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Assessing Community Policing Theory and Practice in Halton Region

by

**Drazen Manojlovic
B.A., McMaster University, 1989**

**Thesis
Submitted to the Department of Geography
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts
Wilfrid Laurier University
1994**



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Abstract

Community Policing has evolved into an alternative method of patrol for many police services in North America. Community policing seeks to increase police visibility, accessibility and communication with the community. The geographic focus of this police activity is the neighbourhood. This study surveys residents of two neighbourhoods in the Regional Municipality of Halton as well as residents from the municipalities of Oakville and Burlington. The residents' perception of neighbourhood activity, crime and police accessibility is surveyed using a Likert Scaling method, in order to assess the relationship between these elements, which are significant in community policing theory. In most cases, the element of police accessibility was weakly, but directly and significantly related to the elements of fear for personal safety and neighbourhood activity. There is no evidence to support the contention that neighbourhood activity is directly related to fear for personal safety. No significant relationships were found in an aspatial sample which may indicate the presence of a locational effect. Also, there were substantial differences in results between neighbourhood samples. These results can have significant implications for community policing theory and practice.

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This study could not have been completed without the invaluable assistance of a number of people.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Bob Sharpe. Bob's patience, understanding and intellect were absolutely critical in sorting through the labyrinth of theoretical issues that this study encountered. It has been a long, bumpy ride, and one that could not have been made with any less of a person. I am eternally thankful.

Inspector Dan Okuloski of the Halton Regional Police Service deserves special credit as does his entire Service. The enthusiasm he showed in assisting this study with the logistical aspects was greatly appreciated. It is a small measure of the professionalism that the Halton Regional Police Service stands for.

Last, and certainly not least, I would like to thank my parents for their patience, encouragement and love.

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Miroslav Manojlovic.

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Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 - The Emergence of Community Policing

Currently there is an emerging philosophy within police circles towards "community-based policing". Community-based policing (or community policing for short) is a comprehensive approach by police services to substantially alter their patrol operations in a manner that would bring the police closer to the community in terms of police presence, accessibility and communication.

These efforts differ from current police patrol operations because they seek to directly involve the community in communicating and co-operating with the police. This involvement seeks to alleviate the crime and public disorder problems that are afflicting a specific community. Ideally, a partnership is prescribed between the community and the police where both groups work together to alleviate persistent local crime issues. In this way crime is more likely to be prevented.

Precisely what community policing is and how it differs from current police methods is elaborated in more detail in section 2.3. Defining community policing is also a difficult task as no widely accepted definition exists. Community policing initiatives exist in many degrees and forms in police agencies across the world. Regardless of how they differ, those initiatives must address and be consistent with the basic fundamentals of community policing.

Trojanowicz & Bucquerox provide a basis for a definition of community policing (Trojanowicz & Bucquerox, 1990).

"Community policing is both a philosophy and an organizational strategy that allows the police and community residents to work closely together in new ways to solve the problems of crime, fear of crime, physical and social disorder, and neighbourhood decay. The philosophy rests on the belief that law-abiding people in the community deserve input into the police process, in exchange for their participation and support. Community policing provides decentralized, personalized police service to the community. It recognizes that the police cannot impose order on the community from outside, but that people must be encouraged to think of the police as a resource they can use in helping to solve contemporary community concerns" (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990).

1.2 - The Dimensions of Community Policing

Community policing theory and practice varies along several fundamental dimensions, three of which will be explored in this study. They are the dimensions of A) community and neighbourhood attachment, B) police effectiveness and C) neighbourhood crime, disorder and safety perception.

A very important dimension of community policing is that of the community and neighbourhood. These concepts are central to community policing and are related to, and can be informed by the large literature on urban geography. It is because of these concepts that geographers can provide insight into the theory and practice of community policing.

Community policing rests on the contention that neighbourhoods are spatially distinct and socially self-aware places. Moreover, it is ideal that residents develop a form

of "attachment" to their neighbourhood. The term "attached" refers to the residents' behaviour and perceptions towards maintaining or improving their quality of life in their neighbourhood. Examples of this attachment are evident in neighbourhood group formation or in other highly localized daily activity patterns. It is believed that this neighbourhood attachment will manifest itself into increased interaction between the neighbourhood residents and the police and this is critical to the success of community policing.

This interaction must be fostered by the police, which introduces the next key dimension of community policing - "police effectiveness". Police agencies must alter their philosophical and operational methods to be consistent with the objectives of community policing. More specifically they must make themselves more visible and accessible to the community as well as open more channels of communication with the community.

Increased police visibility means allowing the public to view the police removed from the confines of their cruiser. The mere presence of the police can often alleviate the residents' localized fear of crime and any existing apprehension about the police. Increased visibility will allow for increased accessibility especially at the street level. The result of increasing accessibility will be increased communication and this is critical to community policing. An increase in communication will help police guide their patrols to address specific community needs, improve community relations through the increased dialogue, as well as reinforcing the concepts of visibility and accessibility.

The use of public surveys to assess police performance and effectiveness by the community is being used

more frequently by police management. Proponents of community policing consider public surveys to be a helpful form of communication. Indeed, it would be inherently hypocritical for police services to advocate community policing without soliciting public opinion on the police's efforts. The result has been increased acceptance and usage of public surveys by police services (especially those committed to community policing).

The third dimension of community policing explored by this study is that of neighbourhood crime, public disorder and safety perception. Community policing programs tend to have a great impact on the residents' perception of crime, disorder and safety. This is a result of the fact that community policing seeks to improve the quality of life of residents in a neighbourhood as it relates to crime, disorder and safety issues.

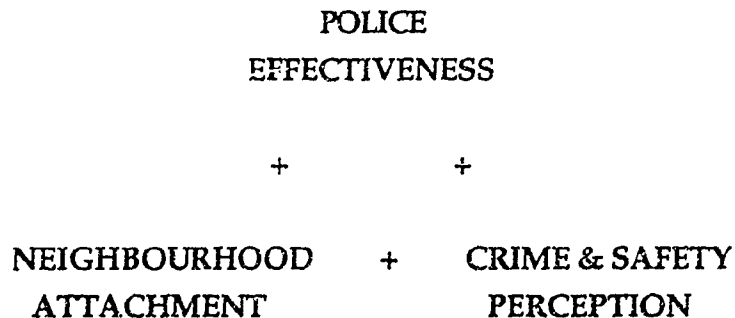
Fear for personal safety has become a measure of effectiveness for police managers as well as an operational goal. The use of crime statistics and calls for service to assess community policing is not a widely accepted measure. Crime perceptions have moved to the fore, because reducing fear of crime and increasing the perception of personal safety is a realistic goal in community policing.

1.3 - The Hypothesized Relationship Between Dimensions

This study has examined the literature on community policing (see section 2) and makes the assumption that these three dimensions are directly related to one another. Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux (1990) state that "the issues of crime, fear of crime, and disorder within any geographic community offer police their best and most logical opportunity for unifying people in ways that help rebuild

that traditional sense of community" (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, pg.92, 1990). This statement is perhaps the most succinct summarization of community policing theory and it guides this study's argument that the three dimensions are related to each other. Thus, increased police effectiveness via community policing methods is directly related to an increase in neighbourhood attachment. Similarly, increased police effectiveness is directly related to a increase in the perception of safety (or a decrease in the perceived amount of crime and its associated fear). Logically, it follows that an increase in the perception of personal safety would be directly related to an increase in neighbourhood attachment. These relationships between these dimensions can best be represented by Figure 1:

Figure 1: Hypothesized Relationship Between Dimensions



Note: (+) indicates a direct relationship between the dimensions

The goal of this study is to explore these hypothesized relationships amongst these key dimensions of community policing. This will be done by conducting a case study of community policing in Halton Region based on a residential survey that addresses key elements of those dimensions.

Each of these dimensions is a very complex concept that is difficult to quantify. Therefore it is an important

aspect of this study to define what element of each dimension is studied.

The concept of neighbourhood attachment is to be measured by assessing the respondent's degree of participation in neighbourhood-based, daily activities. For example, this would include activities such as interacting with neighbours and walking in the neighbourhood. However, neighbourhood attachment can exist in many other forms that do not include such activities, but that will have the desired positive effects for community policing. Residents may feel a tremendous amount of neighbourhood attachment without engaging in those activities. For the purposes of this study, it was felt that neighbourhood-based activities would be an adequate indicator of neighbourhood attachment because residents who engage in such activities have more opportunity to participate in efforts designed to address local crime issues.

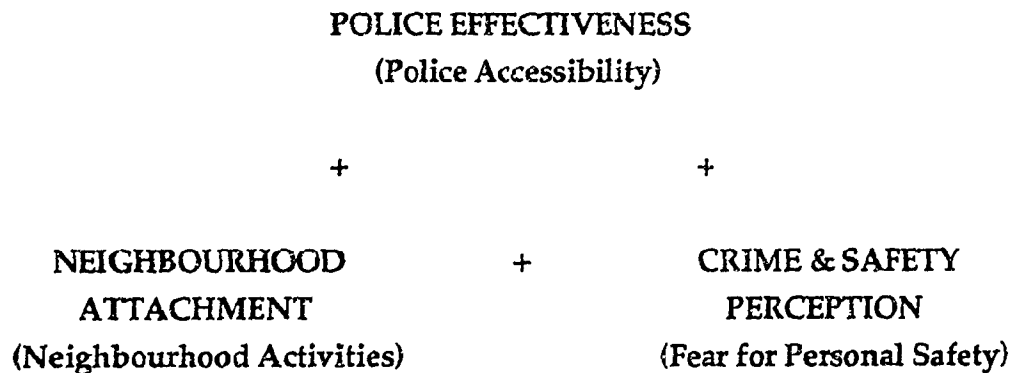
The dimensions of police effectiveness and crime and safety perception also need a similarly refined definition. As previously mentioned, increasing police effectiveness means improving their visibility, accessibility and communication. This study will examine policing effectiveness in terms of their accessibility to the public. Each of these concepts are interdependent with one another, but accessibility can be used as a measure of the other two. Visibility is a necessary precondition for accessibility. In other words police need to be visible before they can be accessible. Similarly, accessibility is a precondition to increased communication and one could assume that high levels of accessibility are associated with high levels of visibility and communication.

Lastly, the dimension of crime and safety perception will be assessed in terms of the "fear for

personal safety" element. The perception of the amount of crime in a neighbourhood is not necessarily related to the fear of crime or for personal safety. A person may perceive a large amount of crime but is not fearful of that crime. Conversely, a person may perceive a low amount of crime but is very fearful nonetheless. It is a person's fear for their personal safety that will have the greatest impact on their daily routines and can be a good indicator of crime volume. However, an individual's personal and socio-economic characteristics can affect their fear of crime greatly (Sacco and Johnson, 1990; Solicitor General Canada, 1984).

As a result, the theoretical relationship depicted in figure 1 is now refined and revealed in figure 2 below:

Figure 2: Hypothesized Relationship Between Specific Elements of the Dimensions



To summarize, it is necessary to narrowly define what elements will represent each dimension. Thus, the dimension of neighbourhood attachment will be based on the respondent's daily, neighbourhood-based activity. The dimension of police effectiveness will be based on the element of police accessibility. Lastly, the dimension of crime and safety perception is based on a measure of the respondent's localized fear for their personal safety.

1.4 - Research Problem & Thesis Outline

This study is an empirical examination of these elements and their relationships through a comparative case-study of residents' perceptions regarding these elements. This study seeks to explore these three important elements of community policing. Does empirical data support these postulates and are they present in different types of locales?

Police agencies are committed to providing equally effective service to all areas and groups and this includes community policing. For this very reason the Halton Regional Police has tried to operationalize community policing at all levels of the organization. Apart from determining if these relationships exist, this study seeks to determine if they exist in different areas, which is what proponents of community policing believe.

Within the questionnaire these elements are operationalized in the form of an attitudinal scale that quantifies these elements. A questionnaire was designed and administered which asked questions regarding those elements. Scores from the attitudinal scales were adjusted based on reliability analysis, which removed questions from the scales which were not effective contributors to the quality of the scale.

The adjusted attitudinal scores were then analyzed for ordinal measures of association using the Spearman's Rank method. This analysis attempts to answer the question of how the elements are interrelated and to determine if this interrelationship corresponds with the hypothesized one. The paper is organized as follows. The next section provides a theoretical review of the key components of this study. This includes a review of the geography of crime, the role of the

neighbourhood, explaining community policing and the important role of the fear of crime in this framework.

Section three provides a detailed description of the methodology of this study. This includes the rationale for site selection, data collection methods, sample identification, a description of the research instrument and an explanation of the attitudinal scale system.

Section four provides a descriptive analysis of the data. This includes an explanation of the reliability analysis that adjusts the scales, a description of the variation amongst the scales between samples, and a description of the differences between personal characteristics of the samples.

Section five analyzes the ordinal measures of association that are designed to determine the relationships between the main elements. This will include a comparison of the relationship's results between locations and personal characteristic groups.

Lastly, section six will discuss the major findings of the study and comment on the possible conclusions and recommendations for further study.

Chapter 2 - GEOGRAPHY, CRIME AND COMMUNITY POLICING

2.1 - Geographic Approaches to the Study of Crime

The "geography" of crime has become an important aspect in the larger disciplines of criminology and criminal justice and it has been the past fifty years that have witnessed the bulk of this development. The broadening of interest in these disciplines included the investigation of the numerous ways in which environmental factors are implicated in the processes of crime (Davidson, 1981; Herbert 1982; Evans & Herbert, 1988; Georges-Abeyie & Harries, 1980; Harries, 1974; Harries, 1980). The concept of "place" became a significant theme in the study of crime at that point.

