & 2007

Organizational Statement (% responding Agree or Strongly Agree)	Overall %	RCMP %	OPS %	Difference (RCMP%- OPS%)	SA 2007
1996					
Good working relations with governing authorities	81	83	79	4	-
Take very little for me to leave	24	22	22	0	
Rules and regs hamper my job	27	34	22	12	
Organization protects members from external pressure/criticism	45	38	47	-9	
Feel very loyal to organization	90	88	92	-4	
Helpful to members regarding personal problems	62	56	62	-6	
Performance evaluation fair	71	62	74	-12	
Too much community input	35	25	37	-12	
2007					
Good working relations with local leaders and officials	84	89	80	9	77
Take very little for me to leave	30	22	37	-15	36
Rules and regs hamper my job	23	25	19	6	20
Organization protects members from external pressure/criticism	34	24	44	-20	44
Feel very loyal to organization	87	87	86	1	82
Helpful to members regarding personal problems	60	59	62	-3	57
Performance evaluation fair	72	80	63	17	58
Too much community input	40	33	47	-14	45

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

Organization assessments remained very positive for the newly-added items in 2007. Both RCMP and Other Police Services' respondents were likely to agree that their organization had good policies to promote Aboriginal policing (72% to 69%), that there was a positive working relationship between officers and managers in their organization (75% to 70%), and that their leadership understood Aboriginal policing and respected Aboriginal culture (79% to 86%). All differences in response rates across police service types were slight on the newly-added items.

There was some comparability between 1996 and 2007 surveys on other items concerning the officers' assessments of their policing that were tangentially related to their police organization. In both surveys, Other Police Service respondents were far more likely than RCMP respondents to hold that they did not have opportunities to be promoted. In 1996 OPS respondents were more likely than RCMP officers to agree that they had little opportunity for promotion or to be hired by other police services (46% to

31%). In 2007 the question separated out promotion and hiring of Aboriginal officers elsewhere; The Other Police Service respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement about poor promotion prospects in their police organization much more than did their RCMP counterparts (i.e., 72% to 25%). Both groups were, in 2007, much less likely to believe that they did not have an opportunity to be hired elsewhere, although, again, Other Police Service respondents were a good deal more likely to believe that this was the case among the RCMP officers (25% versus 4%).

In 2007 47% of the respondents agreed that a 'more Aboriginal justice system' would have a positive impact", down from the 60% in the 1996 data set, who adopted that position. Both the RCMP and OPS groupings exhibited this decline, the RCMP going from 58% to 52% and the OPS from 52% to 42%. In 1996 35% of the RCMP and 27% of the OPS officers agreed that "the criminal code prevents me from dealing with policing problems in a more appropriate way". But in 2007 the respective percentage diminished to 18% and 22% respectively. These two patterns – views about the value of Aboriginal justice and the value of the criminal code – suggest that officers policing in Aboriginal communities in 2007 may be more focused on dealing with community problems in a more conventional way than their counterparts were in 1996, a perspective that in turn may be related to the persistent pressures on policing to deal with crime, social problems and community expectations.

THE 2007 SAMPLE

Within the broad and generally favorable assessment or their organization, significant variation among respondents was observed on several issues. RCMP respondents were more likely than SA officers to hold that performance evaluation was carried out in a competent and fair manner (74% to 58%) while SA officers were more likely to hold that "there is too much community direction and input in my police organization" (45% to 30%), "this organization protects its members from external pressures and criticisms" (44% to 22%), and "it would take little for me to leave this police force (36% to 22%). To explore variation in responses more deeply, the items constituting question 43 were factor analyzed and then combined into two separate indexes, one measuring organizational satisfaction and the other organizational dissatisfaction.

Organizational Satisfaction

Variation in only one objective measure was linked to variation in organizational satisfaction scores; as shown in the table below, age was somewhat curvilinearly linked as officers less than 30 years of years reported the highest scores for organizational satisfaction (i.e., 72%). Males were marginally more likely than females (60% to 53%) to have high scores for organizational satisfaction. University graduates were more likely than high school graduates to have high scores for organizational satisfaction (66% to 47%). Police service, rank level, aboriginal identity, marital status and number of postings were not significantly linked to organizational satisfaction. Within the RCMP,

however, there was a major difference in high organizational satisfaction scores between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers (47% to 73% respectively).

Turning to the attitudinal or subjective variables, there were a number of variables linked with organizational satisfaction. These included perceived organizational limitations for career, reporting a high level of work-related problems, job stress and job dissatisfaction – in each case low scores in these variables were more likely than high scores to predict high levels of organizational satisfaction (all significant at <.000); for job stress the difference was 71% to 50% and, for job dissatisfaction, the difference was 71% to 49%. The perceived quality of supervision was also very significant; 76% of those rating the supervision highly also had high scores for organizational satisfaction, compared to just 27% of those rating supervision as low quality. Predictably, officers reporting high intrinsic job satisfaction also had high scores for organizational satisfaction. Variables measuring perceived community problems (e.g., crime, social problems) and officers' style of policing (e.g., community-based policing emphasis, enforcement emphasis) were not linked to variations in organizational satisfaction scores.

Overall, then, there were few strong linkages between objective variables and organizational satisfaction (the within variance in the RCMP was the most significant) but a number of subjective or attitudinal variables were significant. In a regression analysis where all statistically significant variables from the crosstab analyses were entered simultaneously, the chief predictors of high organizational satisfaction were assessment of the quality of supervision in the police service (the strongest predictor by far and significant at <.000), perceived work problems, and perception of much organizational limitation for one's career; in each instance low scores on the predictor variables were related to high scores on organizational satisfaction. Intrinsic job satisfaction was also significant in the regression and here high scores predicted high scores in organizational satisfaction. The regression equation with those four variables accounted for 34% of the variation in organizational satisfaction scores and was significant at <.000.

Organizational Dissatisfaction

Turning to organization dissatisfaction, the most important objective variable was police service – see the table below - as SA officers were more likely to have high organizational dissatisfaction scores than RCMP members (63% to 44%) Rank was important – see the table below - as constables had higher organizational dissatisfaction scores than others (61% to 38%) and officers with only the one posting had higher dissatisfaction scores than those having two or more (58% to 43%). Age and gender were marginally significant as females had higher organizational dissatisfaction scores than males (60% to 53%) and younger officers more than older ones. Variations in Aboriginal identity and rootedness variables and other objective variables were not linked to variations in organizational dissatisfaction. Again however variation within the RCMP was important as 52% of the Aboriginal officers had high scores compared to 40% of the non-Aboriginal officers.

Turning to subjective or attitudinal variables, high scores for job stress (see the table below), perceived organizational limitations for career, job dissatisfaction and perceived high level of work problems were all significantly related (at <.000) to high levels of organizational dissatisfaction. Other variables linked to organizational dissatisfaction were community problems such as perceived high levels of crime and social problems, and having an enforcement style of policing – in all these cases high scores predicted high scores in organizational dissatisfaction; for example, 61% of the officers with high scores for an enforcement style of policing had high organizational dissatisfaction scores compared with 49% of those with low scores for enforcement style.

A regression analysis, which included the statistically significant variables from the cross tabulation analyses, found the key predictor variables to be job stress, assessment of quality of supervision, job dissatisfaction, perceived organizational limitations for one's career and police service affiliation. The equation accounted for 25% of the variation in the scores for organizational dissatisfaction and was significant at the <.000 level. It is interesting that even when job stress and the other variables were controlled for, there was still a significant residual impact by whether one was an RCMP or an SA officer.

