THE SOCIAL REALITIES OF POLICING:

ESSAYS IN LEGITIMATION THEORY

CANADIAN POLICE COLLEGE
COLLÈGE CANADIEN DE POLICE

Can

THE SOCIAL REALITIES OF POLICING:

ESSAYS IN LEGITIMATION THEORY

BY

JOHN B. DOWLING

AND

VICTOR N. MACDONALD

WITH

MILES A. PROTTER

The Canadian Police College
A Canadian Police Service of
The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

NOTE: The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent those of the Canadian Police College or any government department or agency.

The Canadian Police College

Cat. No. JS66-4/1983E
ISBN 0-662-12866-4

FOREWORD

This work offers an original, evolutionary view of the policing concept in Canada. As such, it is less concerned with the explicit functions of police than with the currents in society which determine those functions and which define limits of authority. This approach goes beyond the easy notion of law enforcement as an aggregate of activities of officers and forces and fixes policing as a public institution embedded in society. The approach has the reality of recognizing that legal status and authority derived from law are but one facet of our society's construction of that institution. In short, an understanding of policing rests on an understanding of Canadian society in its development and processes, and in particular in its pluralism. This understanding, we have been slow to realize, is essential as much for the constable as for the chief.

The core concepts of this work are legitimacy and police ideology. To anticipate the authors, legitimacy implies a continuous process by which society reacts to an organization's activities, and through tolerance, criticism, or active support, defines the nature and limits of those activities. The processes of legitimacy include the social or public reins on organizational authority, power and freedom. This grant of varying measures of scope of action is changeable; changing through formal and informal means and exhibiting itself in the frequent operational and administrative decisions made in police forces. Thus, implications are direct and practical.

This concept of legitimacy, central to policing a democratic society, provides insights by which much of the inherent complexities and conflicts faced by police an be organized into useful perspectives.

The authors have taken their study further into the police milieu by defining police ideology (values, attitudes, beliefs and disposition to action) with its power or influence over individual and force actions. In police circles, such attitudes and beliefs are shared and taken for granted to a considerable degree. The function of ideology however, of defining for police how they carry out their police role and setting boundaries of action, also influences or directs the police response to a changing society and, often, brings them into conflict. The Canadian police ideology is, in general, a strong and positive guide to action and, for example, yields a comparatively corruption free, committed police service. But as noted, ideology is an imperfect influence and knowledge of this is, for example, one of the keys to managerial effectiveness.

The combination in this study of a double, complementary set of processes, those of legitimation and ideology, has then the utility, the practicality of a sound theoretical approach. Such is much needed by police and by scholars of the criminal justice system. Scholars in particular, will recognize that the approach taken is refreshingly free from the antagonisms of the "new criminology" while retaining that notion of conflict in a pluralist society.

M.A. Martin
Manager,
Research & Program
Development Branch

INTRODUCTION

These papers to which we gave the working title 'The Legitimacy Project' were funded by the Canadian Police College in Ottawa. The primary source of data were the police and other personnel of the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Police which we visited during the summer of 1980. Our broad aim was to provide material that might contribute to the understanding of the management of Canadian municipal police forces.

It is important, we feel, and so it seems to senior research officials and police managers that we develop an explicitly Canadian view of policing. Canadian administration of justice has for a long time relied upon primarily British and U.S. scholarship, some of which has, of course, been of undoubted cross-cultural value but which also needs to be supplemented by an indigenous and distinctively Canadian scholarship. This is true both on the surface and at deeper levels. It must, for example, be trying when the republican terms of district attorney and so on have constantly to be translated by the Canadian reader into our equivalents; or when Canadians read, for example, of St. Louis, Boston and San Francisco and it is assumed that readers share the U.S. nationality of the author. But at a more profound level there are fundamental differences in the two other English-speaking cultures that primarily affect Canadian thought. Sovereignty in the British tradition is located in the Crown whereas in the United States it is located in the people. This fundamental difference as to the relationship of the individual to the state provides a problem for contemporary Canada. In the Canadian constitutional debate of 1979-81 we have seen these forces at play acting upon the emergence of the present constitutional structure of the Canadian nation.

Caught between the sovereignty of the state on the one hand and the rights of the individual on the other, Canadian social, political and legal thought needs to reconcile these two traditions. This can be done, the authors [illegible], in a revitalization of one of the oldest themes of political theory, that of legitimacy which may be uniquely capable of bringing the state and society into a relationship of mutual interaction.

This work seeks to explore and develop this concept as it seemed appropriate to the study of a Canadian police force. This paper is a successor to an earlier one[1] which distinguished between the concepts of command and management in police administration. In retrospect it could be said that this earlier paper largely served to question modes of police response to changing demands made on the public. It argued police policy and police analysis should become more self-conscious and 'managerial'. Legitimacy can be seen to be an assumed condition for using the ideas of the earlier paper and this paper can be seen as a development of the themes of that work. Our hope then is that these papers will inform our understanding of Canadian social institutions and police management.