Initially the role that geographers played in this study was the examination of crime's spatial distribution. This led to the development of "areal" analysis which essentially sought to reveal the spatial patterns that crime tends to exhibit by detailed mapping of crime occurrences according to official crime statistics (Herbert, 1982). Unfortunately the explanatory capability of areal analysis was extremely limited as it was not designed to account for important temporal and cultural conditions that relate to crime. Although still important, the analysis is primarily suited for only a descriptive analysis.

"Ecological" analysis seeks to examine the relationships between crime rates and the environmental circumstances surrounding the crime event. This is unlike areal analysis which focuses on crime's distribution patterns. Ecological analysis was one of the first attempts at explaining crime by using crime statistics correlated with environmental factors such as population density, income, sex, age and residential mobility (to name a few). A pioneering example of this type of analysis is Shaw &

MacKay's (1942) study of delinquency in Chicago (Herbert, 1982). They reported that the main correlates of delinquency rates were substandard housing, poverty, foreign-born population and mobility levels.

Researchers working in ecological analysis did not only study relationships or correlates between crime rates and environmental measures, they also developed theories about the causes of crime. The most significant of these theories is the group collectively known as "opportunity" theories. Generally there are two types of opportunity theories that are predominate - predisposing and precipitating theories (Davidson, 1981).

In general, predisposing opportunity theory focuses on the environmental conditions around the individual or criminal. The concept points out that in certain areas there are influences at work which may increase the likelihood of an individual indulging in criminal activity. These influences concern the social and physical nature of the neighbourhood, and the three most common are social status, housing conditions and social environment. All of these influences are highly correlated with crime rates. Specifically, low social status corresponds with high crime rates, as does poor housing quality, high population density, and local social interactions that hold criminogenic beliefs and values. Essentially, these influences (and in combination with others) are long term environmental factors that help shape the individual and their propensity towards criminal activity (Davidson, 1981).

Approaching crime from a different perspective, precipitating opportunity theory relates to the circumstances surrounding the criminal event. Basically, the immediate environment provides a variety of opportunities which are influential in determining whether a particular crime is

committed (Davidson, 1981). Once again there are three common influences - targets, activities and the physical environment. "Targets" refers to the presence of available criminal opportunities in an area. If there exists a large number of these targets at any given time or place, then the possibility of a crime occurring increases. Activities refers to the background activities which may precipitate a criminal event by providing a context for such behaviour towards criminality such as poorly lit streets, abandoned buildings or unsupervised areas. These influences act as short-term factors that criminals view as possible crime targets (Davidson, 1981).

Another theory that deals with the criminal environment is associated with "social disorganization" theories. Social disorganization theories suggest that the major causes of crime should be sought within areas where the normal standards of society have broken down. The assumption is that in such conditions family structures begin to collapse and individuals are forced into criminal activity. In comparison, subculture theories state that criminal behaviour is learned from other persons within an intimate circle of friends. Thus, many subcultures develop their own perceptions of right and wrong, and norms which may violate the law. This theory has been applied to the study of juvenile delinquency (Davidson, 1981).

Lastly, the field of behavioural geography has left its mark on the study of crime as well. Behavioural geography focuses on the spatial decision-making of individuals which precedes their behaviour. Criminal behaviour is broken down into either criminal spatial behaviour or criminal behaviour in space (Evans & Herbert, 1988). The former refers to the search for models or concepts to describe behavioural processes regardless of the spatial structures the behaviour is found in. Such theories attempt

to explain why a person located in a specific social, economic or physical environment, decides to commit a criminal act. It emphasizes the individual as an active agent in the environment rather than a mere reactionary to the social and physical elements around them. Conversely, criminal behaviour in space relates human behaviour in an area to the specific structures of that area. The assumption is that the spatial structure of an area can explain criminal behaviour in space as it is manifested in the relative location of criminal opportunities. Thus, according to this interpretation, the concepts are similar to precipitating opportunity theory as the nature of the locale is very significant.

The common theme found in this brief history of geographic approaches to crime is the importance of place in the process of crime. Geographers have assisted in documenting the spatial patterns of crime as well as revealing social and physical correlates to the likelihood of crime (Herbert, 1982; Harries, 1974; Harries, 1980; to name a few). Thus, it stands to reason that place and locality have particular importance to the theory and practice of community policing.

2.2 - The Role of the Community

The existence of "communities" or "neighbourhoods" is an important element of current urban structures. Virtually every urban centre exhibits this quality and the recognition of this is fundamental to the viability of community policing. The terms community and neighbourhood are often interchanged and this needs clarification. When one discusses community policing, one is referring to a community-based police effort that is implemented at the neighbourhood level. "Community" can refer to any group of people with similar interests, but there is no requisite that

this group possess a spatial theme. Examples would include the academic community, the business community or an ethnic community. These communities can be and often are aspatial. Conversely, community policing does require that a community be spatially distinct and/or oriented and that is why the neighbourhood is the standard area of implementation for police agencies. Therefore, in short, the term community policing should be and often is called "neighbourhood policing", as the latter term more accurately reflects the spatial dimensions that are prominent in both theory and practice.

Neighbourhoods are much more than sections of cities that are arbitrarily created to facilitate some bureaucratic convenience in managing the city. They are the locations of the majority of residences in the city and are thus reflective of the standard of life for that city. Some argue that urban neighbourhoods play an even greater role. McGahan (1986) states that the neighbourhood goes a long way towards establishing locality-based relationships between residents. The term "locality-based relationships" consists of three concepts: 1) definition of the neighbour role, 2) neighbouring interaction and 3) the symbolic-cultural dimension of the neighbourhood.

In the first concept, it is argued that the neighbourhood reflects the set of norms and guides the type of personal, daily contact between residents of the neighbourhood. Secondly, the neighbourhood reflects the type of interaction that occurs between neighbours. Lastly, it reflects a cognitive definition of what the neighbourhood is and assesses the sense of attachment the residents hold for the neighbourhood (McGahan, 1986).

The critical theme behind these concepts is that people's behaviour, attitudes and perceptions take into

account the immediate surroundings of the place where they live and conduct their daily routines. That is not to say that a neighbourhood has a direct causal effect on their behaviour, attitudes and perceptions, rather the neighbourhood may help shape them.

Community policing seeks to activate the residents' attachment to their neighbourhood. Much of the logical groundwork that underlies community policing is the assumption that communities are distinct spatial areas with their own unique forms of problems and structures. Implicitly related to this is the contention that the residents of a given community possess a "community consciousness". This corresponds well with the previous arguments put forth by McGahan. In other words, the residents are aware of their community, are active participants of the interaction within the community, and are cognizant of the problems afflicting the community. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, it is necessary that the residents have a desire to assist, to varying degrees, in alleviating those problems. It is argued that the residents will have a desire for general public order and it is for the police to advance this desire (Kelling, 1987). Community policing is a form of power-sharing involving the police and the community that relies on the residents' sense of locality and their realization of that locality (L.P. Brown, 1985). Citizen involvement can be crucial to the solution of many urban problems and crime is at the top of the list (Greenberg & Rohe, 1986). Community policing seeks to solicit local citizen activism that can be integrated with the police's crime control and prevention strategies.

2.3 - Explaining Community Policing

The term "community policing" does not have a single, universally accepted definition as it is often used

by researchers to describe many different police programs. Nonetheless, although these programs can employ varying methods, their objectives and fundamental characteristics are consistent with most community policing theory. This section will identify and describe those objectives and characteristics.

The primary objective in community policing is the reduction and prevention of crime, while simultaneously soliciting the involvement of the community in accomplishing that objective. However, current policing methods also seek these objectives and one must ask "what aspects of community policing differ from the current methods"? Unlike community / policing, current policing methods have become too reactive as the police must allocate substantial resources to the unpredictable calls for service and emergencies (Goldstein, 1987). These matters require a fast response time, but often the sheer volume of calls handled by police significantly limits their ability to deal with them expeditiously.

In the vernacular, this type of policing is known as "reactive policing" and it is a basic police function that must not be compromised. The public needs to have the confidence that emergency police response is functioning and effective. Nonetheless, there are two important consequences that reactive policing tends to exhibit and that community policing intends to alter.

Firstly, reactive policing has become such an accepted philosophy by police services that there exists a preoccupation with reacting to calls for service by police administrations. In this model the need for crime prevention measures have become obscured and deprioritized (Goldstein, 1987). This is one of the most fundamental differences between reactive and community policing as the latter places much greater philosophical (and thus resource) emphasis on

the prevention of crime.

Secondly, reactive policing methods have a tendency to distance the police from the public. The term "distance" refers to the opportunity for personal contact between concerned citizens and police officers, and reactive policing has reduced this opportunity by placing the officer in the squad car and out of the community. Furthermore, police administration has removed itself from the community as well by centralizing command activities. The result has been that most levels of police activity and decision-making (from the chief to the patrol officer) have been conceptually removed from the public. This "marginalization" of the police from the community, some have argued, has produced less effective police and increasingly fearful, apathetic and perhaps criminogenic communities (Murphy, 1988).

Now that the operational differences between reactive and community policing have been outlined, it would be useful to show how community policing is a model geared towards community crime prevention. Increasing the opportunity for police-citizen communication is the key aspect of the model. Increased communication with the public builds dialogue between citizens and police, enabling the police to hear the thoughts, opinions, needs, concerns and fears of the public. This dialogue should help police monitor crime in a locality, allow the residents to express what elements of their neighbourhood need greater police attention, develop more respect for the law amongst the residents (if that is perceived to be a problem), and build trust and friendship between police officers and local residents.

Some have questioned and criticized the reality and practicality of striving for these objectives as they imply that communities are relatively socially homogeneous and

their interests are consistent with those of the police (Greene & Mastrofski, 1988). This is a very critical theoretical assumption in community policing and such criticisms deserve much consideration. However, some have also argued that if a "meeting of minds" can be even partially achieved between the police and the community, then a substantial amount of goodwill could be built (Goldstein, 1987; Manning, 1984). This in turn may lead to the "ultimate potential in community policing - the development of a reservoir of respect and support that could greatly increase the capacity of police officers to deal with problems with less need to resort to the criminal process" (Goldstein, 1987).

Implementing community policing requires a significant resource commitment and decentralizing police decision-making and activity maybe the most prominent of these. Many feel that in order for community policing to be truly effective, the community should serve as a location for police organization and operations (Murphy, 1988). The police decision-making process needs to become more "community-focused" to have a positive impact and this contention does not only restrict itself to mere physical location. Local police commanders must have the authority and freedom to develop their own community-based strategies. This type of police management philosophy surpasses existing management boundaries and is thus a departure from normal daily operations. This departure must be made for community policing to have a proper chance.

This decentralization of activity and decision-making is complemented by activities organized or initiated by the police. A common practice used by numerous police services is "foot patrols" (Trojanowicz, 1983; Skolnick & Bayley, 1989; Mitzak, 1988). Foot patrol allows both the police and the community to interact and build dialogue. The

practice has been usually very successful in neighbourhoods because it provides residents with high police visibility and accessibility and presumably a greater sense of security.

The degree of police solicitation in establishing communication lines does vary, but the following efforts are also useful when initiated by the police. Often simple efforts such as newsletter distribution, door-to-door canvassing and meetings with community-based organizations (i.e.. block meetings or tenant groups, etc.) can be successful in informing the community of the program and hopefully the dialogue will follow (Greene & Mastrofski, 1988). As an example, the Halton Regional Police Service requires their community-based patrol officers (equivalent to foot patrol officers in most cases) to organize meetings with residents on a regular basis known as Community Consultation Committees. Once the communication lines are established, the police can then use them to obtain information for their strategies. Regardless of their specific form, any such effort must be designed to maximize the objectives of increased police visibility, accessibility and personal contact - as this is where the primary opportunity for police-community communication can take place.

2.4 - Community Policing and Fear

There is no doubt that crime is a problem in society that needs to be minimized, but "fear of crime" and fear for personal safety can have a greater impact. It is a person's fear of crime, not the presence or probability of crime, that will affect a person's ability to conduct their daily routines. For example, warehouse break-ins and embezzlement are serious crimes that cost society millions of dollars, but loud and disruptive youths at a mall entrance will create more fear for the average person. These effects can include changing habits, avoiding certain areas, avoid

going out at certain times, and become increasingly defensive and suspicious. The culmination of these effects can be the reduction of social integration in the community which only adds "fuel to the fire".

Just how much attention and energy police agencies should devote to alleviating this fear is a point for some debate. It must be recognized that no matter how well organized a police department is or how hard they may try, they cannot eliminate all fear for all people. Also, if that was accomplished, it is likely that people will find something else to worry about.

However, some community policing researchers feel that reactive policing has contributed to an increase in fear (Murphy, 1988). Furthermore, fear of crime and for personal safety will be reduced by implementing community policing, as community policing corrects those aspects of reactive policing that contribute to this fear. These aspects include a lack of police visibility which results in a lack of police accessibility and thus a lack of communication and personal contact.

Most community policing program assessments include some measure of fear as police agencies recognize how conducive community policing is in alleviating a large amount of locally-based fear (Trojanowicz, 1983; Pate, Wycoff, Skogan & Sherman, 1986; Murphy & de Verteuil, 1986). The key is communication and personal contact. Studying the determinants of citizen attitudes towards police, Scaglione & Condon (1990) determined that personal contact with police was a more significant determinant of satisfaction with police than variables such as race, income, education or marital status.