Crosstab

| | | | Age categories #1 | | | |
			30 and under	31 to 40	over 40	Total
Collapsed orgsat	Low	Count	17	64	37	118
		% within Age categories #1	27.9%	52.5%	36.6%	41.5%
	High	Count	44	58	64	166
		% within Age categories #1	72.1%	47.5%	63.4%	58.5%
Total		Count	61	122	101	284
		% within Age categories #1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Workproblems			Total
			Low	Medium	High	
Collapsed orgsat	Low	Count	20	27	60	107
		% within Workproblems	23.0%	33.3%	56.6%	39.1%
	High	Count	67	54	46	167
		% within Workproblems	77.0%	66.7%	43.4%	60.9%
Total		Count	87	81	106	274
		% within Workproblems	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Police Service		Total
			RCMP	SA	
Collapsed orgdis	Low	Count	81	48	129
		% within PolSer	55.5%	37.2%	46.9%
	High	Count	65	81	146
		% within PolSer	44.5%	62.8%	53.1%
Total		Count	146	129	275
		% within PolSer	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Rank			Total
			Cst	Other	Mgmt	
Collapsed orgdis	Low	Count	60	38	27	125
		% within Rank	39.0%	61.3%	61.4%	48.1%
	High	Count	94	24	17	135
		% within Rank	61.0%	38.7%	38.6%	51.9%
Total		Count	154	62	44	260
		% within Rank	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Job stress		Total
			Low	High	
Collapsed orgdis	Low	Count	80	49	129
		% within Job stress	63.0%	31.2%	45.4%
	High	Count	47	108	155
		% within Job stress	37.0%	68.8%	54.6%
Total		Count	127	157	284
		% within Job stress	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Assessment of Supervision Quality

Question 44 asked the respondents to rate the quality of supervision in their organization, selecting one of the following options – very high quality, moderately high quality, not too high quality, or poor quality. There were no significant differences in the ratings provided by rank, police service, gender, marital status, aboriginal rootedness / identity or number of postings. There was also little difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers in the RCMP. Age, however, was significant as officers as those over 40 years of age were more likely to report "low quality" than officers under 30 years of age (30% to 23%).

Among the attitudinal variables there were a number of significant correlates of supervision assessment. Officers with high scores for perceived organizational limits to their career advancement were much more likely than other officers to rate the quality of supervision in their organization as low (51% to 23%, significant at <000); the table below depicts this relationship. Less robust correlates, but statistically significant (at <.05), were found between assessment of perceived low quality supervision and high job stress (37% to 25% among officers with low job stress), high job dissatisfaction (38% to 24% among officers with low job dissatisfaction), and high perception of serious community problems (37% to 22% for officers with low scores for serious community problems). A regression analysis indicated that the best predictors of assessments of low quality supervision were perceived organizational limits (significant at <.003) and job dissatisfaction (significant at <.02); the regression equation accounted for a modest 8% of the variation in supervision assessment scores.

Crosstab

			OrgLimits for Career			
			Low	Medium	High	Total
Q44 How would you assess the quality of the supervision you receive in your organization?	Very high quality	Count	14	17	7	38
		% within OrgLimits	17.9%	12.6%	8.8%	13.0%
	Moderately high quality	Count	44	84	32	160
		% within OrgLimits	56.4%	62.2%	40.0%	54.6%
	Not too high quality	Count	17	24	26	67
		% within OrgLimits	21.8%	17.8%	32.5%	22.9%
	Poor quality	Count	2	7	15	24
		% within OrgLimits	2.6%	5.2%	18.8%	8.2%
	Don't know	Count	1	3	0	4
		% within OrgLimits	1.3%	2.2%	.0%	1.4%
Total		Count	78	135	80	293
		% within OrgLimits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Challenges and Successes

The officers were asked to describe a particular challenge for their police organization and any especial feature of the police service of which they were particularly proud. Roughly half the sample completed these two questions and the answers were interesting. With respect to challenges, nearly half the respondents highlighted the need for more resources (human and otherwise) in order to carry out solid police work; other, roughly equally proffered, challenges were dealing with the macro social problems being played out at the local level (e.g., socio-economic and development issues), dealing with the local politics, and needing better working relations and mutual understanding between the community and the police service. With respect to the feature of their local police service of which they were especially proud, the two top themes were (a) having a strong community/culturally sensitive police organization, and (b) providing solid policing (e.g., effective action against crime and for public safety) with scarce resources. Another frequent theme was having a good reputation in the community at large and with the local political leaders.

In a broad sense the respondents were divided into those whose responses highlighted community issues and those emphasizing resources and police work. RCMP officers were much more likely to stress the police-community linkages whereas the SA officers were oriented more to resources. This differentiation was evidenced in particular in responses to the question, "Is there a particular organizational feature of your local police service that you are especially proud of"? A representative SA response was that articulated by a 55 year old male chief of police: "I am pleased that despite the financial constraints we have progressed to be able to enter into an integrated policing model with the local RCMP, a first in Canada for a self administered". A representative RCMP response was that written by a 45 year old female constable: **"**Bridging that gap of

distrust between police and First Nations communities. To have First Nations communities know there are trustworthy members who do truly care".

That same different emphasis was also manifested in written comments in response to the question, "Is there a local organizational problem/need that is most challenging for the police service? The general views of the SA and OPP-affiliated respondents are reflected well in the following quotations:

"The Band has agreed to participate in the funding of the organization, but continually refuses to provide the funds that are built into the budget and counted on. The police service is always in debt, funning over drafts and in 'mooch mode'. This seems to provide hours of mirth and glee for the local Council. **SA chief of police, male, 56**

"Not enough manpower. Sometimes there is no coverage for vacation, training, etc. We are always on call and don't get compensated for it". **OPP-affiliated, acting chief of police, female, 40**

"Not enough police officers, no investigators; the closest swat team is 8 to 12 hours away; the cost of transportation from village to village and south is very high; budget not big enough so population doesn't get the proper services". **Quebec corporal, male 37**

The typical more varied written comments of the RCMP respondents are reflected well in the following quotations:

"Child, youth and family services are severely restricted by liabilities and as a result are not providing children, youth & families with the services they need. We are slowly losing our ability to correct the issues we were designed to correct". **RCMP constable male 30**

"Local politics and a lack of understanding of the limits of police; the reduction in other government social services resulting in police having to be the 'catch all' for all social ills". **RCMP sergeant female, 40**

"Acceptance of aboriginal peoples as members! The Force readily agrees that First Nations communities require a different style of policing to augment their customs and traditions, but that acknowledgement is not given to FIRST NATIONS members. We, too, respond and work differently. We come from those communities this organization realizes are "different". We provide the style of policing requested, and are labelled 'slow', 'loser', 'underachievers', 'lazy'. **RCMP, female, constable, 45**

Perceptions of Organization Limitations for Career Advancement in Policing

Question 50 asked respondents' opinion about a number of possible features of their organization. There was little variation among respondents, by police service affiliation or Aboriginal identity, on most items, such as "having the freedom to use policing practices one thinks appropriate" ((86% agree), "feeling there is conflict between the expectations of the police service and those of the community" (45%), "the positive impact of a more Aboriginal justice system" (40% agree), "the inappropriateness of the criminal code" (20% agree), and "a lack of protection offered female officers from any intimidation" (12% agree). There was very significant variation by the same criteria on items asking whether there were built-in limits on their own career advancement associated with being in that police service, whether for advancement within the organization or for providing them opportunity to advance a policing career elsewhere. Four items (i.e., Q50 a,b,c,i.) were used to construct an index, labeled "perceived organizational limits" and it turned out to be a significant predictor of many other variables such as organizational dissatisfaction and future turnover prospects.