The work followed a multiperson research strategy reflecting the interests of the three investigators resulting in three quite different research methodologies. Dowling's was the most theoretical and least methodically formal and an appendix of his primary method is included in Chapter 1. MacDonald's work was semi-structured and started with a fairly formal interview protocol and sample (copies of his instrument and details of the sample constitute an appendix to Chapter 2). Cooper's work was most formally designed. His was a structured sample and he used pre-tested instruments specifically designed to inform his cause maps. But in all of these, as so often, appearances belie reality: the less formal approaches, for example, sought documentary confirmation and intuitively followed a process of triangulation by which multiple sources were sought to establish confidence. And similarly in the case of more formal methods, having structured the interchange, investigators added to the formal rigor more informal methods of enquiry to follow up and sharpen issues of interest. The basic assumption was that policing was an open-ended process and that any research process that sought to capture aspects of its reality would have to have a similar openness of spirit. We have also taken the opportunity to invite our Research Assistant, Mr. Miles Protter, to tell us what we were doing.

During the editorial process it was decided to publish Cooper's work separately as to a large extent it stood on its own but reference is made to it here because it grew from the same field study and represents part of the totality of the research intervention and as such it played a significant part in the methodology of field research: Cooper's work essentially treated cognition and affect at a higher order of abstraction than a direct examination of legitimation processes, and while it is probably of general applicability to such phenomena, the risk of overstatement of his findings seemed to call for a cautious approach so as to avoid overintegration.

There is, however, we hope, unity of viewpoint in the work and this is perhaps less surprising when it is recognized that while each part is interpretive, all rest upon a solid empirical base, and from them one can construct a composite view of policing as it is determined by external forces, and by police interaction; put another way, by what the police do, how they cope with it, and how it affects them.

There is, as Kurt Lewin once wrote, nothing so practical as a good theory; there may be, as Keynes hinted, nothing so harmful as a bad one. This study should be read and judged in terms of such criteria; not whether the concepts and framework of thought outlined here are of immediate technical applicability, but rather in terms of the deeper question of whether the orientation developed here is helpful and possibly even necessary to the development of a mature understanding of the function of the police in Canadian society and the development of a democratic theory of policing.

Yet even if nothing is as practical as a good theory, we are nevertheless in the realm of the merely theoretical. Academic researchers are not policemen. They do not have the same vision, nor the same responsibilities as the police. Their function is different and the most they can do is to try to understand and to describe what police seem to do as it appears interesting and important to them. What is written here may be of interest to the police. It may be insightful. It may be provocative. It may be plain wrong. But one thing it is not -- it is not policy or command. The academic may comment and trust that it be seen as thoughtful rather than idle comment, but command it is not, except insofar as it commands individual attention and respect.

If this work is not command, nor is it program evaluation of the force we studied. We try in this work to be empirical, that is, to observe objectively, but we seek to apportion neither blame nor praise. We do not wish the reader to assume a critical posture to the force studied for this is neither exposé nor critique but, by the same token, nor do we present the data here as exemplary of model policing. We have sought objectively and an analysis of what is rather than what ought or ought not to be.

Readers are especially cautioned that each police force faces a unique community, so that what we hope to be generalizable here is not the specific data but the more general underlying analysis derived from it.

In the writing of this work, we have tended to keep the references to other's work at a fairly low level; in part for reasons of readability; more technical treatments of these ideas will be available from the authors.

On the question of authorship itself, the work is composite. While the authors bring a single perspective to the work, their contributions have to some extent been more complementary than strictly collaborative, thus Dowling's work tends towards the social theoretical end of the continuum, and MacDonald's more to the individual, professional focus. We both bring an essentially phenomenological perspective to social psychological phenomena and to institutional and professional behaviour and consider our cooperation most fortunate.

In short, the first chapter is by Dowling, the second by MacDonald, and the third collaborative. Protter's Appendix to the work was written primarily under Dowling's supervision.

The work, too, is as much interpretive as it is deductive. Where we cite specific data we hope it is clear, but we are in this work consciously drawing upon our thinking and experience beyond our specific research sources so as to contribute to a larger and, we hope, more significant level of discourse both about policing and organizations more generally.

Our thanks firstly to Gordon V. Torrance, Chief of Police, the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Police, and to the women and men of that Force so many of whom cooperated so generously in the provision of data for this study. One person in particular was exceptionally helpful in understanding what must have been oursometimes intrusive ways of carrying on and we especially appreciate the help of Staff Superintendent Robert E. Hamilton. We are also most grateful to the research staff of the Canadian Police College, Ottawa, especially its director of research, Colonel M.A. Martin, and to Dr. Donald Loree, and Dr. Jerry Carpenter.

A number of people have read and commented upon earlier drafts of the work and on talks based upon it. We have benefited from the comments of colleagues at Queen's University, especially our colleagues on the project Professor William Cooper, and Professors Bryan M. Downie and William G. Scott who read early drafts of part of the manuscript, and Professor Hamish Taylor who advised on some statistical matters. The senior author is also grateful to four anonymous reviewers from the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada and the Academy of Management of the United States who offered constructive advice on an earlier draft of Chapter One. Many people helped us in the preparation of these papers and we would especially like to thank Linda Abbott, Rosemary Baird, Dawn Keill and Connie Raymond for their assistance.

John B. Dowling
Principal Investigator

Kingston
June 1982

REFERENCE:

1. Neave, Edwin M., William H. Cooper, V.N. MacDonald and Edward R. Peterson. Management Issues in Canadian Municipal Policing. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 4, 1980.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Field researchers are critically dependent upon the cooperation and goodwill of those whom they seek to study and this is particularly true where many good reasons can be advanced for non-cooperation, as also where the research is of a fundamental and relatively unlimited kind. For these reasons we are mostly deeply indebted to Gordon V. Torrance, Chief of the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Police, for his support of our project and for the opportunity to study the issue of legitimacy and legitimation within his organization. We must, of course, link his name with the many women and men of his force who devoted so many hours to this study. Without identifying our sources specifically we, nevertheless, wish to acknowledge our gratitude to them and their Chief.