Furthermore, a reduction in fear (particularly in very fearful neighbourhoods) can have the effect of revitalizing the residents in a manner where their involvement in crime reduction programs increases tremendously. It is important for police agencies to recognize the need to alleviate fear for this reason alone. The issue often comes down to what role the police should play in society. Are the police strictly law enforcers that should take a minimal interest in fully addressing the crime-related problems that currently exist? Or, are the police an agency that must adopt a broader understanding and comprehensive vision of the complex issues that they deal with, and thus be a more effective contributor towards reducing crime in society? Community policing feels that the latter role is the more proper one.

To summarize, the concepts of the neighbourhood and crime perception are central to community policing. This study will operationalize each of these concepts by conducting a survey that assesses specific elements of these concepts. They are the elements of neighbourhood-based daily activity, fear for personal safety in the neighbourhood and police accessibility. The methodology of this study is explained in the Section 3.

Chapter 3 - METHODOLOGY

This section of the study will describe the methodological procedures that were followed to administer the survey. This includes the rationale for the selection of locations, the method of data collection, the sampling procedures and the design of the research instrument.

3.1 - Location Selection

The Regional Municipality of Halton comprises of the municipalities of Burlington, Oakville, Milton and Halton Hills. It is located between the Regions of Hamilton-Wentworth and Peel. The Region is policed by the Halton Regional Police Service, which consists of 372 sworn police officers and 144 civilian support staff (Halton Regional Police Service Annual Report, 1990).

The Halton Regional Police Service is one of the leading proponents of community policing initiatives. In 1989, the Service partitioned every section of the Region into "policing communities". The creation of these communities is one of the "building blocks" of their community policing programs. Basically, each individual community represents a neighbourhood within the Region. The boundaries of these communities often correspond with natural boundaries such as bodies of water (i.e. creeks) and major transportation arteries (i.e. freeways and large streets).

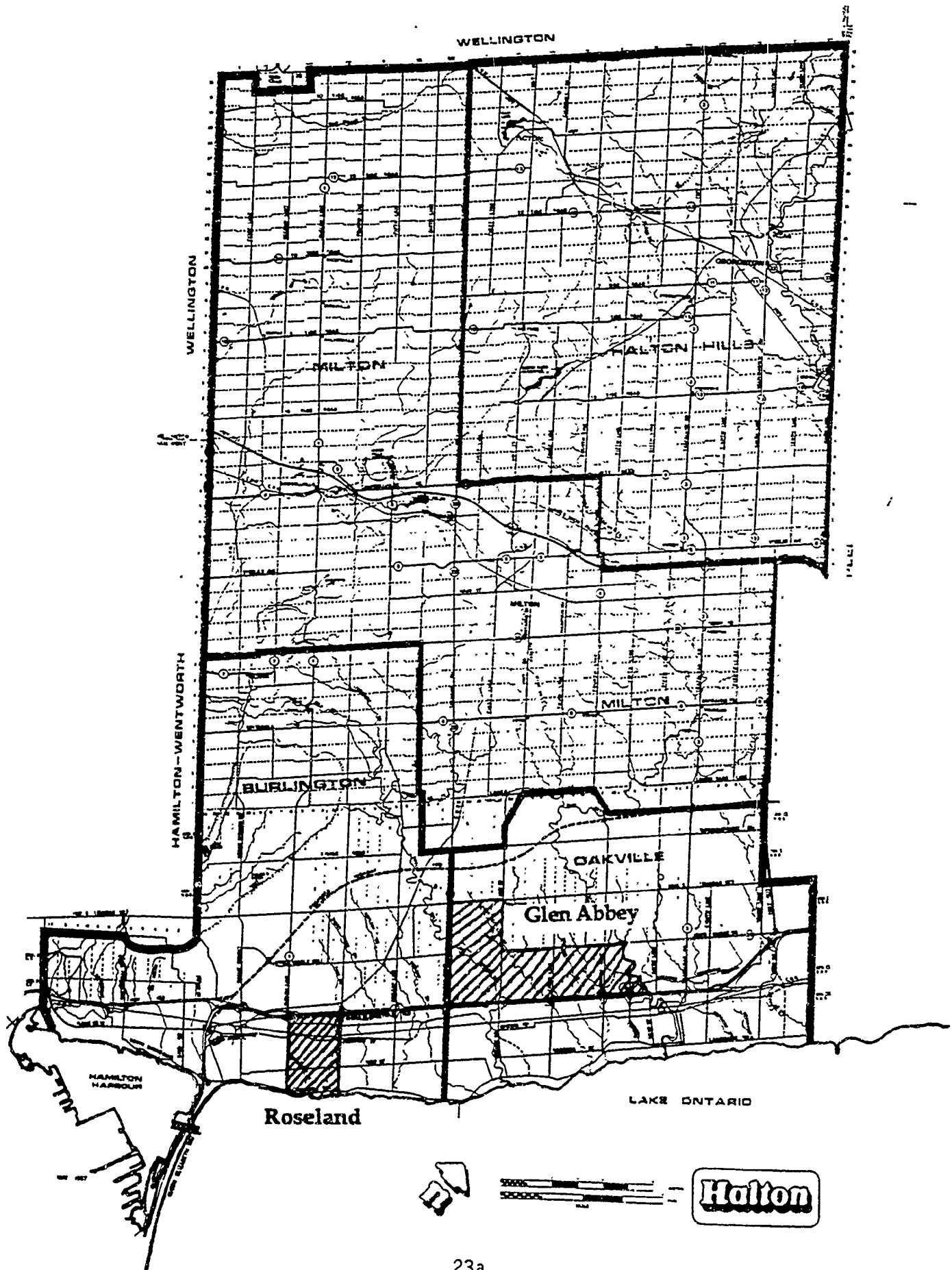
The creation of these communities is significant given the manner in which they are patrolled by the Halton Police. One officer on each shift is assigned to patrol each community. Apart from responding to calls for service, assisting other officers and dealing with serious matters elsewhere in the Region; the officer is deployed in their community for a period of at least one year. In that time the

officer is expected to develop an understanding of the nature of crime-related problems that is specific to that community. The Halton Regional Police Service argues that maintaining this form of patrol allows the officer to "get to know their beat" and thus allows them to address those crime-related problems more effectively. This is also a key component of community policing theory.

As a result, the policing communities created by the Halton Regional Police Service are ideal candidates in which to study the relationship between neighbourhood activity, fear for personal safety and police accessibility because they have been exposed to community policing efforts.

An important theoretical element of this relationship is how it may differ in various locations. Thus, this study chose to select two communities that represent vastly different urban locales. They are the communities of Roseland (in the City of Burlington) and Glen Abbey (in the Town of Oakville; see maps of Burlington and Oakville policing communities).

It has been the practice of most police forces to establish a community policing program in a neighbourhood that is experiencing relatively problematic crime and public order problems. It is believed that community policing may have the greatest positive impact in such areas. This fact, combined with police resource constraints, have generally limited police services in applying community policing specifically in these areas. Also, most selected neighbourhoods are "urban" in nature because urban neighbourhoods are more conducive to the operational goals and objectives of community policing which includes high police visibility and public communication and this is less likely in a rural setting.



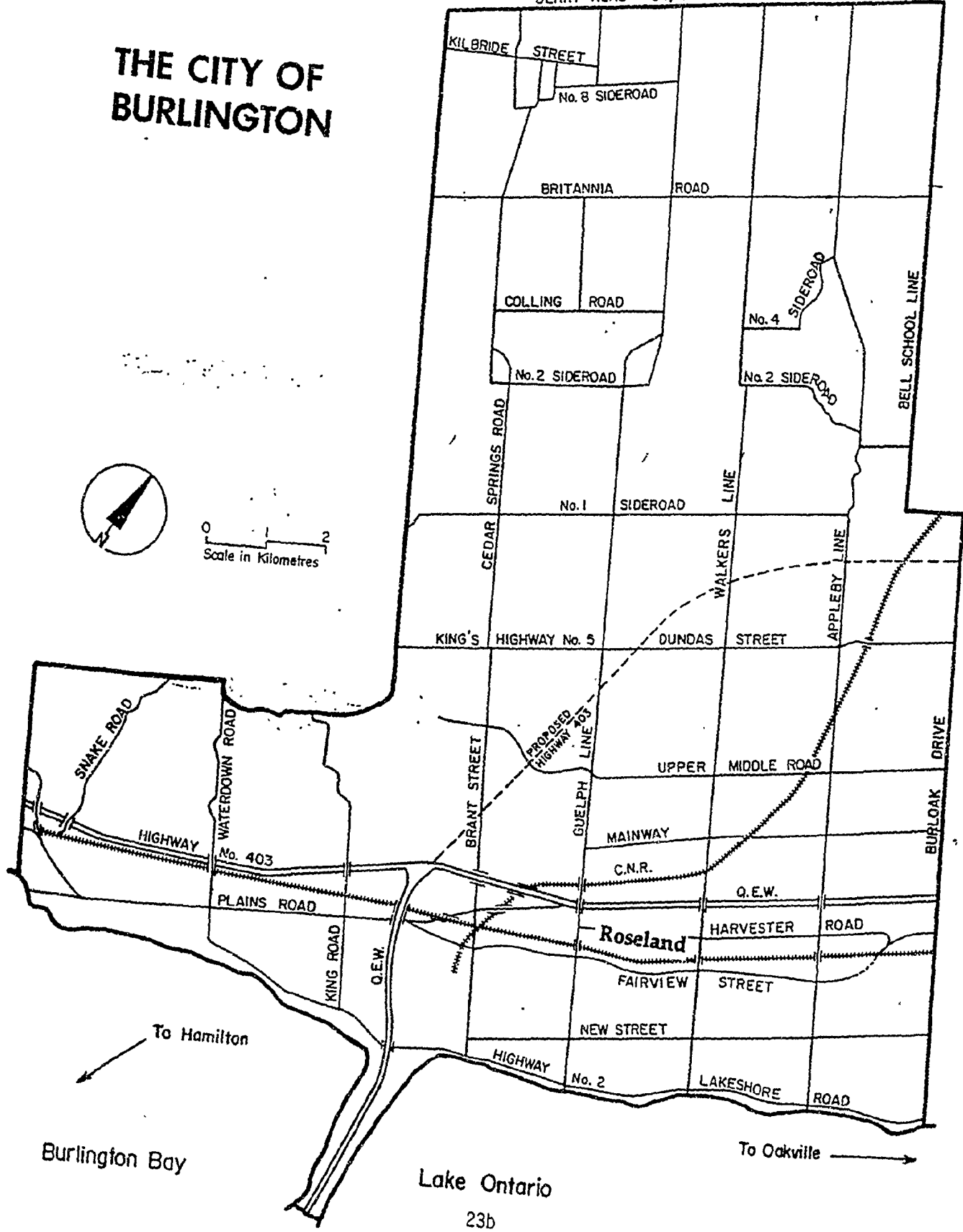
THE CITY OF BURLINGTON

To Highway 401
± 4 Miles

DERRY ROAD - City Limits



0 1 2
Scale in Kilometres



Burlington Bay

To Hamilton

Lake Ontario

To Oakville

Both of these criteria are met by the Roseland and Glen Abbey communities, yet they are significantly different from one another in terms of socio-economic characteristics and land use. Roseland is located adjacent to Burlington's downtown and it exhibits all of the traits of a central city neighbourhood. There are many different land uses within Roseland, and many different types of residences (ranging from single family dwellings to high rise apartments) as well as a tremendous amount of commercial activity. There is a heterogeneous mixture of residents in Roseland as is revealed by their socio-economic characteristics (i.e. census tract 216's average family income is \$70,956 while census tract 217.01's is \$39,490, see attached table).

Conversely, Glen Abbey's physical landscape is dominated by blocks of single family dwellings most of which are very expensive (the table shows that the average dwelling value in Glen Abbey is \$177,014 while Roseland's census tracts vary from an average of \$169,282 to \$103,341). The residents exhibit generally homogeneous socio-economic characteristics (see attached chart of census data characteristics). Perhaps the best characterization of the two communities is that Roseland is a central city neighbourhood while Glen Abbey is a suburban neighbourhood. Consequently, these communities are well-suited to see how residents in significantly different locations perceive their neighbourhood regarding crime and policing issues.

Table 1

Descriptive Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Roseland and Glen Abbey Communities				
1986 Census	Toronto CMA	Hamilton CMA		
	Glen Abbey	Roseland		
Measure	CT - 612.01	CT - 216	CT - 217.01	CT - 217.02
Population	5770	4381	5542	3622
Pop.Dens./KM	325	1991	2542	1662
Non.Off. Lang	410	120	165	100
Pvt.Occ.Dwell	1650	1425	2455	1090
Owned	1530	1325	860	1045
Rented	120	100	1590	50
Single Det.	1300	1325	520	900
Monthly Rent	\$702	\$615	\$511	\$570
Before 1946	30	235	40	15
After 1981	1585	60	90	95
Families H/W	1560	1190	1410	930
No Children	390	425	786	230
With Children	1170	760	630	695
University Degree	1005	785	370	380
Less than 9	235	190	570	165
Unemployment	3.3%	5.5%	4.2%	4.4%
Dwelling Val.	\$177,014	\$169,282	\$103,341	\$112,205
Family Income	\$58,863	\$70,956	\$39,490	\$52,142
Low Income	2.9%	2.9%	6.8%	1.4%

Table 1 (cont'd)

Definitions:
Population - total 1986 Census Tract population
Pop.Dens./KM - population density per square kilometre
NonOff. Lang. - total population by nonofficial language
Pvt.Occ.Dwell. - total number of occupied private dwellings (rented, owned, single-detached, built prior to 1946 or after 1981)
Monthly Rent - average gross monthly rent in dollars
Families H/W - total number of husband/wife families (with and without children)
University Degree - total population with a university degree
Less than 9 - total population with less than Grade 9
Unemployment - unemployment rate of both sexes
Dwelling Val. - average value of dwelling in dollars
Family Income - average family income of all census families
Low Income - incidence of low income of all census families

The Halton Regional Police Service responded to 4,101 calls for service in Roseland community between May and December of 1990 (Halton Regional Police, 1990). This total represents the third highest absolute total of any community in Burlington. However, of this total 27.99% were for "major crimes" which was the highest absolute and percentage total for Burlington communities. Roseland is a continuous source of problems for the Halton Police. Glen Abbey required 2,366 calls for service (in the same time period) and 21.68% were for major crimes (almost identical to the municipal average). The Halton Police Service is concerned with the major crimes average for this community as they feel it should be below the municipal average ("Major Crimes" includes murders, attempted murders, sex offences, assaults, domestic assaults, robberies, break and enters, vehicle theft, theft over \$1,000, theft under \$1,000, possession of stolen property, fraud, offensive weapon, property damage, drug offences and other federal statutes and Criminal Code offences; Halton

Regional Police Service Annual Report, 1990, pg.32).