The most important objective correlate was police service**.** SA officers were far more likely than RCMP officers – see the table below – to have high scores for perceived organizational limitation, namely 40% to 13% (significant at <.000). Age was also a significant factor as older officers (i.e., more than 40 years of age) were much more likely than younger officers (34% to 14%) to have high perceived organizational limitation scores (see table below). Aboriginal identity and rootedness (e.g., police where one was reared, can speak an aboriginal language) were also crucial factors; for example self-described North American Indians were three times as likely as non-Aboriginal officers (36% to 12% significant at <.002) to report high sense of organizational limitations, and the same pattern was found for degree of aboriginal rootedness**.** There were no significant differences by gender, marital status, educational attainment, number of postings, or rank level. Within the RCMP, there was a difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers as 21% of the former but only 2% of the latter reported high scores on the perceived organizational limitations index.

In terms of attitudinal or subjective variables, the major correlate of high scores for perceived organizational limitations was organizational dissatisfaction where 38% of those with high organizational dissatisfaction (orgdis in the table below) had high scores compared to 15% of those with low scores for organizational dissatisfaction (significant at <.000). High versus low job stress scores (33% to 21%, significant at <.03) and job dissatisfaction scores (33% to 21%, significant at <.01) were linked to a high sense of organizational limitations upon one's policing career. Style of policing variables, job satisfaction, and variables measuring dimensions of community problems were all not significantly associated with perceived organizational limitations. The variable measuring work-related problems was also not significantly related though assessments of supervision quality was, as shown in the table below; respondents assessing the quality of supervision as low were far more likely (45% to 19%, significant at <.000), than those with high assessment scores, to report high organizational limitations scores.

The cross tabulations indicated that older, Aboriginal, SA respondents, and officers with high levels of job stress, job dissatisfaction, and organizational dissatisfaction (including assessments of supervision as of low quality) were the most likely to perceive themselves as limited career-wise by their police service affiliation. When all these factors were entered simultaneously into a linear regression – a free fight to determine the most dominant predictors of perceived organizational limitations - the equation accounted for a notable 31% of the variance (significant at <.000), made even more notable by the fact that the most important variables turned out not to be other attitudes, as is usually the case when the dependent variable is subjective or attitudinal, but objective variables; a composite aboriginal identity variable was the most important predictor followed by police service affiliation, and more distantly age. As shall be observed below, high scores for perceived organizational limitations were strong predictors of likelihood of turnover so there are clear policy implications if turnover is deemed to be a problem, especially, but not only, for the SA police services.

Crosstab

			Collapsed orgdis		
			Low	High	Total
OrgLimits	Low	Count	47	30	77
		% within Collapsed orgdis	35.1%	19.2%	26.6%
	Medium	Count	67	67	134
		% within Collapsed orgdis	50.0%	42.9%	46.2%
	High	Count	20	59	79
		% within Collapsed orgdis	14.9%	37.8%	27.2%
Total		Count	134	156	290
		% within Collapsed orgdis	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Police Service		
			RCMP	SA	Total
OrgLimits	Low	Count	64	18	82
		% within PolSer	42.4%	14.0%	29.3%
	Medium	Count	67	59	126
		% within PolSer	44.4%	45.7%	45.0%
	High	Count	20	52	72
		% within PolSer	13.2%	40.3%	25.7%
Total		Count	151	129	280
		% within PolSer	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Age categories #1			
			30 and under	31 to 40	over 40	Total
OrgLimits	Low	Count	30	25	24	79
		% within Age categories #1	46.2%	19.8%	23.8%	27.1%
	Medium	Count	26	64	43	133
		% within Age categories #1	40.0%	50.8%	42.6%	45.5%
	High	Count	9	37	34	80
		% within Age categories #1	13.8%	29.4%	33.7%	27.4%
Total		Count	65	126	101	292
		% within Age categories #1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			supervision		
			high	low	Total
OrgLimits	Low	Count	58	19	77
		% within supervision	29.3%	20.9%	26.6%
	Medium	Count	101	31	132
		% within supervision	51.0%	34.1%	45.7%
	High	Count	39	41	80
		% within supervision	19.7%	45.1%	27.7%
Total		Count	198	91	289
		% within supervision	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

JOB SATISFACTION AND JOB STRESS

Comparison 1996 and 2007

Both the 1996 and 2007 surveys included question sets regarding job satisfaction and job stress. The 2007 survey added two new items to each of these question sets and had a different question for 'personal satisfaction'; otherwise, the questions were identical and thus allow for direct comparison (see the two comparison tables below).

Job Satisfaction Then and Now

The police respondents continue to consider their work policing in aboriginal communities to be satisfying; in 2007 as in 1996, fully 90% of the officers indicated that they strongly agreed or agreed with the statement, "On the whole, I find my work satisfying". The comparable figure for police officers across Canada in 2006 was 79% (Police Sector Council, 2006). 86% of our 2007 sample reported that "My job gives me a great deal of personal satisfaction. There was no comparable question in 1996 but, then, 43% agreed with a much more demanding question, namely "The major satisfaction in my life comes from my job", so it is safe to assume that twice that percentage would have agreed to some personal satisfaction had the question been asked. About 80% of the officers in both 1996 and 2007 indicated as well that they remain enthused about their job, disagreeing with the suggestion that "Almost none of the work I do stirs up my enthusiasm".

Solidarity among officers and having an impact on Aboriginal justice continued to be significant factors in job satisfaction, 72% and 82% agreeing respectively in 1996 and 75% and 64% in 2007**.** The decline of 18% (in absolute terms) from 1996 levels in the latter suggests that with greater experience in policing Aboriginal communities, the officers may be more realistic about impacting on Aboriginal justice in general. Certainly, the 2007 respondents, across all police services, considered that they were making a difference, having a significant impact as role models for local youth and in achieving more public security in the Aboriginal communities; at least 85% of the officers in 2007 cited both these factors as contributing to their job satisfaction. It is also worth noting that, for a majority of respondents, satisfaction was influenced by pay and benefits, although to a lesser degree than the other factors. In both 1996 and 2007, about 55% of the officers reported that these extrinsic job satisfaction factors were significant to their job satisfaction.

A significant minority of all respondents in both surveys agreed that they had trouble figuring out whether or not they were doing well or poorly at their jobs (36% in 1996 and 30% in 2007). This suggests an inadequate feedback structure, although the decreasing response rate may mean that things are improving in that regard. An increasing number of respondents claimed that their workload was getting in the way of their ability to do their jobs well, rising from 37% of respondents in 1996 to 50% of respondents in 2007; this latter finding does appear to have implications for job stress and job turnover as will be noted below.