We make one exception to this in the case of Staff Superintendent Robert E. Hamilton who acted as our liaison with the force and whose understanding and commitment to the project was most generous.

In addition, we are grateful to those in the civil rights community, the labour and women's movements, and to many other officials from the region who contributed to our work. We are, too, grateful to the wide diversity of citizens who responded to our enquiries.

The work was sponsored by the Canadian Police College of Ottawa and their assistance in all phases of the work has been much appreciated.

In particular, we wish to thank Maurice A. Martin, Director of Research and Program Development, whose sensitivity to the issues discussed here has been a constant source of encouragement and to Dr. Donald Loree, whose sociological insights have been particularly valuable. Many people have commented on parts of this work at various stages of its completion and we wish to thank our Queen's colleagues, Professors Bryan Downie and William Scott, for their comments on early drafts, and Professor Hamish Taylor for some statistical advice. We are also grateful for the constructive anonymous criticisms of the reviewers of the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada and the Academy of Management.

Two students at Queen's University School of Business made contributions as Research Assistants; Miles A. Protter was an excellent colleague in preparatory and field stages of the study, and Janet A. Smith was most helpful in subsequent bibliographical tasks. For assistance in the preparation of manuscripts we are indebeted to Linda Abbot, Rosemary Baird, Dawn Kiell and Connie Raymond, especially for their understanding of our frequent incapacity to work except under the pressure of deadlines.

John B. Dowling
Victor N. MacDonald
Kingston, 1982

CHAPTER I
LEGITIMATION, SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL ORDER

JOHN B. DOWLING

OVERVIEW

In this chapter we argue that not only is legitimacy important to individuals, organizations, institutions and societies but that some have the function of legitimating the behavior of these entities. This legitimacy of legitimating institutions presents a higher-order problem, which derives from the fact that the legitimating function presupposes a legitimacy which is threatened by its very exercise. Because of this the legitimation of legitimating entities is relatively more implicit.

INTRODUCTION

This initial chapter examines legitimacy and legitimation in the context of police management. By legitimacy we mean a quality of congruence between acts and social values and by legitimation we mean those social processes by which legitimacy is established. The concept of legitimacy is an old and important one in social theory. Problems of sovereignty, the nature of authority, of political allegiance, and of revolution all hinge on legitimacy. It comes to the fore particularly in times of social protest and political change. As to its importance Boulding[1] has written, "Once you have lost legitimacy, you have lost everything." Because of the pervasive nature of its application and its importance to social order, legitimacy has become in the past decade one of the most pressing concerns of social thinkers. The problem of the continuity of the political order has been supplemented by a concern with the legitimacy of specific organizations within society so that the concept of organizational legitimacy is added to that of political legitimacy. If political legitimacy is a relationship of the central political institutions to their constituencies, organizational legitimacy refers to the "congruence between the values associated with the organization and the values of its environment"[2]. This concept of organizational legitimacy has received considerable scholarly attention[3] as an important new concept for organizational and social analysis.

Another major trend in thinking about legitimacy has been to focus attention upon legitimation as a social process. If political institutions and organizations generally (and, as we shall argue, every level of the social process including single individuals) are subject to an evaluation of their legitimacy, how is this process actually carried out? An important start in providing an answer to this question, and a crucial insight into fundamental social processes, was provided in Berger and Luckmann's

Social Construction of Reality[4]. For Berger and Luckmann society is a social product made, maintained and changed by actors continually making up a society out of chaos. Social reality, while 'real', is constructed, one might say made up by people. This thought, revolutionary in its call to freedom, is perhaps the most dangerous yet democratic idea from social conscience in a generation. At the heart of this socially-constructed reality are 'experts in legitimation'. The social order is the human product of specific experts in the construction of legitimacy: among them lawmakers, priests, scientists, editors, painters, writers and, our concern here, police. All contribute to the construction of our society: here a hero, there a villain; here influence, there none; here a prestigious occupation, there a shameful one.

The importance of this perspective is its focus upon the society-making function. And, of course, implicit in this is not merely how it is done but the extent to which it reflects the common good. These two trends, the extension of concerns about the legitimacy of social entities and interest in the processes by which legitimacy in society is created, have, then, placed legitimacy and legitimation at the heart of contemporary social analysis. It has been called "the toughest concept in political science, one of the great unanalyzed concepts" (Zald in Epstein and Votaw[3]).

In an earlier work[5] the legitimation of a much criticised private organization was examined. Three processes were observed. Firstly the organization was structured so that the more legitimate activities were collected together and publicised, while those criticised were separated out and largely hidden. The public half of the bifurcated organization could then claim legitimacy. Related to this process was the second one in which three stages of operation could be seen to occur: a presentation of the organization in terms of the then dominant values; a determined attempt to change those values so as to provide legitimacy for the actual operations engaged in; and then the emergence of the 'original' organization under the protection of the new legitimating code. A third process was the co-opting of the specific critics by eroding their base of influence, finding means of co-operation with them and finally bringing them literally within the organization[5]. These processes described a very rich process of organizational legitimation, but it is an example of the legitimation of a business firm, one clearly subject to law and regulation and all the central processes of a society. A more intriguing question is how do these processes operate in an institution where problems of legitimacy cannot so easily be considered overtly, because, as the institution itself is engaged in the legitimating of the behavior of others, its legitimacy must be assumed.