As a basis for comparison, a cross-municipal sample was also conducted to represent a selection of residential opinion in both Burlington and Oakville, regardless of the specific policing community they reside in (but not residing in the Roseland and Glen Abbey communities). This sample size is the same as the Roseland and Glen Abbey samples. The purpose of this sample is to remove the condition of locality and obtain an aspatial sample that can be used in comparison with the Roseland and Glen Abbey samples. The inclusion of this aspatial sample to the methodological format is patterned after a study done on community policing in Metropolitan Toronto (Murphy, 1988). Similarly that study surveyed two neighbourhoods (Jane-Finch and Parkdale) and a cross-Metro sample.

To summarize, the selection of these locales was based on three criteria. Firstly, both areas had to have experienced a community policing program. Secondly, both areas must exhibit the two qualities that are common to community policed neighbourhoods: having relatively severe crime problems and being urban in nature. Lastly, Roseland and Glen Abbey represent central city and suburban locations respectively, and this is ideal to explore how the relationship between perceived police accessibility, fear for personal safety and neighbourhood activity reacts in these different types of locations.

3.2 - Data Collection Method

A high priority in the data collection was to obtain a satisfactory sample size for each sample group. After much consideration, it was felt that the method of telephone survey collection was the best at obtaining this objective. This method has several advantages associated

with it. Firstly, because the researcher is actually conducting the survey, the presence of unanswered questions is minimized. Also, the researcher can clarify any misunderstandings that the respondent encounters. The result is a data set that is relatively free of missing values and misinterpreted answers are minimized. Another advantage to telephone surveys is their cost-effectiveness. The economic reality of conducting such research makes cost a logistical priority that is comparable to analytical priorities, therefore the low cost aspect of telephone surveys also was a factor in its use as a data collection method.

However, there are several problematic implications associated with telephone surveys that need to be discussed. Foremost of these is the fact that high respondent refusal rates is a serious threat to achieving one's desired sample size. This can be attributed to the highly interruptive nature of the method. Also, most telephone respondents will only tolerate this interruption for about five minutes before they lose their patience, causing them to either hurry their answers (without the assumed thought involved) or terminate the survey prematurely (Hagan, 1982; Stoddard, 1982). Also, researcher bias can often affect the respondents' answers as the researcher may try to guide a specific response. Furthermore, respondents may not be as honest or critical when responding compared to a more anonymous method. Although these problems are very real, it was felt that they could be controlled and thus minimized.

"Personal contact interviews" was considered as a data collection method, but it was not selected. The key advantage to this method is that it allows for the greatest degree of researcher-respondent contact possible, thus enabling the researcher to assure that the data is as complete as possible. Also, this method typically generates higher response rates (Hagan, 1982; Stoddard, 1982). Of

course there are disadvantages to this method as well. Firstly, the method is extremely time-consuming which would make it unrealistic for this study. Secondly, the data runs the risk of researcher bias and respondents reserving their strongest feelings. Lastly, and most importantly, the method would prove to be infeasible when collecting the cross-municipal sample. It would not be possible to interview respondents personally when they are scattered across both Burlington and Oakville, thus for these reasons this method was not selected.

Mail surveys was also considered as a collection method because it is less time-consuming and it allows the respondent a greater amount of time and freedom to consider and complete the survey. Researcher bias is removed and one can assume that the most honest responses will be forwarded. Despite these advantages, this method was not selected for two very important reasons. Firstly, mail surveys are plagued with low response rates as well as missing values which would seriously undermine the chances of realizing the sample size goals. Secondly, the cost of collecting the data by mail would be impractical especially when one would need to mail out three times as many as is expected to be returned. These two major problems eliminated this method for consideration.

The research instrument has been revised as a result of the pretesting that was conducted in December of 1990. The pretest consisted of 16 personal contact interviews in three different neighbourhoods in Burlington. This pretest was extremely beneficial as it revealed weaknesses in the original research instrument that have been addressed and incorporated in the final form. Weaknesses included the length of the survey form, ambiguity of certain questions and questions that did not reveal any significant or anticipated results. However, the pretest did reveal that people were generally very eager to participate and they were

very patient and co-operative.

The telephone surveys were conducted between February and April of 1991. One hundred respondents were interviewed from each sample group. The surveys were conducted from the Halton Regional Police district headquarters in Burlington and Oakville. Each district's Community Services department was extremely helpful in providing telephones and the required space. Halton Police's Community Services also provided the use of two secondary school co-op students to assist with the data collection. They conducted approximately one third of the total number surveyed, after they were familiarized with the survey form and how the responses were to be recorded. Their work was outstanding. The author conducted and recorded the remaining two thirds of the surveys required. The effectiveness of the telephone survey collection method is revealed in the response rates. On average, for every fifteen telephone numbers dialed ten would be answered and out of these ten, seven would agree to participate in the survey. Two factors can be attributed to these very desirable response rates. Firstly, the vast majority of the surveys were conducted on weekdays between 4pm and 7pm, in order to increase the chances of catching respondents at home rather than they being at work. This would account for the two thirds rate of answered calls. Secondly, prior to beginning the survey, the respondent was warned that the survey was extremely comprehensive and it would take about ten to fifteen minutes to complete. The respondent was given the option of not beginning the survey when told of this from the outset, with the result being a 70% participation rate with a minimum of missing values.

3.3 - Sampling of Telephone Numbers

It was an important requirement of this study to ensure that Roseland and Glen Abbey respondents actually resided within the boundaries of those two communities and that cross-municipal respondents did not reside within them. To ensure this, land use maps of Roseland and Glen Abbey were obtained from the respective planning departments of the City of Burlington and the Town of Oakville. These planning maps identify the address of every structure within the communities. By identifying every street and its range of addresses that lie within the community, one has identified the population of properties in the community. Thus phone numbers obtained for those addresses were known to be within the community's boundaries. Similarly, it was assumed that all other addresses in Burlington and Oakville are not located within Roseland and Glen Abbey. This is important because it provides a list of what addresses may not be used for the cross-municipal sample.

Telephone directories based on street addresses were used to obtain the actual telephone numbers called. In the case of Roseland, the Vernon's Directory for Burlington was used while for Glen Abbey, Bright's Directory of Greater Toronto was used. After identifying a street and the range of addresses within the community, every eleventh phone number was recorded until 350 to 400 were accumulated (this was the case for both Roseland and Glen Abbey). These directories were advantageous because they identified the land use at the address, thus ensuring that businesses were not called. For the cross-municipal sample, once a street was identified as not being in either community, every 33rd telephone number was recorded until 350 to 400 were selected as well. In conducting the survey, every third number was dialed with the result being recorded (i.e. survey completed, refused, not home, disconnected) until all the numbers were

dialed at least once. This was usually sufficient in obtaining 100 completed surveys for each sample group, while the steps explained above assured confidence that the geographic location of each respondent is appropriate.

3.4 - Description of the Research Instrument

The research instrument (or survey) consisted of four major sections that are consistent with the conceptual model discussed in the introduction. The first section deals with the residents' perceptions about their localized daily activities. As discussed in the introduction, this includes their level of neighbourhood activity and socialization, and their perception of involvement in crime prevention initiatives and neighbourhood quality (please refer to survey form for further detail). These elements will be used to assess the broader dimension of neighbourhood attachment.

The second section studies the residents' perception of neighbourhood crime and safety by surveying the fear of crime element. This section has two important purposes. Firstly, this section attempts to gauge what specific aspects of their neighbourhood the residents perceive as being the most crime prone and least safe. This information can provide Halton Police with an indication of the locally based crime problems that the residents deal with which may differ greatly from the Halton Police's impression. If a consensus can be obtained that reveals where and at what times the residents perceive the presence of crime to be at its greatest, it will allow police an opportunity to adjust their strategies accordingly.

Secondly, fear for their personal safety that neighbourhood residents may or may not possess can have serious implications for how they interact within the neighbourhood. This can be measured by surveying what

aspects of their behaviour they have altered because of their fear of local crime. Alleviating neighbourhood residents' fear of crime and increasing their perception of safety is often an objective of community policing programs. Such programs seek to initiate neighbourhood activism by instilling a "reclaim the streets" mentality in fed-up, fearful residents. Although a person's fear is basically a perception, it can be reality to the individual and by alleviating this perception, community policing can substantially improve the quality of life experienced by many people.

The third section seeks to assess the perceived effectiveness of the community policing efforts employed by the Halton Regional Police in each of the communities selected. This was accomplished by surveying the residents' experiences and perceptions relating to police accessibility in their neighbourhood. As previously mentioned, community policing relies on increased police visibility, accessibility and personal contact to improve and open informal communication lines with the neighbourhood residents. Consequently, the survey questions gauge how effectively the Halton Police have met the goals of community policing as decided by the recipients of their actions - the community itself. This section relates to the conceptual model as it assesses the perceived community policing effectiveness component of the model (see page 7).

The final section of the research instrument refers to the respondents' personal characteristics. These include the respondents' sex, age, education, tenure, family status, length of residency, ethnicity and victimization. It has been shown in numerous studies that these characteristics are highly correlated with opinions of police and their performance, fear of crime and neighbourhood attachment (Trojanowicz et al, 1987). For example, victimized

respondents (victims of crime) and minority groups are often critical of police performance, while the elderly are more fearful of crime and homeowners are more concerned about the state of their neighbourhood than renters tend to be. Also, not only do these characteristics possess explanatory power, they represent the very form and nature of the neighbourhood.

Each section of the research instrument (with the exception of the personal characteristics) represents the three elements that are central to community policing as argued by this study - neighbourhood activity, fear for personal safety and police accessibility. The questions in each of these three sections form a scale to study the relationship between the elements. The most appropriate scaling system for this study are Likert Scaling methods.

Briefly, Likert Scaling is composed of a five-point, bipolar response range (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Hagan, 1982). Basically, each section's scale is composed of closed response questions with a five-point, bipolar response range. Each of these questions allows the respondent to select from two positive answers (one more positive than the other), two negative answers (one more negative than the other) and a neutral response (such as undecided). These answers are then assigned a numerical value to provide the basis for further statistical analysis (which is explained in the results). The section on neighbourhood attachment has eleven such questions (see questions A2-A9), while the section on neighbourhood crime has eighteen (see questions B2, B3, B5-B7) and the section on police effectiveness has twelve (see questions C2-C6, C8, C9). These questions form the very crux of the analysis of this study. The questions that do not utilize a five-point, bipolar response scale are not utilized in the scaling format, but their inclusion reflects issues that the Halton Regional Police Service needed addressed.

Chapter 4 - DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF DATA AND SCALE FORMULATION

This section will provide a descriptive analysis of the data with four objectives in mind: 1) to describe the magnitude and variation of the individual items that form the scale, 2) to describe the decisions made in the reliability analysis to refine the scale, 3) to analyze the results of the scale and how they differ between locations and 4) to analyze the breakdown of personal characteristics of each locational sample.

This description provides a base for the analysis that is discussed in the following section. That analysis discusses the use of Spearman's Rank coefficients to quantify any relationship between the elements of police accessibility, neighbourhood activity and fear for personal safety.

As previously mentioned, the elements are based on a series of questions whose responses fall into a five-point, bipolar scale ranging from 1 (most negative response) to 3 (neutral) to 5 (most positive response). The section of the survey that deals with neighbourhood activity has twelve questions (or items) to measure this element while fear for personal safety has seventeen and policing accessibility has twelve. Thus, the maximum score for the elements of neighbourhood activity and policing accessibility is 60 while for fear of crime it is 85. Conversely, the minimum score for neighbourhood activity and police accessibility is 12 while for fear for personal safety is 17. This range of maximum and minimum scores represents an "aggregate score". Thus each of the 300 total respondents have 3 aggregate scores (one for each element) and they are then categorized into three equal samples based on which location they reside in.

4.1 - Refining the Attitudinal Scales

As previously mentioned there were 41 individual items that were used to form the basis of the bipolar scaling system. Appendix 4 shows the results of these items and their variance across the three elements and the three sample means.

Reliability analysis is a critical component of the study as it seeks to refine the scales, thus strengthening the analysis. It is based on the Cronbach's Alpha statistic calculated in the SPSSPC+ statistical package (Norusis, 1988).