Overall, then, the officers policing Aboriginal communities in 2007 were much like their counterparts in 1996 in that they exhibited a high level of job satisfaction and held that they were enthused about their work and believed they were contributing in practical ways as role models and security providers to Aboriginal justice. There was some suggestion of an increasing workload getting in the way of carrying out their role the way they deemed most appropriate. This was especially the case among the RCMP samples since in the 1996 RCMP 39% agreed the workload was making "making it difficult to do the job well" whereas in the RCMP 2007 sample, a majority – 58% - held that opinion. It does appear that the workload was an issue for the RCMP officers rather than any ambiguity about what the officers were required to do; the RCMP percentage agreeing that "I often have trouble figuring out whether I am doing well or poorly at this job" declined from 39% in 1996 to 24% in 2007. Interestingly, there were few differences between RCMP and SA respondents in 2007 on any of the job satisfaction items. RCMP respondents were more likely than SA counterparts to cite too demanding a workload (58% to 41%) while the SA officers were more likely to cite "solidarity among fellow officers" as significant to their job satisfaction (83% to 66% among the RCMP). The OPP-affiliated respondents generated significantly different responses but their policing situation was quite different from either the RCMP or the SA officers.

Table 10.1 – Job Satisfaction – Overall data, 1996 & 2007

Job Satisfaction claim	1996 %				2007 %			
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Overall								
I find my work satisfying	24	69	6	1	28	61	9	2
Major satisfaction in life is my job*	9	34	50	7	25	61	12	2
Trouble figuring job performance	6	30	54	10	2	28	59	11
Amount of work makes it difficult to do my job well	10	27	56	7	12	38	46	4
Work does not stir enthusiasm	3	16	66	15	4	13	69	14
Pay and benefits big part of job satisfaction	13	41	38	8	10	48	35	6
Solidarity among officers is a big part of job satisfaction	17	55	22	6	18	57	21	4
Impacting Aboriginal public security is a big part of job satisfaction	23	59	15	3	13	51	33	3

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

*The comparison question in 2007 reads "My job gives me a great deal of personal satisfaction".

Table 10.1.1 – Agreement with Job Satisfaction statements – Data by force type, 1996 & 2007

Job Satisfaction claim (% responding Agree or Strongly Agree)	Overall %	RCMP%	OPS %	Difference (RCMP%- OPS%)	SA Service 2007 %
1996					
I find my work satisfying	93	90	96	-6	
Major satisfaction in life is my job*	42	38	43	-5	
Trouble figuring job performance	36	39	30	9	
Amount of work makes it difficult to do my job well	37	39	35	4	
Work does not stir enthusiasm	18	18	17	1	
Pay and benefits big part of job satisfaction	54	57	56	1	
Solidarity among officers is a big part of job satisfaction	72	65	75	-10	
Impacting Aboriginal justice is a big part of job satisfaction	82	83	81	2	
2007					
I find my work satisfying	89	88	91	-4	92
Major satisfaction in life is my job*	86	84	89	-5	89
Trouble figuring job performance	30	26	34	-8	32
Amount of work makes it difficult to do my job well	50	58	42	16	41
Work does not stir enthusiasm	17	13	21	-8	19
Pay and benefits big part of job satisfaction	58	58	59	-1	56
Solidarity among officers is a big part of job satisfaction	74	66	82	-16	83
Impacting Aboriginal justice is a big part of job satisfaction	64	64	64	0	59

Source: First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007

The 2007 Sample

For purposes of analysis, the survey items dealing with job satisfaction were factored into three dimensions, namely intrinsic job satisfaction, extrinsic job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction**.** Five items made up the intrinsic job satisfaction index, all of which focused on the satisfaction inherent in the police work being done. Extrinsic job satisfaction was measured by an index of two items dealing with compensation and solidarity with one's fellow officers. The job dissatisfaction index was constituted of two items, namely the amount of work required and a lack of enthusiasm for the work being done. In the comparisons among the police services, here as elsewhere in the analysis, the comparison is between the RCMP and the SA police services, excluding the small OPP-linked grouping. The analyses locate the consensus on themes and elaborate on factors accounting for the variation that exists within the overall results for each theme. The analyses also assess the impact of objective factors (e.g., age, gender, rank, police service) and subjective factors (e.g. how other attitudes or views impact on a theme); typically, index scores were created for all subjective or attitudinal variables.

INTRINSIC JOB SATISFACTION

Looking first at intrinsic job satisfaction, there were generally high scores for all the items. There was no significant variation in scores produced by gender, marital service, police service of the officer, and most measures of aboriginal upbringing or community rootedness. However, age was important; as older officers generally had higher job satisfaction scores (e.g., the % having higher scores increased with the age category of the respondents, going from 31% for the youngest, 39% for the middle category, to 46% for the over-forty years of age category). Managers were more likely than constables to have high intrinsic job satisfaction scores (49% to 33%, significant at <.06) as were those officers with many postings compared to those with none or one beyond first placement (48% to 35%). Officers with college degrees reported high intrinsic job satisfaction scores more than those without a degree (39% to 28%). Surprisingly, non-Aboriginal officers had higher intrinsic job satisfaction scores than Aboriginal officers did. Within the RCMP as well, there were more high intrinsic satisfaction scores among the non-Aboriginal officers than the Aboriginals (45% to 35%). So, in the 2007 sample, the older members, the supervisors / managers, those with wide policing experience, the college educated, and the non-Aboriginals reported the higher levels of intrinsic job satisfaction.

In terms of attitudinal or subjective variables, there were many significant correlates of intrinsic job satisfaction. The usual 'negative' variables of high job stress, organizational dissatisfaction, perception of organizational limits for career mobility, and perception of the community being policed as having serious social problems were all modestly significant in being associated with low intrinsic job satisfaction. For example, high job stress was associated with low intrinsic job satisfaction (significant at <.02) and officers with high levels of organizational dissatisfaction were less likely to report high intrinsic job satisfaction (30% to 48%, significant at <.002). But the factors or variables

most significantly correlated with intrinsic job satisfaction were conception of the police role and style of policing employed**.** Highly positive views about the police role in society were important; those with high scores on this index were much more likely than those with low scores to report high intrinsic job satisfaction (60% to 26%, significant at <.000). Officers with high scores on the index for community policing approach had much higher satisfaction scores than those with low scores for community policing style (62% to 30% at <.000) as did those with high scores on a style called 'social development approach' than their counterparts (51% to 26% at <.000). Variations in scores for having an enforcement approach to policing were not significantly related to variations in intrinsic job satisfaction scores.

Regression analyses, where all significant variables were entered simultaneously, were used to more clearly identify the key variables correlated with variations in intrinsic satisfaction. In the regressions, none of the objective variables survived in the sense that none contributed significantly to the equation for intrinsic satisfaction. None of the 'negative' attitudinal variables such as job stress survived either. The three variables that were significant, and that accounted for all the variance obtained by the resulting equation, were having positive views about the police role, having a community policing approach to policing and having a "social development" approach to one's policing. The most important of the three was having positive views about the police role (i.e., in technical terms it has a beta weighting of .291 compared to .218 and .157 for the other two variables, all three being significant at <.000). These results suggest that beyond having an affinity for the job, a community-based policing style and a social development approach to policing may work best in Aboriginal communities if one is to realize high intrinsic job satisfaction. As will be seen below, job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction operate on somewhat different trajectories. To reduce job dissatisfaction, one has to "get at" job stress and organizational limitations as experienced by the officers. To improve job satisfaction, one has to focus on what the officer is doing in his or her police work.