It was here that the invitation to study police organizations serendipitously occurred. While the theoretical significance was not fully apparent at the time, the realization that

there was an opportunity here for 'interesting' work was overwhelming. And so we come to a study of an urban police force which takes as its primary theoretical concern the legitimation of legitimating institutions.

PROBLEMS FACING POLICING IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

Any organization faces many varied problems, which may be conveniently considered under three headings: economic, technical and socio-political. Organizations must obtain sufficient resources for their operations, they must carry out their activities in a technically efficient way, and they must work within the mandate they earn from society. In a changing world they must continually adapt so as to remain continuously and simultaneously economically, technically and socially viable.

These three domains are not independent of each other for each one affects the others. Nowhere is this more so than in organizations funded from public revenues because their economic viability is explicitly defined by the satisfactory achievement of social criteria. Put into its most compressed form, their economic viability depends upon social approval. This is not to suggest, of course, that public organizations are passive in their relationships with political and social institutions, indeed quite the opposite is likely to be the case. The primary strategic issue facing such organizations is as much that of shaping their institutional environment to fit their organizational needs as it is adapting the organization to fit the constraints of their environment. For the public institution the route to economic viability is indirect and operates within social and political modalities. If the mission of the firm is defined to a greater extent by economic exchange, that of the public agency is shaped more by normative political and social debate.

The police organization is an archetypical public agency. Firstly, it is expensive and likely to grow more so; secondly, it is always in the public eye because police behavior can represent both the highest and lowest bounds of civilization; and thirdly, it touches directly on many of the pressure points of social and political change in our societies.

These, then, give us some of the characteristics of managing a police department. They make substantial claim to public revenue, they mediate social problems and while doing so they are continuously subject to social evaluation. In recent years these problems have become chronic if not yet critical. There has been a simultaneous increase in the social problems police face, in the degree of criticism they suffer and in the tightness of their operating budgets.

All institutions funded by public revenues fear they are in for considerable stringency as government revenues have taken a

larger share of industrial and personal income. This is especially true of the police as a charge on municipal budgets. Similarly, to the extent that it did exist, the old consensus seems less clear and the shared cultural assumptions give way before generational change, multiculturalism and an increasing industrial cleavage based not only upon the division of worker and management but also on that between employed and unemployed.

Increased scrutiny of the police has grown as law enforcement has become broader in scope, has become increasingly technical and as it has come to be more widely recognized that police exercise wide powers of discretion and hence can be held directly responsible for a large part of the administration of justice.

When the chief talks of problems of funding and of being unable to meet all the demands upon his agency, when the civil libertarian talks of the inadequacies of policing, when the householder feels there is little point in reporting theft and the scholar talks pointedly about the uses of police discretion, they are in fact pointing to different aspects of the same overloaded situation. The demands placed upon the police as an institution have and are likely to continue to be greater than the agency can with all the good will in the world deliver.

The chief, forced by the social pressure of his vocal middle class, must notionally assign patrol cars to areas where their presence is mainly symbolic while actually dispatching them to areas where peace and good order are threatened in the urban core. If it were only as simple as this it might be possible to meet conflicting goals by sleight of hand but in fact the demands of the 24-hour all-purpose social agency, tied to response time and hence geographical dispersion, conflicts with high probability crime prevention and detection.

These, then, are some of the central strategic problems facing police managers and the issue is how to deal with them. There are a number of possible strategies. One is simply economic: cut the budget and let the process work itself out. The second is technical, a program based upon 'better' policing. A third is in essence social, to come to understand in contemporary theoretical terms what policing is for this time in our societies. This means seeking the essence of the police function rather than to continue policing in essentially reactive, conventional and technical terms. For if one engages in a basic enquiry into the nature of policing one can perhaps hope to see formulated policy that might simultaneously generate popular support, define the level of funding appropriate to the mission and provide a technical and professional orientation that will guide its implementation.

We have suggested that the three problems police organizations face offer us three corollary solutions: the economic, the

technical and the socio-political. If the first two solutions depend upon the other, we must consider the third and inquire into the fundamental nature of policing; in effect seek to redefine and refine our understanding of the nature of policing. Perhaps a re-examination of our assumptions about the role of policing is the way forward. It may offer us a way to a solution and it may offer us far more if it also leads to organizational revitalization, greater professional confidence, more genuinely shared values within our societies, and a sounder economic base for the police as a public agency.

ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY: THE SOCIAL MANDATE

If the solution to the problem is to be found in examining afresh the social mandate of the police we are immediately led to the question of what this is. One answer that immediately springs to mind is something like the impartial administration of the criminal law. But a second question concerns how the social mandate is made manifest. Does it mean a simple insistence on positive law? Hardly. And how does that tally with the observations that there are what Wilson has called varieties of police behaviour and others have more directly called discretion and others more provocatively called political policing[6 7 8 9 10].

The law may not lightly be transgressed by the police but must its performance be enforced? Every law? In every situation? It quickly becomes untenable as either a practical or philosophic matter.

As these words are written we have just heard from the Supreme Court of Canada that, in the matter of Provincial consent to Federal constitutional change, law is necessary but not sufficient. If this is so in constitutional matters, can it be any less so where, as in the criminal law, the reputation, property, liberty and life of the individual is concerned.