Cronbach's Alpha is a measure of the internal consistency for multi-item summed scales, ranging from zero (no internal consistency) to unity (perfect internal consistency) (Bohrnstedt & Knoke; 1988). Cronbach's Alpha is calculated by the following formula:

$$\alpha = \frac{k\bar{r}}{1 + (k - 1)\bar{r}}$$

Where: k = the number of items in the scale

r = the average intercorrelation among the k items
comprising the scale (Bohrnstedt & Knoke; 1988)

This formula is a simplification of the original computing formula and its assumption is that the items have equal or near equal variances. This often is the case when the items use the same response category format, and this format was used in this study. Another important assumption is that the items in the scale reflect the larger underlying, unobservable characteristic (in this case element) that is being measured (Bohrnstedt & Knoke; 1988). This is an assumption in this study as it is assumed that the individual items assess the elements of police accessibility, fear for

personal safety and neighbourhood activity.

However, Cronbach's Alpha is not the only condition that helps determine which items are appropriate for the analysis. The decision to remove an item is essentially a combination of quantitative logic and theoretical reasoning. From the statistical point of view, three criteria were considered: 1) the effect on Cronbach's Alpha when the item is removed 2) a lack of variation in an item and 3) a high correlation between items. However theoretical considerations are just as important.

The following table reveals the results of the reliability testing on each element and in each sample:

Table 2

Results of Cronbach's Alpha by Element and Location	
Neighbourhood Activity	Alpha
All 300 cases	.7029
Roseland	.7799
Glen Abbey	.7081
Cross-Municipal	.5802
Fear for Personal Safety	
All 300 cases	.8192
Roseland	.8235
Glen Abbey	.8325
Cross-Municipal	.8054
Police Accessibility	
All 300 cases	.7775
Roseland	.8120
Glen Abbey	.7362
Cross-Municipal	.7925

The above table shows that all elements in all samples had high Alphas, with the lone exception being the cross-municipal sample in the element of neighbourhood activity. This may indicate that an aspatial sample is not nearly as well suited to answer questions dealing with neighbourhood activity as compared to the spatial samples.

The element of neighbourhood activity underwent the most dramatic revisions. Six of the original 12 items were removed from further analysis. They were items A3, A4, A5, A6, A7, & A8. It was felt that the remaining items (A1i - A1v, A9) were the only items that dealt specifically with neighbourhood oriented behaviour, thus eliminating the other items would make this element more consistent in what it was measuring. Items A5 & A6 suffered from a concrete definition of "neighbourhood", thus rendering the responses open to vastly different interpretations right from the beginning. Items A3, A4, A7, & A8 were removed because of a lack of variation.

Four items were removed from the element of fear for personal safety. They were items B5, B6iv, B7v and B7ix. Item B5 was removed because of a lack of variability which reflected (in retrospect) the limited analytical capability of the question. Item B6iv also lacked significant variability. Items B7v and B7ix were dropped because their absence would increase Cronbach's Alpha more than the others.

Three items were removed from the element of police accessibility and they were items C3, C5 & C8. Item C3 was deleted because of its lack of variability (very few people speak to police officers if they can avoid it). Items C5 & C6 were highly correlated (.6733 calculated on the correlation matrix in SPSSPC+) with each other. Both items asked the respondent about "police presence" in their neighbourhood, how much of it there was and how satisfied was the respondent of this amount. These are two distinct measures, but they are so closely related that including both of them would be redundant. It was felt that item C6 was more relevant to the theory and thus item C5 was dropped. Lastly, item C8 was removed because it was a theoretically poor item that asked respondents to evaluate what their

neighbours were perceiving.

To summarize, after the reliability analysis was completed, further analyses are based on 6 items for neighbourhood activity, 13 items for fear for personal safety and 9 items for police accessibility.

4.2 - Descriptive Analysis of the Elements by Location

The following chart shows the means and their variation for each sample after the scale was adjusted accordingly:

Table 3

Means and Variances of the Elements by Location			
Relationship	Sample		
Neighbourhood Activity (6 items) Alpha = .703	Roseland	Glen Abbey	Cross-Municipal
	Minimum = 6, Neutral = 18, Maximum = 30		
Mean	22.3	21.6	21.2
Variance	19.7	16.9	17.3
Personal Safety (13 items) Alpha = .819	Minimum = 13, Neutral = 39, Maximum = 65		
Mean	51.7	48.8	49.8
Variance	66.8	88.7	73.8
Police Accessibility (9 items) Alpha = .778	Minimum = 9, Neutral = 27, Maximum = 45		
Mean	33.3	33.4	33.1
Variance	17.9	17.3	20.5

The differences between each sample's means are not substantial. Roseland possessed the highest means for the elements of neighbourhood activity and fear for personal safety, while it was only slightly below Glen Abbey in the police accessibility element. The cross-municipal sample had

the lowest means of the three for each element with the exception of personal safety.

Each sample exhibited means that can be viewed as positive results. In the case of neighbourhood activity, a totally neutral mean would be 18, while for fear for personal safety it would be 39 and for police accessibility it would be 27 (the number of items that measure an element multiplied by three). All three elements in each sample were above this "neutral threshold" which indicates that the status of these elements in these locales are favourable for community policing.

4.3 - Testing for Significant Personal Characteristics

A respondent's personal characteristics can affect their perception of police and crime issues. For example, females and the elderly tend to have a greater fear of crime and for their personal safety, victims are often more critical of police and homeowners tend to have stronger feelings towards their neighbourhood. As a result, the following section will report the results of the Spearman's Rank analysis on each personal characteristic. Thus it becomes necessary to describe the breakdown of the personal characteristics and to test for differences between locales regarding their personal characteristics. Consequently chi-square analysis was used to accomplish this. Table 4 on the following page summarizes how each characteristic was represented in each sample:

Table 4

Distribution of Personal Characteristics by Location			
Characteristic	Roseland (N=100)	Glen Abbey (N=100)	Cross-Municipal (N=100)
Length of Residency (at current address)			
1-3 years	25	35	18
4-9 years	38	65	38
10+ years	37	0	44
Sex			
Male	41	33	37
Female	59	67	63
Age			
18-29 years	18	16	20
30-64 years	70	81	61
65+ years	12	3	19
Tenure Status			
Homeowners	84	89	86
Renters	16	11	14
Education			
< Grade 9	0	0	2
Secondary	8	9	11
Secondary Graduate	28	24	37
Community College	6	5	4
Community Coll. Grad.	15	13	15
University	12	13	7
University Graduate	31	36	24
Children Living at Home			
Yes	50	71	50
No	50	29	50
Victimization			
Yes	30	43	44
No	70	57	56
Type of Victimization			
Personal Crime	4	3	10
Property Crime	24	35	31
Both	2	5	3

Table 4 (cont'd)

Location of Victimization			
In Neighbourhood	9	20	22
Out Neighbourhood	19	20	20
Both	2	3	2

Table 4 indicates notable differences among the areas in length of residence, victimization and children living at home. Roseland sample had the fewest victims while Glen Abbey had the most respondents who had children living at home. Whether these differences reflect actual differences between location populations or by sampling, will be indicated by chi-square testing.

Prior to discussing the chi-square testing, it must be noted that Table 4 reveals a potential discrepancy with regards to the sample. Roseland is the community that has the most reported offenses (see pg.26), but its reported victimization in this sample is the lowest of the three. This may raise some doubts as to whether Roseland's sample is representative of the actual area in terms of victimization. However, it is felt that this sample is representative of victimization, particularly when one examines the issue from a per capita perspective. Roseland's 1986 Census population was 13,545 and there were 4,101 reported offences in 1990. That equates to one reported offence per 3.3 persons. Roseland's sample reported 30% victimization, or one reported victimization per 3.0 persons (from the sample). Similarly, Glen Abbey's Census population was 5,770 and there were 2,366 reported offences. That equates to one reported offense per 2.4 persons. Glen Abbey's sample reported 43% victimization, or one reported victimization per 2.3 persons (from the sample). Based on this it is felt that the samples are representative of the actual victimization in the two locations.

The chi-square test is a "test of statistical significance based on a comparison of the observed cell frequencies of a joint contingency table with frequencies that would be expected under the null hypothesis of no relationship" (Bohrnstedt & Knoke, 1988). It is denoted by the formula:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

Where: O_i = observed frequency for the i th category

E_i = expected frequency for the i th category

The expected frequencies are the frequencies that would occur if the null hypothesis of no relationship is true. Thus the observed frequencies are tested against the expected frequencies to test the null hypothesis. Generally, the null hypothesis would be accepted when the chi-square statistic is relatively low and the accompanying level of significance is high (above .05). Table 5 on the following page summarizes the results of this testing:

Table 5

Chi-Square Test Results for Personal Characteristics by Location		
Characteristic	Chi-Square	Significance
Length of Residency	57.36	.000
Sex	1.37	.503
Age	14.64	.006
Tenure Status	1.07	.585
Education	12.41	.414
Children Living at Home	11.99	.003
Victimization	5.13	.077
Victimization Type	10.53	.104
Victimization Location	8.08	.232

As table 5 indicates, only three of the personal

characteristics have distributions that are considered to be significantly different between the sample groups. These results may be useful, as any significantly different results between sample groups in the their relationship between elements, could be a result of the personal characteristics of each sample. The above Chi-square results show that only age, length of residency at current address, and children living at home, can be used for such explanatory purposes. Those possibilities will be examined in section 5.6.

Chapter 5 - ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ELEMENTS

5.1 - Testing for a Relationship Between Elements

The Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient was chosen as the appropriate statistical measure to assess whether and to what degree, a relationship exists between the elements of neighbourhood activity, fear for personal safety and police accessibility. Spearman's Rank is a measure of association between variables (or elements in this case) based on ordinal data (Siegel, 1956). Thus it was well suited for this study as all of the dimensions are in ordinal data form.

At this point a brief explanation of Spearman's Rank would be beneficial. In this study there are three samples that each measure the elements of neighbourhood activity, fear for personal safety and police accessibility. These measures were derived from the Likert Scaling system discussed in section 3.4. The Spearman's Rank method uses these measures to determine if any association exists.

For example, the Roseland sample will have 100 scores (for 100 respondents) for each of the elements of neighbourhood activity, fear for personal safety, and police accessibility. Spearman's Rank compares only two elements at a time by ranking the scores (from highest to lowest) for each element. If the ranks for the element of police accessibility is denoted as $X_1, X_2, X_3, \dots, X_n$, and for the element of fear for personal safety is denoted as $Y_1, Y_2, Y_3, \dots, Y_n$, then a perfect correlation between elements can exist only if $X_i = Y_i$ for all i 's (Siegel, 1956). Thus the difference between the ranks of X and Y is an indication of the disparity between the two elements. This difference is denoted as D_i , where $D_i = X_i - Y_i$.

Thus, if one respondent in the Roseland sample has the highest rank for police accessibility and the tenth highest rank for fear for personal safety, then their D would be -9. The magnitude of these different Di's provides one with a measure of the relation between police accessibility and fear for personal safety.

The various Di's are squared as to eliminate the presence of negative values and they are then summed. This sum is used in the formula that calculates Rs where;

$$R_s = \frac{6 \sum_{i=1}^N d_i^2}{N^2 - N}$$

which is the statistic that determines the direction and magnitude of any relationship between elements (Siegel, 1956).

5.2 - Describing the Relationship Between Elements

This section will provide the results of this analysis with the following set of objectives in mind. Does any quantifiable relationship exist between the three elements and to what magnitude? Also, do the relationships change in any way when geographic and personal characteristics are isolated in the analysis? In other words, this section seeks to determine what the relationship between the elements are and how they may differ.

As a result, this section will report on and analyze the relationship amongst the elements for the entire sample group (all 300 cases), by personal characteristic and by geographic location. The following table reveals the results of these analyses:

Table 6

The Relationship Between Elements (Spearman's Rank Coefficients with accompanying significance levels by relationship and characteristic)			
	Tested Relationship		
Characteristic	PA/NA	PA/PS	NA/PS
All 300 cases	+.21**	+.17**	-.03
0 - 3 year residents (N=78)	+.18	+.19	-.04
4 - 9 year residents(N=141)	+.24**	+.21**	-.08
10+ year residents (N=81)	+.16	+.14	+.14
18-29 age group (N=54)	+.26*	+.07	+.01
30-64 age group (N=212)	+.25**	+.18**	-.03
65+ age group (N=34)	-.08	+.29*	-.12
Males (N=111)	+.14	+.26**	-.02
Females (N=189)	+.27**	+.05	-.03
Homeowners (N=259)	+.19**	+.19**	-.05
Renters (N=41)	+.28*	+.01	-.06
With Children (N=171)	+.20**	+.15*	-.03
Without Children (N=129)	+.23**	+.18*	-.01
Post-secondary Educated (N=181)	+.26**	+.18**	-.01
No Postsecondary (N=119)	+.13	+.21*	-.01
Non-victims (N=183)	+.19**	+.16*	+.01
Victims (N=117)	+.24**	+.20*	-.10
Personal Crime Victims (N=17)	+.28	+.26	-.11
Property Crime Victims (N=90)	+.22*	+.25**	-.13

Table 6 (cont'd)

Characteristic	Tested Relationship		
	PA/NA	PA/PS	NA/PS
In Neighbourhood Victims (N=51)	+. 23*	+. 32**	-.03
Out Neighbourhood Victims (N=57)	+. 24*	+. 32	-.12
Legend: PA - the element of police accessibility			
PS - the element of fear personal safety			
NA - the element of neighbourhood activity			
** - significance level of .01 or better			
* - significance level of .05 or better			
No ""s indicates a significance level greater than .05			

5.2.1 - Police Accessibility and Neighbourhood Activity

Overall the relationship between the elements of police accessibility and neighbourhood activity (PA/NA) is the strongest relationship of the three. Although the magnitude of the coefficients is not exceptional for any of the relationships, however the coefficients generally are consistent and significant.