Crosstab

			rank			
			Cst	Other	Mgmt	Total
Collapsed Intjob	Low	Count	105	35	23	163
		% within rank	66.9%	55.6%	51.1%	61.5%
	High	Count	52	28	22	102
		% within rank	33.1%	44.4%	48.9%	38.5%
Total		Count	157	63	45	265
		% within rank	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Age categories #1			
			30 and under	31 to 40	over 40	Total
Collapsed Intjob	Low	Count	40	85	54	179
		% within Age categories #1	60.6%	69.1%	53.5%	61.7%
	High	Count	26	38	47	111
		% within Age categories #1	39.4%	30.9%	46.5%	38.3%
Total		Count	66	123	101	290
		% within Age categories #1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Collapsed Score for Positive Views of Policing		Total
			Low	High	
Collapsed Intjob	Low	Count	133	44	177
		% within Collapsed Score for Positive Views	74.3%	40.4%	61.5%
	High	Count	46	65	111
		% within Collapsed Score for Positive Views	25.7%	59.6%	38.5%
Total		Count	179	109	288
		% within Collapsed Score for Positive Views	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Collapsed CPstyle		Total
			Low	High	
Collapsed Intjob	Low	Count	144	29	173
		% within Collapsed CPstyle	69.9%	38.2%	61.3%
	High	Count	62	47	109
		% within Collapsed CPstyle	30.1%	61.8%	38.7%
Total		Count	206	76	282
		% within Collapsed CPstyle	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Collapsed SDscore		Total
			Low	High	
Collapsed Intjob	Low	Count	103	73	176
		% within Collapsed SDscore	73.6%	48.7%	60.7%
	High	Count	37	77	114
		% within Collapsed SDscore	26.4%	51.3%	39.3%
Total		Count	140	150	290
		% within Collapsed SDscore	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

EXTRINSIC JOB SATISFACTION

Extrinsic job satisfaction dealt with matters of compensation and officer solidarity ("good work mates"). Males emphasized such factors as more important to their job satisfaction than females did (53% to 44%), as did SA officers compared to RCMP officers (56% to 47%) and officers policing communities in which they were reared

compared to those not doing so (63% to 49%). Younger officers and college educated officers also had higher extrinsic job satisfaction scores than their counterparts, though the differences did not yield statistical significance at <.05. Other objective factors such as marital status did not impact on extrinsic job satisfaction. Virtually none of the attitudinal or subjective variables, (policing style, perceived serious problems for their policing, organizational dissatisfaction or limitations, job stress, negative or positive views of policing), were associated with variations in extrinsic satisfaction. The one exception was having an enforcement style of policing where high scores related to high extrinsic job satisfaction more than low scores did (i.e., 60 to 47%). It appears, then, that SA police officers and those policing where they were raised (mostly SA officers) were more likely than their counterparts to highlight the extrinsic benefits (i.e., compensation and officer solidarity) of their police work.

Crosstab

			Q11_b Is the community which you currently police, the community you grew up in?		
			Yes	No	Total
Collapsed extjob	Low	Count	28	112	140
		% within Q11_b Is the community which you currently police, the community you grew up in?	37.3%	51.1%	47.6%
	High	Count	47	107	154
		% within Q11_b Is the community which you currently police, the community you grew up in?	62.7%	48.9%	52.4%
Total		Count	75	219	294
		% within Q11_b Is the community which you currently police, the community you grew up in?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

JOB DISSATISFACTION

There was a modest level of job dissatisfaction overall. Turning to the issue of accounting for variation in job dissatisfaction scores and the impact of objective factors, the most important variable was police service as RCMP officers (especially RCMP

Aboriginal officers) were more likely than SA officers to have higher job dissatisfaction scores (56% to 45%). Males were more likely than females to report job dissatisfaction (52% to 42%), and younger officers more so than those over 40 years of age (53% to 46%). Despite the percentage differences, none of these three variables – police service, gender and age – yielded statistically significant effects at the usual criterion level of <.05, though police service differences were significant at <.07. The differences within the RCMP by ethnocultural identity (the Aboriginal officers having higher job satisfaction scores, 60% to 50%) were also not significantly different likely because of the small numbers involved. Other variables such as Aboriginal background scores, marital status, educational attainment, rank level and number of postings did not impact at all on the level of job dissatisfaction.

In terms of the subjective variables and job dissatisfaction, there was a strong correlation of high job stress and high job dissatisfaction; 61% of the officers reporting high job stress also reported high job dissatisfaction, compared to but 35% of those with low scores for job stress (significant at <.000). High scores for organizational dissatisfaction were also correlated with high job dissatisfaction scores (62% to 39%, significant at <.000). Respondents perceiving serious problems for policing in the Aboriginal community were also more likely, than those who did not, to have high job dissatisfaction scores. Officers perceiving their community to have serious crime problems (e.g., violent crime, property crime) were more likely than whose who did not to report high job dissatisfaction (59% to 42%, significant at <.005) as were those reporting serious social problems such as feuding, gambling (58% to 45%, significant at <.03) and those reporting serious problems for policing such as community expectations and officer turnover (56% to 41%, significant at <.03). Policing styles such as orientation to community policing, enforcement orientation and so on did not impact on job dissatisfaction.

In sum, then, the subjective variables impacting on job dissatisfaction levels were related to job stress, perceived organizational limitations and perceptions of the Aboriginal community as having serious crime, social problems, and policing challenges. In a regression model where subjective and objective variable were considered simultaneously, police service (i.e., RCMP or not) joined these three variables in accounting for an R of .38 and r2 of .14. All four variables were of roughly equal importance in generating high levels of job dissatisfaction. As noted above job dissatisfaction is clearly driven by job stress related to perceived organizational shortcoming and the serious problems with which the officers must contend.

Crosstab

			Police Service		Total
			RCMP	SA	
Collapsed Job Dissatisfaction	Low	Count	66	72	138
		% within NoOPP	44.3%	55.0%	49.3%
	High	Count	83	59	142
		% within NoOPP	55.7%	45.0%	50.7%
Total		Count	149	131	280
		% within NoOPP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Job stress		Total
			Low	High	
Collapsed Job Dissatisfaction	Low	Count	84	62	146
		% within Job stress	65.1%	38.8%	50.5%
	High	Count	45	98	143
		% within Job stress	34.9%	61.3%	49.5%
Total		Count	129	160	289
		% within Job stress	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Collapsed sercrime		Total
			Low	High	
Collapsed Job Dissatisfaction	Low	Count	81	63	144
		% within Collapsed sercrme	57.4%	40.9%	48.8%
	High	Count	60	91	151
		% within Collapsed sercrme	42.6%	59.1%	51.2%
Total		Count	141	154	295
		% within Collapsed sercrme	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Collapsed orgdis		Total
			Low	High	
Collapsed Job Dissatisfaction	Low	Count	82	60	142
		% within Collapsed orgdis	61.2%	38.2%	48.8%
	High	Count	52	97	149
		% within Collapsed orgdis	38.8%	61.8%	51.2%
Total		Count	134	157	291
		% within Collapsed orgdis	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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JOB STRESS, 1996 AND 2007