Perhaps we can locate the mandate of the police in the judiciary and the executive represented in, for example, the Attorneys General and their prosecutors. It is, of course, undeniable that the judicial and legal officers of the Crown exercise influence over policing both at the level of encouraging certain policies and conversely directing police attention away from others. But these powers are influential rather then direct and do not take away from sworn police officers the duty and powers in matters of immediate threat to law or social order. Indeed, much of the recent scholarly interest in policing has occurred precisely because so much of the law enforcement process touches on police discretion and occurs within the aegis of the police force itself. Indeed the shift from the magistracy to the negotiated guilty plea is perhaps one of the most fateful shifts in law enforcement within the English legal tradition. Thus while the law and legal officers are crucial to the understanding of policing they are, in

certain respects at least, at one remove from the process of policing itself. The police are important for their independent investigative function and its attendant rights, among them those of arrest and charge; these are independent legal activities for which the police are uniquely mandated and for which they are uniquely responsible.

The importance of a clear recognition of a unique social mandate is critical to our understanding of social institutions if we are to appreciate the problems of legitimacy that the police face. For an organization to be socially distinct, it must serve some unique social functions that lie within its own sphere of activities, its own claims of expertise and its own professional responsibilities. Such claims justify a distinct calling and the exercise of professional judgement. That it interacts with and may in certain areas be guided or even explicitly directed by other social bodies may be admitted, but if it is lacking in its own discretionary powers as an institution, its claim to a unique institutional function must go too. However, to recognize a unique mandate is to also admit social evaluation by the criteria of that mandate. Institutions, then, are caught in something of a trap; to act with discretionary independence is to invite the possibility of social criticism, and hence one form of control; to deny discretionary independence is to lose an important measure of independent institutional integrity. Put briefly, if there is no independent mandate there is no independence; if there is independence, it is subject to evaluation. The choice is between prior and posterior challenges to independence and legitimacy.

Of course where matters enjoy a high degree of individual confidence and social consensus few problems of the mandate are likely to arise[5]. The brutal murder unites law, police, prosecutor, and judge in concerted effort and is supported by a joint chorus of politician, editor and public[11]. It is where things are less clear and where social consensus and individual confidence is low that the police seem to be alone in the field, yet it is here they are still engaged for they can neither ignore problems of social order nor easily act on both sides of the question. Put aphoristically, they are most alone when the situation calls most for support. This issue comes to a head when we realize that the police not only seek to be and remain legitimate but they are an essential element of a process of law enforcement that confers legitimacy and illegitimacy on those citizens who either uphold or threaten social order. As the legitimacy of the problem becomes more confused, they are forced into action with institutional support low. Hence they risk absorbing into the force the very problems of legitimacy that they confront. For while legislative agencies and government departments enact law and formulate policy, and prosecutors and courts examine the matter in generally more tranquil retrospection, the police must act alone, and in the immediate and existential uncertainty of the moment.

Thus we can perhaps rephrase the question with which we started this section "What is the police mandate!" to "How is the unique social mandate of the police manifest beyond an appeal to positive law, the judiciary and the legal officers of the Crown!" For there is clearly an area beyond these influences which is important for our understanding of the emergence of police policy.

We have, then, made two assertions: (1) that there is a unique police role and hence social mandate independent of the other legal institutions; and (2) this is likely to come to the fore where the legitimacy of necessary actions is most problematic.

All organizations have a mandate based upon shared convention and the exchange of essentially social expectations. Some describe this mandate as a charter; Parsons wrote in terms of the functions of organizations; here we will speak of it, in terms that are derived from Weber, as legitimacy. All organizations seek legitimacy as the acceptance of their actions in terms of the values of society, as a congruence between organizational behaviour and social values[2].

Interestingly, legitimacy is most important in its absence. Like so many social statuses its presence may become taken-for-granted[12], and indeed many activities are legitimate not so much because they are expressly and positively admired, but because they are widely taken for granted within society. Taken-for-grantedness implies both consent and the absence of moral opprobrium.

LEGITIMACY AS CONSENSUS AND CONFIDENCE

The basis for legitimacy is, we suggest, twofold and resides in a sense of confidence in the individual and in a sense of consensus within society. The first permits an individual to act with competence; the second assumes the endorsement by society. These are two components that lie behind law as it expresses social sanction.

When these two, confidence in the individual and consensus in society, are present, behaviour shifts away from the area of controversy and mere opinion; away from differences of aesthetic, cultural or moral taste towards cultural and ultimately moral agreement, expressing how "the good person" behaves in this place and time.

Thus behind consensual social order lies a sense of the moral. It is this that impels the essential mandate of the law, not merely that it is formal, all law is, but that it is also right. Beyond its coercive nature it is good. The essence of law is not only found in the processes of its enactment but in the moral appeal it makes to the human spirit. Law is the formal ex-

pression and enactment of a profound social sense of what is just. Beyond law we seek the much more elusive social processes of legitimacy.