For example, the relationship's coefficient for all 300 cases is +.21**, indicating a direct relationship exists between police accessibility and neighbourhood activity. The coefficients' magnitude and significance level is similar when one examines the personal characteristics of the respondents. The highest coefficient is that of renters (+.28*) while the lowest is that of respondents with no post-secondary education (+.13). Most of the results for each personal characteristic are similar to these. All of the results are positive (thus indicating a direct relationship) while almost all of them are significant to at least 95%. The only results that do not exhibit this significance level are those for males, non post-secondary educated and personal

crime victims. Again, all of the remaining personal characteristic coefficients are positive and maintain a significance level of .05 or better.

5.2.2 - Police Accessibility and Fear for Personal Safety

This hypothesized relationship (PA/PS) exhibits similar results to that of the police accessibility/neighbourhood activity (PA/NA) results, but they are weaker overall. For all 300 cases the coefficient was $+0.17^{**}$ which indicates a direct relationship. The magnitude is slightly less than the PA/NA result, but it also is significant at the .01 level.

The results for this relationship are similar to the PA/NA results when one examines the coefficients by personal characteristic. The strongest coefficient is that exhibited by victims of crime who were victimized inside their neighbourhood ($+0.32^{**}$), while the weakest is that of renters ($+0.01$). All of the various personal characteristics maintained a positive coefficient that was significant to at least 95%. The only exceptions to this were females, renters and personal crime victims. Thus the results mirror those of the PA/NA coefficients. Some of the possible reasons why these groups exhibited these results are discussed in section 6.1.

5.2.3 - Neighbourhood Activity and Fear for Personal Safety

This hypothesized relationship (NA/PS) obtained the weakest results of the three by far. For example, the coefficient for all 300 cases was -0.03 . In contrast, there was no negative coefficient at all in the previous two analyses.

The personal characteristics also exhibit similar results. Every characteristic (with the exception of post-secondary educated respondents) produced a coefficient that was negative in direction, negligible in magnitude and no cases that were significant at the .05 level. The highest coefficient is that of post-secondary educated respondents (+.02). These results are truly thought-provoking as they do not suggest a positive or negative relationship. Rather they suggest no relationship at all.

These results do not support the theory which suggests that a person will exhibit a greater sense of neighbourhood attachment (represented in this study by the element of neighbourhood activity) if they perceive neighbourhood crime to be low and personal safety to be high (represented by the element of fear of crime). These results suggest that this relationship needs to be re-examined.

5.3 - The Role of the Location and Significant Personal Characteristics

One of the more notable results of the Spearman's Rank analysis was the differences between sample groups. The Roseland locale sample had positive and significant results for the two relationships that measure police accessibility. The Glen Abbey sample had less encouraging results, while the Cross-municipal sample had negligible results that were not statistically significant. Table 7 shows these results on the following page.

Table 7

Spearman's Rank Results by Location			
Tested Relationship			
Neighbourhood	PA/NA	PA/PS	NA/PS
All 300 cases	+.21**	+17**	-.03
Roseland (N=100)	+.30**	+17**	+.07
Glen Abbey (N=100)	+.18*	+.11	-.13
Cross-Municipal (N=100)	+.09	+.13	-.06

When one examines the relationship between PA/NA, The results differ tremendously when one breaks down the sample into their geographic sub-samples. The Roseland sample's coefficient is $+.30^{**}$, which is consistent with the previous results. Glen Abbey's coefficient is lower in magnitude and significance level ($+.18^*$) while the cross-municipal sample's results are much lower ($+.09$). According to these results there appears to be a substantial difference with the coefficients according to location. However, despite weak magnitudes, the relationship between police accessibility and neighbourhood activity is direct and significant in almost all cases.

Examining the relationship between PA/PS, the coefficients, once again, display a similar tendency when the location is taken into account. Roseland obtained a coefficient of $+.17^{**}$ which is consistent with the personal characteristics both in terms of magnitude and significance level. However, Glen Abbey's coefficient is $+.11$ and the cross-municipal sample's is $+.13$. Both samples indicate a weak, direct relationship that is not significant to the desired .05 level. This differs from the PA/NA analysis where Glen Abbey's results were significant. Despite that, the results of these hypothesized relationships (PA/NA & PA/PS) indicates that there is a direct relationship that is consistent in terms of magnitude and significance level

across most personal characteristics and location.

The results regarding the NA/PS relationship differ substantially from the other two relationships. Roseland's coefficient is $+0.07$, while Glen Abbey's is -0.13 and the cross-municipal sample's is -0.06 . None of the three are significant at the $.05$ level. Regardless of the locale, the results suggest that no relationship exists between neighbourhood activity and fear for personal safety. This is consistent with the results found for this relationship when one examines the various personal characteristics.

However, it can be argued that differences in the personal characteristic composition of the samples may account for those variations. As discussed in section 4.3, there are three personal characteristics that displayed significant compositional variations between sample groups. They were age, length of residency at current address, and the presence of children living in the household. The results on the following page are Spearman's Rank analyses which controls for each of these characteristics.

Table 8

Spearman's Rank Results Controlling for Significant Personal Characteristics			
Controlling for "age" (respondents between the ages of 30-64 years)			
	Relationship		
Sample	PA/NA	PA/PS	NA/PS
Roseland (N=70)	.363**	.376**	.121
Glen Abbey (N=81)	.167	.082	-.165
CMunicipal (N=61)	.186	.154	-.001
Controlling for "length of residency" (respondents who have lived at their current address 4-9 years)			
Roseland (N=38)	.477**	.242	-.013
Glen Abbey (N=65)	.129	.215*	-.083
CMunicipal (N=38)	.097	.175	-.192
Controlling for respondents who have children living at home			
Roseland (N=50)	.394**	.354**	.097
Glen Abbey (N=71)	.173	.043	-.129
CMunicipal (N=50)	-.073	.178	-.060

The Roseland sample continued to show similar results even when the three personal characteristics were controlled for. The magnitude of the PA/NA and PA/PS relationships for Roseland increased in all three cases, and significant at .05 or better in five of six measures. Conversely, the Glen Abbey sample's was only significant in one of the six measures, while the Cross-municipal sample continued to show the same results of negligible magnitudes that are not significant at .05 or better. These results maybe an indication of the relevance of the locale in these relationships.

5.4 - Summary

The element of police accessibility is directly related to both the elements of neighbourhood activity and fear for personal safety. The magnitudes of these relationships are not strong, but they are consistent in direction and significance level. This is true for almost all of the personal characteristics exhibited by the respondents.

When the sample is broken down according to location, it becomes apparent that the Roseland sample has the most positive results. Roseland's coefficients were positive in direction and significant at the .01 level for the tested relationships of PA/NA and PA/PS only. Glen Abbey's results were similar but weaker, were it was only significant at the .05 level for the PA/NA relationship. The cross-municipal sample was not significant for any of the relationships, and its magnitude was negligible at best. However, there is no doubt that the Roseland sample possesses the most consistent results of the three.

The results for the NA/PS relationship were the weakest and therefore very puzzling. Regardless of the personal characteristic or location, very few coefficients were substantial in magnitude and none were significant at the .05 level. The results suggest that no relationship exists.

These results increased in strength, but not substantially, after controlling those personal characteristics that differed significantly between the three samples. The implications of these results will be discussed in the next section.

Chapter 6 - DISCUSSION

The analysis of the previous section reveals three general findings that will be discussed in this section. Firstly, the generally consistent results of the police accessibility element (PA), which (for the most part) was weakly and directly related to the other two elements. Secondly, the relationship between neighbourhood activity (NA) and fear for personal safety (PS) is nonexistent according to the results. Thirdly, there are disparate results between the two locations (Roseland and Glen Abbey) and the Cross-municipal sample. These are the most significant findings of this study.

6.1 - The Results of the Police Accessibility Element

One of the more consistent results was the performance of the police accessibility element. In all 300 cases, the police accessibility element had a direct relationship with neighbourhood activity and fear for personal safety that was statistically significant (see Table 7). This relationship was present when controlling for most specific personal characteristics. This is also the case for the Roseland and Glen Abbey locations. As previously mentioned, the element was not significant at all in the Cross-municipal sample (as no relationship was significant in the Cross-municipal sample).

The following figure illustrates the these results:

Figure 3: Results of the Police Accessibility Element (N=300)

	Police Accessibility (PA)	
	+.21**	+.17**
Neighbourhood Activity (NA)	-.03	Fear for Personal Safety (PS)

These results tend to confirm community policing's contention of how police accessibility impacts upon fear of crime and neighbourhood activity. These positive results were absolutely essential for any support of community policing. Although the correlations are weak in magnitude, this maybe more indicative of an insensitive measurement instrument than that of a truly weak relationship.

The element's results were also directly related with most of the personal characteristics. There are 20 possible different personal characteristics that were accounted for. Police accessibility was directly related to neighbourhood activity (at a significance level of at least 95%) in fifteen of those characteristics. PA was also directly related to the fear for personal safety in fourteen of those (all 300 cases; see Table 6). PA was also directly related to both NA and PS in Roseland, and directly related to NA in Glen Abbey.

However, police accessibility was not significantly related to neighbourhood activity and fear for personal safety for a number of personal characteristic groups. Firstly, increased police accessibility is not associated

with increased neighbourhood activity for respondents in the 65+ age group, males, 0-3 years residents, 10+ year residents, victims of personal crimes and respondents with no post-secondary education. This may indicate that these groups are less active in the neighbourhood which may be accurate in describing all of these groups.

Similarly, increased police accessibility is not associated with a greater sense of personal safety for these groups: respondents in the 18-29 age group, females, renters, 0-3 year residents, 10+ year residents, victims of personal crimes and victims who were victimized outside their neighbourhood. Many of these groups may feel particularly vulnerable, specifically females and victims in general. These groups may feel vulnerable to the point that increased police accessibility may not do any good at all. Indeed some groups (such as youth) may view increased police accessibility as a threat. For example, Riechers & Roberg (1990) report that Blacks and renters did not benefit from increased police contact as much as other groups. However, when one examines a neighbourhood as a whole, these distinctions and variances can be reduced as Murphy reports there does appear to be "empirical support for the assumption that communities desire more visible, accessible and personal policing" (Murphy, 1988, pg.406).

Nonetheless the results of the police accessibility element as it related to the elements of neighbourhood activity, fear for personal safety and most personal characteristics, were directly and significantly related, which tends to confirm community policing theory.

6.2 - The Fear for Personal Safety/Neighbourhood Activity Relationship

A very puzzling result, yet a consistent one, is

the relationship between the fear for personal safety (PS) and neighbourhood activity (NA) elements. This study, based on community policing theory postulates that these two elements have a direct relationship. It would logically follow that the less fear for personal safety a person feels in their neighbourhood, the more likely they are to engage in neighbourhood-based activities.

This study's attempt to confirm this postulate has been fruitless. As Table 6 shows, the results indicate that no relationship exists. The results have a negligible magnitude and they are not statistically significant (-.03). This is true for all 300 cases taken at once, all personal characteristics, and in each neighbourhood. The results for this relationship are consistently clear.

One possible explanation comes to mind regarding this result. The possibility that neighbourhood activity may not be the ideal measure for neighbourhood attachment. Firstly, one should re-assess the appropriateness of using neighbourhood activity as a measure of neighbourhood attachment. One must remember that community policing seeks to activate citizen participation when it comes to crime and safety issues in their neighbourhood. Consequently, it was felt that neighbourhood activity is a good indicator of this form of citizen participation which is brought upon by the respondent's neighbourhood attachment. To clarify, neighbourhood activity was measured to act as an indicator of neighbourhood attachment and the groundwork of future citizen participation with regards to community policing theory. That is the logical basis for using the element of neighbourhood activity. The limitation with this approach is that NA was attempting to measure current perception while the future participation is a secondary inference.

Suzanne Keller (1968) describes neighbourhood attachment as a "special feeling for a given place, a special sort of pride in living there, a sense of attachment transcending physical inconvenience or social undesirability". Keller goes on to say that "this attachment may be rooted in childhood experiences or family involvement with the area over a long period or in historical events endowing an area with a special meaning. It may also stem from current attractions such as the presence of favoured friends, material or cultural advantages, or a particular aesthetic component" (Keller, 1968, pg.108).

The question now becomes "is the frequency of neighbourhood activity an adequate measure of some form of neighbourhood attachment when used in the context of ascertaining theoretical community policing assumptions?" Keller notes that some neighbourhood activities are always present whenever there is a culture that expects neighbours to maintain some sort of relationship. However the priority, frequency, intensity, extensity and formality of these activities can vary greatly. These factors also tend to vary in different types of settings (urban vs. rural). For example, Keller (1968) writes that research knowledge is sparse of the frequency of contact between neighbours in an urban setting because the amount of neighbouring is rarely formally specified. But none of these thoughts on activities formally specifies a correlation with neighbourhood attachment.

The context in which this study has examined neighbourhood activity in relation with neighbourhood attachment is very important. Measuring neighbourhood attachment is certainly not an exact science given the variations (and their interpretive implications) that can occur with respondents' perceptions and the many social, cultural and geographic settings that they are found in.

Community policing believes that people (despite those social, cultural and geographic differences) want to live in safe neighbourhoods, and when that is threatened by the presence of crime, they will respond to community policing initiatives. This response will have to take the form of further activity that is police oriented such as communicating with the police (both informally at the street level and formally at the committee meeting level). Consequently, it was felt that a degree of current neighbourhood activity would be a good indicator of this future activity.

This study reports that there is no sufficient evidence to claim that the fear for personal safety is associated with neighbourhood activity. If this is the case, it may have some implications for crime prevention efforts such as Neighbourhood Watch. These programs encourage neighbours to organize and be vigilante in their "watching" of neighbours' homes for suspicious activities. These programs are primarily designed to discourage criminals from burglarizing neighbourhoods, any other feeling of safety that is felt by the residents is secondary. However, this results throws doubt on the effectiveness of Neighbourhood Watch as a means of enhancing safety.