The 2007 and 1996 surveys both asked respondents to assess rate the level of stress they experienced from 14 identical factors (see the frequency distribution appended to the report). However, while the 1996 survey asked respondents to identify how strongly they agreed that each factor was stressful, the 2007 survey asked them to rate the factor on a scale of very stressful to not at all stressful; accordingly, a direct comparison aimed at assessing the magnitude of change over the decade should be interpreted with caution though more confidence can be placed in the rank order of the stress-producing factors in each period. The top five stressors by rank order in 1996 and 2007 were:

1996	2007
1. work schedules (68%)	1. work schedules (49%)
2. emergency response (64%)	2. emergency response (49%)
3. political pressure on policing (64%)	3. promotion issues (48%)
4. contact with criminals (56%)	4. political pressures (42%)
5. police work in general (48%)	5. police workingeneral 36%

It can be seen that the same stressors were generally highlighted in both periods and with the same rank order. The 2007 respondents, as noted earlier were more experienced in police work than their counterparts were in 1996 and perhaps that explains what can be argued is the less stress reported by respondents in 2007. Promotion procedures replaced 'contact with criminals' as a top five stressor in 2007. Least likely stress factors in both data sets were relations with Aboriginal officers, relations with non-Aboriginal officers, relations with coaches and liaisons, and citizen contacts on the job.

There was little difference between the RCMP officers and those with other police services with respect to the factors highlighted as stressors, save in one respect, namely that the RCMP respondents were more likely to highlight stress associated with promotion procedures in both time periods (see the table below).

Table 10.3.1 – Stresses in Officers' lives – Data by force type, 1996 & 2007

Job Satisfaction claim	Overall %	RCMP %	OPS %	Difference (RCMP% -OPS%)
1996 (% responding Agree or Strongly Agree)				
Work Schedules	68	68	68	0
Relations w/ coaches, liaisons	32	36	30	6
Relations w/ supervisors	38	45	36	9
Relations w/ Aboriginal officers	23	20	23	-3
Relations w/ Non-Aboriginal officers	29	34	26	12
Court Appearances	43	44	43	1
Citizen contacts on the job	28	23	28	-5
Contacts with criminals	56	55	57	-2
Promotion procedures	41	55	34	21
Emergency response	64	62	67	-5
My home life	39	37	35	2

My personal health	35	36	33	3
My personal financial affairs	39	27	38	-11
Political pressures on policing	64	60	66	-6
Police work in general	49	47	51	-4
2007 *(% responding very stressful or stressful)*				
Work Schedules	49	49	48	1
Relations w/ coaches, liaisons	13	10	16	-6
Relations w/ supervisors	22	19	25	-6
Relations w/ Aboriginal officers	6	4	7	-3
Relations w/ Non-Aboriginal officers	9	7	11	-4
Court Appearances	21	18	24	-6
Citizen contacts on the job	10	7	12	-5
Contacts with criminals	25	20	29	-9
Promotion procedures	48	66	31	33
Emergency response	49	49	48	1
My home life	25	24	25	-1
My personal health	29	27	32	-5
My personal financial affairs	23	19	26	-7
Political pressures on policing	42	38	45	-7
Police work in general	36	33	40	-7

Source: *First Nations Police Officers Survey 1996, Nat'l Survey of Officers Policing in Aboriginal Communities in Canada 2007*

JOB STRESS 2007

The index of job stress was based on the seventeen items in question 48. Counts were made for each officer of every item (e.g., relations with my supervisor, court appearances etc) for which the response was very stressful or stressful. The individual scores were then categorized as low or high. Looking first at objective factors, such as age, rank and police service, for possible significant correlates of high stress, it was found that none of the variables was significantly associated with high job stress scores, though gender and age approached significance. Males reported more job stress than females (57% to 48%) and younger officers more than officers over 40 years of age (61% to 48%). The crosstabs showed little difference by marital status, educational attainment (i.e., 63% of those whose highest formal education was a high school and 61% of the college graduates reported high job stress), rank, police service, or aboriginal background. Within the RCMP, there was no difference between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers in their job stress scores. Overall, it may not be surprising that older officers are less stressed in their jobs but that females experience less job stress than males was less predictable.

Among the attitudinal or subjective factors, high job dissatisfaction was related to high job stress (68% to 42%) as were measures of organizational dissatisfaction and perception of significant organizational limitations for one's personal career advancement – the 'organizational limitations' variable measures the extent to which the person felt trapped in the police service with little chance of moving up or out to other opportunities in policing. The perception that conditions in the local community raised serious

problems for effective policing was also related to high levels of job stress. Among the serious community problems, the one most strongly connected to job stress was the perception of serious crime problems; where serious crime problems were perceived, there was more job stress than where there was a perception of modest crime problems in the community (64% to 46%). Other perceived serious problems involving social problems or operational policing issues also generated high job stress. Not surprisingly, highly negative views about the police role were strongly correlated with high job stress but variations in scores for positive views of the police role had no impact on job stress. Style of policing engaged in (e.g., enforcement style, community policing style) made no impact. Regression analyses found that only three variables accounted for the variance explained in job stress scores, namely level of job dissatisfaction, scores for organizational dissatisfaction, and degree of negative views about the police role; these three variables accounted for an R of .44 (r2 = .16) and were roughly equal in significance, each having a beta of about .20. Overall, job stress matched up with job dissatisfaction and appeared driven by perceived organizational shortcomings and serious community problems for the policing task.

What is the connection between job stress and turnover likelihood? At first glance the relationship was unclear since it was contaminated by the retirement effect – that is, older officers, typically, as noted above, experiencing less stress, anticipate turnover because of retirement. To eliminate the retirement effect, only those officers 40 years of age and under were selected. Then crosstabs were carried out on the two questions (q20 and q51) dealing with expectations and hopes respectively about being in same police service five years hence. Concerning expectations, 31% among those with high job stress and 16% among those with low job stress, at best only somewhat expected to be in same police service five years hence. Officers with high job stress were also less likely than those with low job stress to hope that they would remain with the same police service. Job stress would appear then to be related to potential turnover. As we shall see in the next section, other factors are more directly important in assessing the likelihood of job turnover.

Crosstab

			Collapsed Job Dissatisfaction		
			Low	High	Total
Job stress	Low	Count	84	45	129
		% within Collapsed Job Dissatisfaction	57.5%	31.5%	44.6%
	High	Count	62	98	160
		% within Collapsed Job Dissatisfaction	42.5%	68.5%	55.4%
Total		Count	146	143	289
		% within Collapsed Job Dissatisfaction	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Collapsed sercrime		
			Low	High	Total
Job stress	Low	Count	75	54	129
		% within Collapsed sercrme	54.3%	36.0%	44.8%
	High	Count	63	96	159
		% within Collapsed sercrme	45.7%	64.0%	55.2%
Total		Count	138	150	288
		% within Collapsed sercrme	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TURNOVER AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Turnover

Studies have long shown that rural and small town police services have high levels of turnover. The presence of other police officers or similar role players (i.e., security roles), natal ties to the local area, and being married, have usually been identified as more important than extrinsic job satisfaction (e.g., satisfaction with the compensation package) or job stress, in yielding lower levels of turnover (e.g., Wood, 2001). Turnover has been shown also to be a major reality and management concern for the SA police services (Clairmont, 2001, 2006) in Canada, especially where the police complement at the community level is small (i.e., in small, more isolated First Nations) . Two questions in the 2007 survey directly asked respondents to indicate their expectations and their hopes, respectively, for remaining with their current police service over the next five years. The expectation question specifically was "Do you expect to be a police officer in your current service five years from now"? The hope question asked, "Do you hope to be a police officer in your current police service five years from now"? There was no corresponding question in the 1996 national survey.