LEGITIMATION IN POLICE RESEARCH

In his 1971 Terry lectures at Yale University, Reiss places the legitimacy of police authority at the heart of the transaction between the individual and the police officer. Among his observations are that the legitimacy of police authority is enhanced by the demand for police intervention by another member of the public, i.e., that reactive policing is inherently more legitimate, and that failure to grant deference to the police is seen as a challenge to the legitimacy of police authority, one that triggers an assertion of that authority and possibly the use of force to enforce it. Reiss also discusses challenges through the judicial system as challenges to police legitimacy[13] [14]. An interesting corollary to models of legitimacy as deference (Reiss[23]) is that implied in the work of Black[13] and Westey[44] who stress the impact of the individual manners of police officers, particularly in the case of urban youth and the use of violence. In this view a lack of manners is seen as contributing to the erosion of police legitimacy in the eyes of the public. We shall develop this theme further when we turn to the legitimacy of the specific incident.

The concern of the relationship of the police to the individual citizen is a parallel to the more microscopic concerns of Bittner, Muir and Manning who apply the concept to the more general nature of the relationship of the police as an institution interacting with society as a whole. Manning[15] argues that law as it affects the conduct of policing is less a definitive mandate and more a mechanism for the legitimation of police conduct. Writing of the limits of law he says, "It does not prospectively guide police action nor does it provide the principal constraint upon police practices" rather it provides legitimacy for their coercive power. Muir[16], following Bittner's[17] characterization of the police as the holders of the monopoly of legitimate coercion in civil society, writes of the policeman, "Society licences him to kill, hurt, confine or otherwise victimize non-policemen who would illegally kill, hurt, confine or otherwise victimize those whom the policeman is charged to protect". In the parallelism of this phrase Muir not only reminds us of the terrible nature of crime but equally of the awesome power accorded to the police in their attempts to contain it. This power of response constitutes the Weberian paradox of power that both Rumbaut & Bittner[18] and Muir[16] apply to the police. They cite Weber's rule of political reality, "It is not true that good can follow only from good, and evil only from evil, often the opposite is true. Anyone who fails to see this is indeed a political infant"[19]. Rumbaut and Bittner add "the legitimate practice of coercion, of violence as a means, define the task of politics".

So posited the issue facing the police is not that of coercion and violence per se, but the legitimacy of their use in specific cases. Muir is concerned not only with legitimacy of the act vis-a-vis the society at large, but also, and perhaps more insightfully, with the legitimacy of the act as it is viewed by police themselves[17].

It is perhaps also important to add that the idea of legitimacy and legitimation is found implicitly throughout much police literature. For example, although few of them speak directly of problems of legitimacy and legitimation, police-community studies abound, and similarly, although police officers' exercise of discretionary powers is a staple of police research, the rules for the exercise of police discretion are rarely examined as a problem of legitimacy.

LEGITIMATION AS THE SOCIAL DEFENSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The roots of legitimacy can be seen in psychological and social mechanisms for the protection of the individual. In order to survive it is not merely sufficient to engage in activities necessary to survival. It is also necessary to do them in socially approved ways, or more important perhaps, in ways that do not elicit social sanctions[5]. One must act but ones actions must be legitimate. One must seek legitimate ends through legitimate means[20]. Legitimacy, then, is not some abstract or merely institutional consideration. It goes to the conditions of existence of each individual who must weigh the benefit of some action against its possible cost to his legitimacy and hence to his social freedom. The progressive sanctions society can employ against reputation, property, liberty, and life itself represent a set of very real concerns for each individual. One can understand much anguish over the legitimacy of individual acts which may trigger such undesirable social sanctions. Legitimacy, then, feeds on the desire of social approval and on the fear of social disapproval and the sanctions it may evoke.

Some writers on internal psychological processes, such as Dostoyievski and Hardy, draw our attention to the role guilt can play in such processes; they imply that self-disapproval expresses the unconscious desire for punishment. This concept of psychologically felt guilt is, of course, crucial to the process of policing; for it represents a recognition by the individual of the legitimacy of a sense of guilt that is more frequently emphasized as a merely social process of 'finding a person guilty'. The individual defense against these processes of internal and social disapproval is a major aspect of the development of the 'self' as a more or less continuous idealized model of the person we hope we are -- our values, identity, attitudes, behaviors, goals and so on. These can be seen as psychological defenses, that is, as a protection of our actual behaviour, both by inhibiting certain behaviors and by locating others within legitimate frames of mean-

ing[5]. This ideal protective 'self' guards us against the psychological horsemen of the Apocalypse: anxiety, doubt, guilt and fear.

But the creation of a normative 'self' cannot be considered in social isolation. It is extended by a series of increasingly formal social processes. The first stages may be represented in a group which validates (at the cost of much individual freedom within the group, be it said) the legitimacy of collective characteristics. Association based on common identity is, of course, a widespread phenomenon, and a social psychology of the way groups shape individual consciousness has been much documented. Let it just be said that informal interaction is likely to be a first 'external' stage of the validation by others of that 'self' which legitimates the individual person.

A second stage is that of institutionalization which represents a more formal public claim to recognition as legitimate. In this phase the collective and private reinforcement of the group makes a more public claim on society as a whole. If the group process serves to arrest the operation of private guilt, the institutionalization stage seeks to arrest the more public fear. In going public the collective self seeks to inhibit social sanction. Here, however, there is a dilemma, for the private is by its nature more hidden, and the more public visibility implied by institutionalization acts as a further inhibitor of the behavior of the group seeking institutionalization, for the more public institution must conform to publicly espoused social values. Each stage in the process may involve a selective presentation from among the range of actual activities, thus creating a divergence between public presentation and its more wholistic or at least potential essence[5]. Thus as we solve one problem of legitimacy we may open up another.