To summarize, the concept of neighbourhood attachment is difficult to define and measure. The relationship between neighbourhood attachment and neighbourhood activity does need further development for community policing applications. This development should assist in clarifying the relationship between neighbourhood activity and the fear of crime, because this study reports that there is no relationship, and that result is not consistent with community policing theory.

6.3 - The Results Between Locations

The results varied substantially between the neighbourhood samples. Roseland had the most positive results of the three samples by far, Glen Abbey's were less supportive of the theory, while the Cross-municipal sample had no significant results. This discussion begins with the Cross-municipal sample.

Another consistent result was that of the Cross-municipal sample, whose results were consistently negligible and not statistically significant (see Figure 4 below).

Figure 4 - Results of the Cross-municipal Sample (N=100)

	Police Accessibility (PA)	
	+09	+13
Neighbourhood Activity (NA)	-06	Fear for Personal Safety (PS)

This sample differed from the Roseland and Glen Abbey samples in one key regard - that the respondents did not represent any specific location. The one hundred respondents in the Roseland and Glen Abbey samples do reside in those locales, but the location of residence for the Cross-municipal respondents is less known. These respondents were randomly selected from parts of Burlington and Oakville that excluded the Roseland and Glen Abbey areas. Of the one hundred respondents, half reside somewhere in Burlington and the other half somewhere in Oakville. Thus the only common locational factor for these respondents is the fact that they live in the same Regional Municipality.

This result may indicate that there is a locational effect present in the study. The Cross-municipal respondents were interviewed in precisely the same manner as the Roseland and Glen Abbey respondents. All respondents in each of the three samples were asked to respond to each question while thinking of their neighbourhood (whatever they determined their neighbourhood to be). The neighbourhood was not defined for the respondents. It is an acknowledgment of this study that this fact may pose some issues on the interpretation of the results. Murphy's work encountered the same issue, but he concludes that "from the varied responses that the residents had in mind a relatively precise and territorially limited mental map of their local community" (Murphy, 1988, pg.398). Thus, if one were to accept the insignificant results of the Cross-municipal sample as an indication of some kind of a location effect, then this would be a positive result with reference to community policing theory. As previously mentioned, community policing rests on the assumption that neighbourhoods are self-aware places. The lack of any statistically significant results for the Cross-municipal sample (especially when compared to the Roseland and Glen Abbey samples) supports this assumption.

Just as significant as the results found for the Cross-municipal sample is the differences in the results between Roseland and Glen Abbey. Figures 5 and 6 reveal these results.

Figure 5: Results of the Roseland Sample (N=100)

	Police Accessibility	
	(PA)	
	+.30**	+.17**
Neighbourhood Activity	+.07	Fear for Personal Safety
(NA)		(PS)

Figure 6: Results of the Glen Abbey Sample (N=100)

	Police Accessibility (PA)	
	+ .18*	+ .11
Neighbourhood Activity (NA)	- .13	Fear for Personal Safety (PS)

The question now becomes "is this an indication of a difference between locations"? This may be the case as there are some operational differences in how the Halton Regional Police actually police the two communities.

Halton's Community Based Policing philosophy operates in the following manner. The entire organization is structured in a manner to be less centralized. Patrol and investigative functions are allocated to the three divisions that make up the Regional Municipality. There are some police functions that are centralized (such as Major Crimes investigations and Communications), but the majority are not. For example, each Division has a group of Detectives who are responsible for investigations in their Division. Many police services centralize their entire investigators and assign on a case by case basis. In Halton, these Divisional Detectives are expected to investigate crimes in their Division, without the fear of being called off an investigation by a centralized level of command. They have a degree of autonomy, so that they may be left alone to concentrate on their respective Division's problems. This is an example of how police decision-making is decentralized in community policing.

Patrol functions however form the backbone of any police service. As previously mentioned, Halton divides its entire Region into "police communities" (16 for Burlington and 13 for Oakville). Each community has a patrol vehicle assigned to patrol its area 24 hours a day (by four different squads). Officers are placed in a community for at least one year and are expected to interact with the residents. This consistency allows for some police accessibility and, hopefully, increased communication. This method of operation ensures for the Halton Regional Police that the philosophy of community policing is internalized throughout the organization.

In addition to these efforts, Halton also augments its strategy with the use of Community Directed Patrols (CDP). These are patrols that place officers on foot in selected small areas. Normally these areas include very high crime rate residences or highly concentrated commercial activities. There are over a dozen of such CDPs across the Region. Officers assigned to this form of patrol are expected to interact with the residents to a much greater degree than their patrol vehicle counterparts. The CDPs are almost entirely removed from answering emergency calls for service. Consequently, they do have much more time to communicate with the community. They are also furnished with "store-front" offices based in the area they are serving. This allows for formal dialogue to take place right in the community. The result is the most advanced form of community policing available. Police visibility, accessibility and communication are maximized.

Roseland does have such a CDP while Glen Abbey does not. Roseland has a CDP in a large shopping mall (the Burlington Mall). The Halton Police felt that this area deserved special attention due to the oppressively high amounts of theft, trespasses and other petty crimes that

constantly drain resources. Consequently, two officers were assigned to Burlington Mall so that they may strictly deal with the offenses at the Mall. Part of their strategy was to make themselves visible to the public in an effort to make themselves more approachable and to educate shopowners about preventing shoplifting by holding crime prevention seminars.

There is some evidence to suggest that the CDP in Burlington Mall maybe one reason for the stronger relationship between PA/PS found in Roseland. For example, when asked if a respondent could recognize any police officer on duty in their neighbourhood by name or appearance, 39% of Roseland respondents answered that they could. Only 28% of Glen Abbey and 27% of Cross-municipal respondents could. This is a potentially very significant result. By recognizing neighbourhood officers, people may feel a certain sense of familiarity, and eventually develop a rapport. It is logical to connect this familiarity with the CDP patrol in Burlington Mall. To support this, it should be noted that when asked if officers are easy to approach and begin a conversation with, 86% of Roseland respondents answered positively compared to 76% of Glen Abbey respondents. When asked how they would describe relations between the police and residents in their neighbourhood, Roseland respondents were 64% positive compared to 48% for Glen Abbey. When asked how they would rate police concern for citizen problems in their neighbourhood, Roseland was 68% positive while Glen Abbey was 50% (note: the above and below reported percentages are obtained when one compares all positive responses to all negative responses for the asked question).

This may reveal the importance of the type of contact between the police and neighbourhood residents. Simple visibility is not enough. Indeed, when asked how often they see a police officer in their neighbourhood, Glen Abbey respondents answered positively 56% of the time

compared to only 30% for Roseland. Yet, the much larger frequency in visibility for Glen Abbey did not translate into better contact. This contention is supported by the findings of Scaglione & Condon who report that "personal contact with police is a more significant determinant of general satisfaction than all other variables combined" (Scaglione & Condon, 1990, pg.490).

This may also point to operational implications for the Halton Regional Police. Their regular community patrols are subject to calls for service which are unpredictable but always demanding. Regular patrols may have very little time to interact with the community given their mandate of answering calls for service. This problem is compounded with the fact that officers often are required to be in court for long periods of a shift and that half of their shifts are at night when the opportunity for contact is minimized. Furthermore, if an officer is occupied at a call and another call happens in their community, another vehicle is summoned from another community to answer the call. Then if there is a call in that community, some other vehicle is forced to vacate their community. And so on, and so on, and so on. This is a common scenario in policing today and it is not exaggerated. All of these factors conspire to "rob" the regular patrol officer of time for interaction with the community.

Also, the size of the policing communities are more of a reflection of the patrol strength of the police service than of actual neighbourhoods. Although the Halton Police take great pains to determine natural and proper boundaries of these communities, the reality is that if there are only 10 patrol officers per shift in a given Division (because resource deployment can only afford 10), then there will be 10 communities to patrol. In light of severe resource constraints for the police, it is the best that they can do.

Roseland neighbourhood alone takes up three census tracts ranging from wealthy lake-front properties to high-rise apartments. Consequently, it maybe be argued that these policing communities are too large to be considered actual neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, the consistent results for Roseland may also indicate that perhaps community policing is not totally effective in all neighbourhoods. If this is the case, then it suggests to police services that they must take care in determining which neighbourhoods are best-suited for community policing. More specifically, changes in police accessibility will only be associated with an increase in the feeling of personal safety in some neighbourhoods. Neighbourhoods and communities possess a constellation of shared perceptions and values that are associated with their specific locales. The policy implications of this is that police services must constantly make efficient use of resources deployment.

6.4 - Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Study

This study argues that the theory of community policing has merit and that it must be researched further by all disciplines. There were three substantial results found. Firstly, there is a weak, but direct relationship between police accessibility and the elements of neighbourhood activity and fear for personal safety. This is also the case for the majority of personal characteristics also. Secondly, there is no evidence to suggest that there is a relationship between neighbourhood activity and fear for personal safety. This is the case regardless of the neighbourhood and personal characteristic. Thirdly, there is a substantial difference between locations. The Cross-municipal sample revealed no significant relationships at all, lending support to the

concept of a location effect. Roseland has the most supportive results of the three samples. This maybe a result of the more intense operational efforts found in this community, and/or it may reflect the importance of the type of neighbourhood that is best-suited for community policing.

Future study of community policing may wish to keep these recommendations in mind. Because of the success of the CDP in Burlington Mall as discussed in this study, it would be useful to compare different CDP areas to each other. The CDP is community policing to its greatest degree in Halton Region. Their neighbourhood areas are more tightly defined and the officers are primarily there to interact with the residents'. This eases the difficulty of defining the neighbourhood and lessens the methodological impacts that are associated.

Measuring neighbourhood attachment and refining its meaning in the context of community policing is critical. It is the very "lifblood" of community policing. A more comprehensive linkage of community policing theory to that of neighbourhood attachment in urban sociology theory is needed from the perspective of the community policing advocates. Neighbourhood attachment is an extremely difficult aspect of society to quantify, thus this linkage is paramount to community policing's development.

Community policing theory tackles very complicated issues. However, there is nothing complicated about the many successes that have occurred as a result of community policing initiatives throughout North America. Police agencies and the thousands of residents exposed to community policing have seen this form of policing in action (Greene, 1987; Mitzak, 1988; Skolnick & Bayley, 1988; Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990, Trojanowicz, 1983). When properly defined and applied, community policing can have a tremendous impact

on the most hopeless of situations. When not properly defined and applied, community policing could easily be the next "flavour of the month". A philosophy that could be ridiculed and discarded, when the proper training and resource allocation is not provided.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1 - Interview Preamble

When a respondent answered the randomly-selected telephone call, they were introduced to the survey in the following manner:

"Hello, my name is Drazen Manojlovic. I am a graduate student at Wilfrid Laurier University and I am conducting a survey of crime and policing in your neighbourhood with the cooperation of the Halton Regional Police. Would you like to participate? Your participation is voluntary and your answers will be held in the strictest of confidence."

If the respondent chose not to, then I apologized for the inconvenience. If they chose to participate I advised them of the length of the survey:

"There are approximately fifty questions that will take between 10-15 minutes. Is that going to be a problem for you?"

If the respondent answered that the length won't be a problem, then the survey was administered. Skeptical respondents were given phone numbers to the Halton Regional Police so that they may verify the validity of the study. This occurred on a few occasions. At no time did I give the impression that I was an employee of the Halton Regional Police.

SECTION A - NEIGHBOURHOOD ATTACHMENT

Firstly, I would like to ask you a few questions about your neighbourhood:

- A1. How long have you lived in this neighbourhood? ___ years
- A2. How often do you participate in the following activities? (please check off which one applies to you)

	Very Often	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
1) talking with neighbours	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2) helping neighbours with chores	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3) walking in neighbourhood	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4) watching neighbour's home if one is away	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5) spending a social evening with a neighbour	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
- A3. How would you describe your neighbourhood as a place to live? (circle one: excellent, good, average, poor, not sure)
- A4. Do you think the neighbourhood has changed as a place to live since you first moved there? (circle one: gotten much better, a little better, a little worse, much worse, stayed the same)
- A5. How much of your shopping do you do in your neighbourhood? (circle one: almost all of it, most of it, a little, none, not sure)
- A6. How much of your recreational activities do you do in your neighbourhood? (circle one: almost all of it, most of it, a little, none, not sure)
- A7. Would you report suspicious activity to the police? (circle one: absolutely, probably, unlikely, definitely not, don't know)
- A8. Would you gladly assist the police if you had information of a crime? (circle one: absolutely, probably, unlikely, definitely not, not sure)
- A9. Would you participate in a neighbourhood group with other neighbours that was concerned about crime in your neighbourhood? (circle one: absolutely, probably, unlikely, definitely not, don't know)

SECTION B - NEIGHBOURHOOD CRIME

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about crime in your neighbourhood:

- B1. Do any of these conditions exist in your neighbourhood and do they affect your feeling of safety?