The following tables show the frequency distribution for Q20, Q21 and q51. It can be seen (Q20) that 70% of those who ventured an opinion considered that they would most likely remain with their current police service and roughly 60% (Q51) stated that they very much hoped they would be in that situation. It is clear too that expectations and hopes matched up very well, percentage-wise; about 20% of the respondents did not expect to be with their current police service and about the same proportion did not hope to be. Among those expressing the view "unlikely" "no" or "not sure" when asked about their expectations, the main reason given had nothing directly to do with policing but rather focused on factors such as health and age (Q21).

Q20 Do you expect to be a police officer in your current police service five years from now?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Definitely	120	37.9	41.8	41.8
	Most likely	80	25.2	27.9	69.7
	Somewhat likely	33	10.4	11.5	81.2
	Unlikely	25	7.9	8.7	89.9
	No	29	9.1	10.1	100.0
	Total	287	90.5	100.0	
Missing	Not sure	22	6.9		
	System	8	2.5		
	Total	30	9.5		
Total		317	100.0		

Q21 Why are you unsure of not being with your current police service in 5 years?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	personal reasons unconnected to policing - age, health, etc.	25	7.9	37.3	37.3
	negative features of my police service	10	3.2	14.9	52.2
	stresses and strains of policing as a job	5	1.6	7.5	59.7
	extrinsic job factors: pay, schedule, paperwork, job security	12	3.8	17.9	77.6
	intrinsic job factors: job doesn't suit me, boring, no auton	4	1.3	6.0	83.6
	community negatives	1	.3	1.5	85.1
	better opportunities may present themselves	7	2.2	10.4	95.5
	other	3	.9	4.5	100.0
	Total	67	21.1	100.0	
Missing	DK/NR	250	78.9		
Total		317	100.0		

Q51 Given your experiences to date, do you hope to be a police officer in your current police service five years from now?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very much hope to be	162	51.1	58.1	58.1
	Somewhat hope to be	69	21.8	24.7	82.8
	Somewhat hope not to be	23	7.3	8.2	91.0
	Very much hope not to be	25	7.9	9.0	100.0
	Total	279	88.0	100.0	
Missing	Not sure	19	6.0		
	System	19	6.0		
	Total	38	12.0		
Total		317	100.0		

When cross-tabulations were carried out with the Q20 answers, it was found that:

1. RCMP officers were more likely to expect to remain with their police service than SA officers (75% to 64%)
2. Respondents with high intrinsic job satisfaction more than those with low intrinsic job satisfaction (73% to 67%)
3. Respondents with low scores for organizational dissatisfaction more than those with high scores (81% to 62%)
4. Respondents reporting low job stress more than those reporting high job stress (76% to 67%)
5. Age, gender, marital status (just comparing single versus married) and the number of postings were factors whose variation produced no different expectations of remaining with one's current police service over the next five years.
6. Examining the open-ended responses or reasons given for the expectation of not remaining with the police service, it is clear that the vast majority of those over 40 years of age cited personal reasons, and that constables, in comparison with management personnel, were more likely to give as the reason 'negative features of my service' and 'extrinsic job satisfaction factors (e.g., pay)'.

In terms of expressed hopes (Q51), the cross-tabulations revealed that, when one focuses solely on respondents who stated that they "very much hope" to stay with their current police service,

7. RCMP officers were more likely than SA officers (68% to 40%),
8. Respondents with low organizational dissatisfaction score more than those with high such scores (73% to 40%)
9. Respondents with low job stress more than those with high job stress (58% to 51%)
10. There were suggestive differences by gender (males more hoping to remain than females) but otherwise no objective characteristic proved significant in generating different patterns.

Given that many factors could be entangled with retirement considerations based on age, health and years of service, it was decided to repeat the analyses excluding all respondents over 40 years of age. Doing so reduced the sample size to 202 respondents but provided a much clearer appreciation of the factors associated with turnover, apart from health, age and long service. Looking first at Q20, expectations, and doing cross-tabulations where the expectation variable is dichotomized into (a) those responding somewhat likely, unlikely or no, and (b) those responding definitely or most likely, it was found

1. Gender, number of postings since first assignment, and marital status did not differentiate between the dichotomized categories of expectations.
2. Aboriginal identity (a count of several identity variables) was important but somewhat surprisingly, respondents with the high Aboriginal identity scores were more likely to expect not to be with their current police service five years hence or at best only somewhat likely (33% to 24% significant <.05)
3. The most important objective variable was police service as fully 43% of the SA officers had low expectations of being with their current police service while only 11% of the RCMP officers did so (significant<.000).
4. Within the RCMP grouping, Aboriginal officers were three times as likely as non-Aboriginal officers (17% to 5%) to report low expectations of being with the RCMP five years hence.
5. In terms of subjective factors, only three stand-out as significant. Respondents who had high scores on the "organizational limitations" index – orglim in the table below - (limitations for promotion, for subsequent opportunities with other police services etc) - were far more likely to indicate that they had low expectations of remaining with their current police service than those who either did not perceive such limitations or considered them unimportant (53% to 9%, significant <.000)
6. Officers with low organizational satisfaction scores – orgsat in the table below - were more likely than those with high scores to expect to move on (30% to 21% significant <.000); conversely, officers with high organizational dissatisfaction scores – orgdis in the table below - were more likely to expect to move on than those with low organizational dissatisfaction scores (35% to 10%, significant <.000).
7. Variables measuring various dimensions of job satisfaction (intrinsic, extrinsic) and job dissatisfaction, policing style of the officer (see section on policing styles), perceived seriousness in the various dimensions of the policing task in the community (see section on perceived community problems), and whether the officers had positive or negative views of the police role itself , all proved not to be significant in terms of correlating with likelihood or not of expecting to be remain with one's current police service for the next five years.
8. Given the high correlation between expectations and hopes with respect to remaining with one current police service, it is not surprising that essentially the same variables that explained variations in expectations also accounted for the variations in hoping**.** Here 'hope' scores in the high category included the responses "very much hope to be with the service five years from now" or "somewhat hope to be", while low hope scores included all other responses.
9. The major objective variable associated with the low category of 'hope' scores predictably was police service; the SA officers were much more likely to report low hope than the RCMP officers (40% to 10%, significant <.000). Females reported low hope scores more often than male officers (40% to 20%, significant <.05), and single persons more than married ones (36% to 22%). In sum, then, SA officers, females and single persons were less likely than their

counterparts to report that they "hope very much" or even "hope somewhat" to be a police officer in their current police service five years hence.

10. Within the RCMP grouping, there was a large difference between the Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal officers as the former were eight times more likely to have low hope scores than the latter (16% to 2%).

11. The same three subjective variables that accounted for variation in expectations also accounted for the variation in 'hope' scores, namely organizational satisfaction, organizational dissatisfaction and perception of serious organizational limitations for officer career advancement. Officers with low organizational satisfaction scores were more likely than those with high scores to report that they did not hope to remain with their current police force (33% to 15% significant <.000), as were those with high organizational dissatisfaction scores compared to their counterparts (34% to 5%, significance <.000). Officers reporting serious organizational limitation for their subsequent advancement in the police role also were more likely than their counterparts to indicate that they did not hope (or were unsure about their hopes) to remain with their current police year over the next five years (48% to 11%, significant <.000).