A final stage of the extension of the self consists in the capture of a whole society or political territory, wherein the institution embodying the group and the individual becomes dominant in the total social process. The entire social structure takes its character from this dominant group and its dominant individuals. Interestingly, it is when the social process becomes so completely suffused that the individuality of a symbolic leader often seems to assert itself as a representation of the whole society.

It is, however, wrong to see this process as in any way invariably leading to uncultural dominance. Society is far more realistically characterized as a number of institutions, each seeking paramountcy. And similarly, each institution consists of groups competing for influence, and within each group, individuals compete. So, as individuals seek to give actual expression to their selves in social realization, they compete with others seeking similar but contradictory ends.

Within this pattern of individuals seeking social solutions to the fear and guilt induced problems of legitimacy, we must emphasize an important dimension. A major aspect of the struggle is the right and ability to define social reality, to control those institutions whose special function it is to define reality and the legitimacy of oneself and others. When we talk about the capture of society by institutions we are referring to these processes by which the social sanctions against reputation, property, liberty and life can be exercised. To the extent that all institutions engage in defensive legitimation and directly or indirectly through proxy agencies, in aggressive delegitimation, all participate in allocating legitimacy; however some institutions claim this function as their special prerogative. These may be called the the legitimating institutions. Wherever this discretion is exercised operationally, there we will find a central element of the social system.

If we view the world, then, in terms of groupings with each of them possessing a certain degree of legitimacy and conversely each subject to certain allegations of deviance, we see policing as a set of probabilistic responses always directed towards individuals but always influenced by 'group' characteristics. In the extreme case, a person who falls into one of the classes of person found with a dead body or climbing from a house in the middle of the night invites investigation. Police thus respond to models of individual behaviour which classify individuals, but it is the classification which identifies the individual as deviant or legitimate.

In this view individuals usually seek to present themselves as members of those classes that imply legitimate rather than deviant behavior. Thus legitimacy calls not for the treating of everyone equally (egalitarian as that is, and enshrined as it is in equality before the law) but in treating equal social risks equally and in meeting each degree of risk with a justly corresponding degree of official reaction[21].

We have, then, a 'group' concept of legitimacy that protects or exposes individual members of that group and a relativity principle whereby that legitimacy resides in the degree of congruence between official attention and perceived social risk.

This raises our central problem which is the legitimacy of legitimating institutions, groups and individuals. Perhaps this speaks to the legitimacy of the state itself. It certainly will do so if the primary function of the state is believed to be the assessment of legitimacy within its territory.

The essence of the legitimation of legitimating institutions is that it, necessarily, conflicts with their legitimating function in society. Clearly many police activities do not pose this problem, but it is in examining those activities that do bring

this dilemma in focus that we are likely to understand the institution and its practices, for it is under stress that character is revealed, from organizational ambiguity we glimpse organizational reality.

POLICING AND EDUCATION: TWO FORMS OF LEGITIMATION

There are two fundamental forms of social control: the indirect cognitive control of attitudes, and the more direct control of behaviour. The former argues that you can control behaviour through attitudes, by education, argument, religious and moral persuasion, or more bluntly by propaganda. Attitudinal conformity is seen to lead to behavioural conformity. This is the 'invisible' method of control. The other is the more direct control of behavior itself, conditioned by principles of actual or vicarious pain and pleasure, reward and punishment.

Where the 'educational' system fails to control by attitude formation, and the employment market to condition with the reinforcement of the job and the wage, it may fall to the police to condition through punitive sanction. It is no coincidence that education and employment are two basic arguments always presented as the alternatives to policing, and indeed the police recognize that their work is required only because of the failure of other behaviour-shaping systems. In essence education and policing are two sides of a single coin of social control; each maintains a dossier on the individual, the first for his conformity to desirable standards of thought and conduct and the latter for deviation from them. The school can confer legitimacy and grant privileges and status and the policing-justice process acts to decrease legitimacy, lower status and remove privileges[22]. Interestingly there are similar gradations; in education, the high-school diploma, graduate and higher graduate; in crime the juvenile, misdemeanant, felon, for example. Each characterizes a particular set of behaviours and attitudes: physicist, businessman, lawyer; burglar, fence, pimp and so on. The police, then, are part of a much larger system of social definition in which their specialization tends towards the delegitimation of behaviour that is socially undesirable. It focusses upon the removal of privilege and the application of sanctions against offending individuals.

Of course police engage in education - there are whole subunits devoted to, for example, drug education, crime prevention and citizen vigilance, just as schools use punishment - but these are the exceptions to the general practice in both cases.

THE POLICE AS A LEGITIMATING INSTITUTION

In understanding the police as a legitimating institution, it is of paramount importance to recognize that police work is actively occurring in real time. It has, as we have said, an existential actuality that is completely lacking from the prospec-

tive legislation or the retrospective reconstruction of the court. It is in this sense of immediacy that the independent discretionary police function is most exercised. No technician or administrator in these circumstances but a person of uncertain authority faces ambiguous problems with the few heavy-handed tools of his trade - handcuffs, weapons and radio, power of arrest and so on. Discretion is clear in decisions to intervene or not to do so, to charge or not, what charges to lay, the lesser charge, the use of the 'over charge' perhaps to later induce the guilty plea, the use of nuisance, obstruction and fleeing-felon statutes, the resort to 'street-corner justice', the decision to maintain a permanent record, the identification of an individual as 'known to the police'; these all contribute to the actual operation of a police-justice system.