1) poorly lit streets	Yes/No	and if Yes:	Effect/	No Effect
2) strangers/kids loitering	Yes/No	and if Yes:	Effect/	No Effect
3) intoxicated persons	Yes/No	and if Yes:	Effect/	No Effect
4) dirty or unkept lots	Yes/No	and if Yes:	Effect/	No effect
5) graffiti	Yes/No	and if Yes:	Effect/	No Effect
- B2. How much crime does your neighbourhood have compared to the rest of the city? (circle one: much more, a little more, average, a little less, much less)
- B3. How often do you worry about becoming a victim of a crime in your neighbourhood? (circle one: very frequently, often, don't know, rarely, never)
- B4. Are there any activities that you have altered because of the possibility of crime in your neighbourhood? (ie. not walking at night, installing security systems, or avoiding certain areas at specific times, etc)
 (Please fill in response if any: _____)
- B5. In your opinion, how has the level of crime in your neighbourhood changed in the past year? (circle one: a large decrease, a small decrease, no change, a small increase, a large increase, not sure)
- B6. How safe do you feel in these areas in your neighbourhood at night? (Please check off the appropriate response)

	Very Safe	Somewhat Safe	Somewhat Unsafe	Very Unsafe	Not sure
1) at a local mall, plaza or store	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2) at a neighbourhood street or bus stop	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3) at a local park or walkway	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4) at home	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
- B7. What are the following crime-related problems like in your neighbourhood? Would you say they are big problems (BP), small problems (SP), infrequent (INF), no problem at all (NP), or not sure (NS), please check off the appropriate response.

	BP	SP	INF	NP	NS		BP	SP	INF	NP	NS
break and enter	___	___	___	___	___	vandalism	___	___	___	___	___
robbery	___	___	___	___	___	theft	___	___	___	___	___
drug offences	___	___	___	___	___	disruptive youths	___	___	___	___	___
family violence	___	___	___	___	___	loud neighbours	___	___	___	___	___
muggings/assaults	___	___	___	___	___	traffic problems	___	___	___	___	___

Continued on next page

SECTION C - POLICING EFFECTIVENESS

Now, I would like to ask you about the police in your neighbourhood:

- C1. Can you recognize any of the community police officers in your neighbourhood by name or appearance? (Y/N or not sure)
- C2. How often do you see a police officer in your neighbourhood? (circle one: very frequently, often, rarely, or never, not sure)
- C3. How often in the course of a month do you speak to a police officer? (circle one: very frequently, often, rarely, never, not sure)
- C4. In general, do you feel that the officers are easy to approach and begin a conversation? (circle one: very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult, very difficult, don't know)
- C5. In your opinion how much police presence is there in your neighbourhood? (circle one: a large amount, proper amount, needs more presence, far too little amount, don't know)
- C6. How satisfied are you with the amount of police presence in your neighbourhood? (circle one: very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat unsatisfied, very unsatisfied, not sure)
- C7. Are there any crime problems that the police have helped reduce in your neighbourhood?
Please list if any: _____
- C8. How would you describe the relations between residents in your neighbourhood and the police? (circle one: outstanding, very good, average, needs improvement, very poor)
- C9. What three crime related problems do you feel that the police should give more attention to?
1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____
- C10. How would you rate these aspects of the police in your neighbourhood? (outstanding- OT, very good- VG, average- AV, needs improvement- NI, very poor- VP, don't know- DK)
 1) police respect for citizen rights _____
 2) quick police response to calls _____
 3) police concern for citizen problems _____
 4) police professionalism while on duty _____
 5) police treatment of minorities _____
 6) opportunity for citizens to talk with police on any matter _____
- C11. Which of the following community services do you feel the police should provide? (circle up to three)
 1) helping stranded motorists 2) high school visits 3) business security checks
 4) checking on senior citizens 5) providing crime prevention information
- C12. Which of the following alternatives would you like to see the police use? (circle up to four)
 1) increase number of police 2) better qualifications for recruits 3) improved training 4) faster response time
 5) better patrolling 6) better follow up on complaints 7) improved community relations
 8) improved relations with minorities

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself for statistical purposes only:
Circle or fill in the appropriate response.

Sex - Male/ Female

Age - _____ Years

Are you a homeowner or renter? - Homeowner/ Renter

Do you have any children living at home? - Yes/ No
if Yes, how many? - _____

What is your current level of education?

- a) less than grade 9
- b) high school without diploma
- c) high school with diploma
- d) community college without diploma
- e) community college with diploma
- f) university without degree
- g) university with degree

What is your ethnic origin if any? _____ (ie. Italian or African-Canadian)

Have you ever been a victim of a crime? Yes/No

If the answer is Yes, then was it a crime against your person or property? Person/Property
and did the crime occur inside your neighbourhood or elsewhere? In/Out

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix 2

Glen Abbey Spearman's Rank Analysis (Spearman's Rank Coefficients with accompanying significance levels by relationship and characteristic)

Characteristic	Tested Relationship		
	PA/NA	PA/PS	NA/PS
4-9 year residents (N=65)	+ .13	+ .22*	- .08
30-64 age group (N=81)	+ .17	+ .08	- .16
Males (N=33)	- .04	+ .28	- .13
Females (N=67)	+ .29**	- .04	- .10
Homeowners (N=89)	+ .14	+ .15	- .14
Renters (N=11)	+ .01	+ .11	+ .06
With children (N=71)	+ .17	+ .04	- .13
Without Children (N=29)	- .04	+ .35*	- .23
Post-secondary educated (N=67)	+ .18	+ .08	- .06
No postsecondary (N=33)	+ .20	+ .26	- .17
Non-victims (N=57)	+ .14	+ .07	- .07
Victims (N=43)	+ .27*	+ .16	- .23
Personal crime victims (N=3)	- .87	- .50	+ .87
Property crime victims (N=35)	+ .28	+ .20	- .14
In neighbourhood victims (N=20)	+ .49*	+ .37	+ .15
Out neighbourhood victims (N=20)	+ .20	+ .09	- .47*

Legend:

PA - the element of police accessibility

PS - the element of fear for personal safety

NA - the element of neighbourhood activity

** - significance level of .01 or better

* - significance level between .01 and .05

No *'s indicates a significance level greater than .05

Appendix 3

Roseland Spearman's Rank Analysis (Spearman's Rank Coefficients with accompanying significance levels by relationship and characteristic)			
Characteristic	Tested Relationship		
	PA/NA	PA/PS	NA/PS
4-9 year residents (N=38)	+.48**	+.24	-.01
30-64 age group (N=70)	+.36**	+.38**	+.12
Males (N=41)	+.07	+.26	+.17
Females (N=59)	+.42**	+.21	-.06
Homeowners (N=84)	+.30**	+.28**	+.11
Renters (N=16)	+.25	+.36	-.25
With children (N=50)	+.39**	+.35**	+.10
Without Children (N=50)	+.25*	+.18	+.02
Post-secondary educated (N=64)	+.30**	+.35**	+.17
No postsecondary (N=36)	+.31*	+.25	-.08
Non-victims (N=70)	+.32**	+.32**	+.08
Victims (N=30)	+.24	+.35*	+.02
Personal crime victims (N=4)	-.20	-.40	+.80
Property crime victims (N=24)	+.20	+.47*	-.12
In neighbourhood victims (N=9)	+.72*	+.35	-.04
Out neighbourhood victims (N=19)	+.07	+.38	+.03

Legend:

- PA - the element of police accessibility
- PS - the element of fear for personal safety
- NA - the element of neighbourhood activity
- ** - significance level of .01 or better
- * - significance level between .01 and .05
- No *'s indicates a significance level greater than .05

Appendix 4

Cross-Municipal Spearman's Rank Analysis (Spearman's Rank Coefficients with accompanying significance levels by relationship and characteristic)			
Characteristic	Tested Relationship		
	PA/NA	PA/PS	NA/PS
4-9 year residents (N=38)	+ .10	+ .18	- .19
30-64 age group (N=61)	+ .19	+ .15	- .00
Males (N=37)	+ .15	+ .27	- .20
Females (N=63)	+ .07	+ .01	+ .08
Homeowners (N=86)	+ .09	+ .20*	- .10
Renters (N=14)	+ .24	- .44	- .14
With children (N=50)	- .07	+ .18	- .06
Without Children (N=50)	+ .25*	+ .06	- .02
Post-secondary educated (N=50)	+ .20	+ .14	- .12
No postsecondary (N=50)	- .02	+ .12	+ .01
Non-victims (N=56)	+ .03	+ .06	- .01
Victims (N=44)	+ .15	+ .16	- .16
Personal crime victims (N=10)	+ .31	- .24	- .38
Property crime victims (N=31)	+ .09	+ .22	- .09
In neighbourhood victims (N=22)	- .03	+ .20	- .17
Out neighbourhood victims (N=20)	+ .14	+ .12	- .09

Legend:

- PA - the element of police accessibility
- PS - the element of fear for personal safety
- NA - the element of neighbourhood activity
- ** - significance level of .01 or better
- * - significance level between .01 and .05
- No *'s indicates a significance level greater than .05

Appendix 5

Mean and Variance of Attitude Items by Sample Group and by Elements						
	Mean			Variance		
Neighbourhood Activity						
Item	RL	GA	CM	RL	GA	CM
A2i	3.95	3.87	3.77	0.99	0.88	1.23
A2ii	2.90	2.78	2.85	1.14	1.63	1.28
A2iii	4.12	4.23	3.94	1.02	1.07	1.21
A2iv	3.73	3.38	3.45	1.37	1.77	1.71
A2v	2.95	2.75	2.60	1.62	0.99	1.09
A3	4.36	4.52	4.34	0.68	0.45	0.73
A4	3.28	3.17	3.29	0.67	0.41	0.69
A5	4.14	4.05	3.86	1.11	1.10	1.84
A6	3.68	3.69	2.82	1.65	1.41	1.25
A7	4.86	4.71	4.81	0.14	0.41	0.20
A8	4.89	4.92	4.83	0.10	0.07	0.14
A9	4.68	4.61	4.60	0.38	0.46	0.49
Fear for Personal Safety						
B2	3.78	3.79	4.12	0.94	0.83	0.75
B3	3.77	3.56	3.55	0.97	1.44	1.58
B5	2.81	2.88	2.90	0.48	0.45	0.37
B6i	3.96	4.04	3.75	1.05	1.07	1.44
B6ii	3.57	3.88	3.35	1.28	1.46	1.71
B6iii	3.03	2.91	2.87	1.91	2.12	1.83
B6iv	4.80	4.82	4.69	0.24	0.33	0.46
B7i	3.82	2.82	3.45	1.54	2.07	1.77
B7ii	4.13	4.10	4.07	1.39	1.77	1.32
B7iii	4.38	4.22	4.35	1.03	1.35	1.16
B7iv	4.38	4.43	4.14	0.95	0.93	1.03
B7v	4.85	4.53	4.72	0.25	0.88	0.43
B7vi	3.95	3.41	3.84	1.54	2.02	1.81
B7vii	4.47	3.65	3.98	0.88	2.15	1.43

Appendix 5 (cont'd)

Fear for Personal Safety (cont'd)						
Item	Mean			Variance		
	RL	GA	CM	RL	GA	CM
B7viii	4.17	3.97	4.11	1.25	2.05	1.63
B7ix	4.62	4.84	4.44	0.70	0.20	1.16
B7x	4.32	4.02	4.17	1.39	2.30	1.74
Police Accessibility						
C2	2.66	3.32	2.87	1.39	1.92	1.75
C3	1.80	1.60	1.75	0.83	0.81	0.94
C4	4.45	4.22	4.47	0.57	0.78	0.47
C5	3.55	3.40	3.26	0.78	1.07	1.16
C6	4.22	4.03	4.00	0.98	0.98	1.03
C8	3.71	3.48	3.59	0.39	0.39	0.59
C10i	3.81	3.71	3.72	0.32	0.41	0.65
C10ii	3.67	3.54	3.57	0.55	0.57	0.71
C10iii	3.71	3.55	3.59	0.35	0.49	0.49
C10iv	3.83	3.95	3.92	0.36	0.51	0.50
C10v	3.47	3.43	3.27	0.37	0.47	0.48
C10vi	3.51	3.69	3.65	0.76	0.50	0.78

Legend: RL - Roseland, GA - Glen Abbey, CM - Crossmunicipal
Definitions:

- A2i - talking with neighbours
- A2ii - helping with chores
- A2iii - walking in the neighbourhood
- A2iv - watching neighbour's home
- A2v - spending a social evening
- A3 - neighbourhood as a place to live
- A4 - neighbourhood changed as a place to live
- A5 - shopping in your neighbourhood
- A6 - recreational activities in neighbourhood
- A7 - report suspicious activity
- A8 - assist police
- A9 - participate in neighbourhood group
- B2 - how much crime in neighbourhood
- B3 - how often worry about crime
- B5 - change in crime in neighbourhood
- B6i - safety in mall, plaza or store
- B6ii - safety on street or bus stop
- B6iii - safety in local park
- B6iv - safety at home
- B7i - presence of break and enter
- B7ii - presence of robberies
- B7iii - presence of drug offences
- B7iv - presence of family violence
- B7v - presence of muggings/assaults
- B7vi - presence of vandalism
- B7vii - presence of theft
- B7viii - presence of disruptive youths
- B7ix - presence of loud neighbours

Appendix 5 (cont'd)

- B7x - presence of traffic problems
- C1 - recognition of officers
- C2 - how often they see officers
- C3 - how often they speak to an officer
- C4 - officers approachable
- C5 - police presence
- C6 - satisfaction with police presence
- C8 - relations with residents and police
- C10i - police respect for citizen rights
- C10ii - quick police response
- C10iii - police concern for citizen problems
- C10iv - police professionalism
- C10v - police treatment of minorities
- C10vi - opportunity for citizens to talk with police

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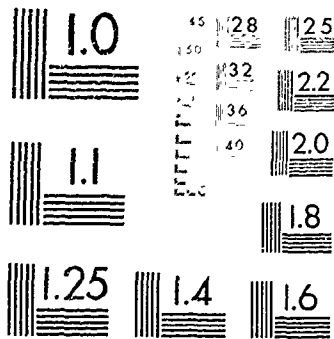
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