12. Other subjective assessments or variable such as job stress, types of job satisfaction, types of police style adopted, perception of serious problems for policing in the area being policed, and views (positive or negative) of the police role, were not significantly related to 'hope' about remaining with the current police service just as they were not salient apparently with respect to expectations about being in the current police service five years hence.

Crosstab

			Collapsed orgsat		Total
			Low	High	
Q20 Do you expect to be a police officer in your current police service five years from now?	Definitely	Count	18	60	78
		% within Collapsed orgsat	26.1%	60.6%	46.4%
	Most likely	Count	30	18	48
		% within Collapsed orgsat	43.5%	18.2%	28.6%
	Somewhat likely	Count	8	10	18
		% within Collapsed orgsat	11.6%	10.1%	10.7%
	Unlikely	Count	11	6	17
		% within Collapsed orgsat	15.9%	6.1%	10.1%
	No	Count	2	5	7
		% within Collapsed orgsat	2.9%	5.1%	4.2%
Total		Count	69	99	168
		% within Collapsed orgsat	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Collapsed orgdis		
			Low	High	Total
Q20 Do you expect to be a police officer in your current police service five years from now?	Definitely	Count	50	32	82
		% within Collapsed orgdis	64.9%	34.0%	48.0%
	Most likely	Count	19	29	48
		% within Collapsed orgdis	24.7%	30.9%	28.1%
	Somewhat likely	Count	5	13	18
		% within Collapsed orgdis	6.5%	13.8%	10.5%
	Unlikely	Count	3	13	16
		% within Collapsed orgdis	3.9%	13.8%	9.4%
	No	Count	0	7	7
		% within Collapsed orgdis	.0%	7.4%	4.1%
Total		Count	77	94	171
		% within Collapsed orgdis	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			Police Service		
			RCMP	SA	Total
Q51 Given your experiences to date, do you hope to be a police officer in your current police service five years from now?	Very much hope to be	Count	73	31	104
		% within NoOPP	73.7%	37.3%	57.1%
	Somewhat hope to be	Count	16	19	35
		% within NoOPP	16.2%	22.9%	19.2%
	Somewhat hope not to be	Count	6	10	16
		% within NoOPP	6.1%	12.0%	8.8%
	Very much hope not to be	Count	0	13	13
		% within NoOPP	.0%	15.7%	7.1%
	Not sure	Count	4	10	14
		% within NoOPP	4.0%	12.0%	7.7%
Total		Count	99	83	182
		% within NoOPP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Crosstab

			OrgLimits			
			Low	Medium	High	Total
Q20 Do you expect to be a police officer in your current police service five years from now?	Definitely	Count	31	43	8	82
		% within OrgLimits	58.5%	51.2%	21.1%	46.9%
	Most likely	Count	17	22	10	49
		% within OrgLimits	32.1%	26.2%	26.3%	28.0%
	Somewhat likely	Count	3	9	6	18
		% within OrgLimits	5.7%	10.7%	15.8%	10.3%
	Unlikely	Count	2	8	7	17
		% within OrgLimits	3.8%	9.5%	18.4%	9.7%
	No	Count	0	2	7	9
		% within OrgLimits	.0%	2.4%	18.4%	5.1%
Total		Count	53	84	38	175
		% within OrgLimits	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

It is clear then that the major variables impacting on turnover from the perspective of the police officers – apart from retirement considerations due to age and health – were features of the organization in which they were engaged. RCMP officers were much less likely than SA officers to indicate that they expected or hoped not to remain with their police service. Among the RCMP however there were sharp differences between the Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal with the former having less expectations and lower "hopes" for remaining with the police service. Officers expecting or hoping to be employed elsewhere were especially those expressing dissatisfaction with certain features of their police service and considering that career advancement was limited by remaining part of it. These views were elaborated upon in comments made by the officers when asked why they did not expect to continue with their police service. Several RCMP officers cited stress factors induced by regulations and the like; one officer noted, "The force has changed dramatically [in recent years] and I cannot see myself dealing with the stress level", and another member reported, "Your personal life is under a microscope all the time and the effects policing has had on home/personal life [is unacceptable to me].

The SA officers under 40 years of age, on the other hand, emphasized career issues in explaining why they did not expect to remain with the police service. One officer reported, "Lack of advancement opportunities [is a limitation] and job security is always an issue". Those themes were often restated as in the following quotes from different SA officers: "There is a lack of career advancing opportunities and no wage parity with other police services"; "The police service may fail anyways due to financial problems within the organization"; "Political interference – local politics can take me down even if I work in good faith"; "Because I can go no further in this organization. I will never be promoted and I will always be in detachment"; "Because of job security. Our organization constantly deals with threats of being removed from the community, depending if the current chief/councilors are pro police or not".

There are two major policy implications from the above analyses. Reducing turnover does clearly appear to be a problem largely among the SA police services, and secondly, the required social policies to effect desired changes would appear to be different for the RCMP and the SA police services. For the RCMP, issues of organizational style and employer-employee relations might well be crucial areas to examine especially as there appears to be quite a sharp difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal officers. For the SA services, the policies would have to deal with the issues of organizational size, intrinsic job satisfaction, and the long-run security of the police services themselves.

Officers' Suggestions for Improvement

Some suggestions, for improving their own policing effectiveness and also the community's assessment of the police service, were advanced by the officers upon completing their questionnaires. With respect to **"**improving your policing effectiveness", the top two coded open answers were (a) improve the compensation package and promotion opportunities and (b) introduce different organizational policies and practices. SA officers were more likely than RCMP officers to emphasize both the former (46% to 36%) and the latter (30% to 23%). Married officers were more likely than single officers to emphasize better compensation (46% to 33%). With respect to improving the community's assessment of the policing service, the officers emphasized (a) increase the police complement and resources, and, (b) have more community-oriented policing. Interestingly, though, a third suggestion was almost as common as either of the above, namely "better basic performance of basic police functions such as fast response".

Similar open-ended questions were asked of the officer sample in 1996. At that time the most frequent suggestions for improvement of "your policing effectiveness" were (a) more and better training, and (b) more resources, including more complement or manpower. It would appear that by 2007 the officers' priorities had shifted to compensation and advancement, perhaps in response to their being more experienced police officers (i.e., having more years experience in policing, issues of compensation and promotion were more on their mind) . In terms of suggestions to improve the community's assessment of the policing service, the 1996 responses focused on "doing community-based policing", more proactive policing, and educating local leaders and residents about the police role. Here there was much continuity between the 1996 and the 2007 police sample. There were differences in 1996 between the police services in terms of suggestions for improving one's policing effectiveness. The SA officers highlighted (a) more and better training and (b) more resources, especially infrastructure, while the RCMP officers highlighted (a) more cultural sensitivity training throughout the RCMP and (b) better community contact. Aside from resources, such suggestions by either the SA or RCMP officers were much less frequent in 2007. In 1996, as in 2007, the SA and RCMP officers alike, suggested, as ways to improve community assessment of the police service, (a) more community-oriented policing and (b) educating local leaders and residents about the powers and limits of the police role.