Now let us add one further important consideration. The police have a general and essentially unlimited responsibility for public order. It is a responsibility which society places upon them that, in essence, demands that they do whatever is necessary to resolve disorder. The recognition that police operate in real time and space with unconstrained real problems is essentially the recognition that they act. What they do, physically affects other people; they physically control other humans under conditions of social and individual stress. This is what happens. And whether there is subsequent court review or not, their actions are real and, within the confines of the immediate space and time, socially definitive. If the court is the law, they are the law-in-effect. Order if not law rests upon their shoulders. Subsequent review comes later and demands considerable economic and other resources to influence it.

It is therefore important that we recognize the legitimating function of the police. This legitimating role is not merely the power of those who hold ultimate legal responsibility in theory but is appropriate to all those who engage in such activities. If we accept that the theory of ultimate responsibility is inadequate as a comprehensive description of legitimation, we must also recognize the inadequacy of treating each aspect of the process as a technical adjunct to other more discretionary parts of the process. Here we face a real social problem, for in the separation of specific functions we have a basis for a diffusion of responsibility where each separate functional body avoids acknowledgement of its discretionary function by presenting its function as merely administrative or technical.

This separation of powers provides, of course, an opportunity for mutual challenge, but it can also provide both the legitimation of mutual validity and at the same time, an illusion of administrative technicality. Thus we would expect that an important strategy of discretionary institutions is to selectively deemphasize discretionary powers while selectively emphasizing the more technical aspects of their processes. An administrative man-

ner may be a desirable and even necessary style for the exercise of substantive discretionary power. And in this way, the separation of powers may contribute to a diffusion of responsibility for the authority actually exercised. But this view must heed the objection raised against it by systems thinking, in which social processes are examined in their totality, as an attempt to construct, from an analysis of the interacting parts, an understanding of a coherent whole. From this perspective the police constitute a large body of legal personnel and, more importantly, they are a crucial class of initiators of legitimating procedures who collate information, maintain files and formally initiate the legal process. Others may affect their capacity to exercise their discretion, but they too affect the discretion others may exercise in this process.

We conclude then that the police are a legitimating institution in that they exercise surveillance and discretion over moral rule-making or rule-enforcement to an extent that contributes in a significant way to an alteration in the objective social status of those subject to such action by affecting the degree to which they enjoy reputation, property, liberty and life.

One further problem is that of the conflict between state or populist sovereignty or between trickle-up and trickle-down legitimacy; legitimacy that derives from formal authority makes a claim on the basis of official status and on this basis claims to speak authoritatively, but this claim is subject to challenge from 'below' based upon the merits of the exercise of that authority. The trickle-down view argues what we do is legitimate because we possess legitimacy; the trickle-up, that we possess legitimacy because what we do is legitimate. This in essence captures a tension between what can be termed the legitimacy of the institution and the legitimacy of the act.

Any challenge that is directed towards a specific act, however, may be covered by the institutional legitimacy of the force. However, if such acts are themselves of questionable legitimacy they may erode that institutional base. Conversely positive act legitimacy becomes a source of institutional legitimacy.

Challenges as to act illegitimacy may, therefore, be weighed in the 'double' context not only of the legitimacy of the specific acts but also in terms of its effect on the capacity of the police to engage in legitimatory behavior in the future. Actions against the police may, in ambiguous cases, come up against the pragmatic problem of undercutting the authority the police need to ensure social order. In theoretical terms challenges to act legitimacy may fall before the institutional legitimating function of the police, and hence force a choice between act and institutional legitimacy.

A LAW-IN-SOCIETY MODEL OF POLICING AS LEGITIMATION: A GROUP STRUCTURE VIEW OF POLICING

In the discussion that follows we shall seek to show the negotiation of the social charter of organizational legitimacy in process. We shall first discuss it in terms of police-group interaction and see its importance for continuous social structure, and then go on to examine some specific incidents from the same perspective. In our discussion we shall avoid a constant repetition of the terms of legitimation theory but rather discuss the examples in the more direct terms of the institutionalized capacity to create a moral view of the world that confronts that of the police. To some extent at least, this obliges the police, in order to maintain a coherent interacting social structure, to incorporate that view and the legitimacy that it implies within the police view of things.

It is notable that the examples we shall cite are far less matters of law per se than they are of local practice and social interaction. Readers should be cautioned again, therefore, that the subsequent passage is to be read as theoretical examples rather than as a simple prescription of contemporary 'ideal' police practice.

In matching these field observations from a major urban Canadian police force in the summer of 1980 to the theory of legitimacy and legitimation outlined here, the observed data serve a primarily illustrative function. The argument is not formal but rather seeks to be interesting and plausible. It is, in particular, clearly assumed that the interesting out-croppings observed are not necessarily typical of everyday routine police work but it is felt that they reveal a social basis of policing that is only clearly apparent in the occasional but telling example. Our assumption is that our understanding of the normal is gained by the heightened awareness that the abnormal throws onto the everyday; character is revealed under stress.

The police, as an occupation group, are, as we have seen, cursed by being forced into action in a potentially critical world of a posteriori interpretations of their behaviour. Thus policing involves a high degree of sensitivity to later, potentially critical interpretations of their actions and this leads to the growth of a wide variety of practices that are sensitive to the legitimacy of police actions and directs attention to those actions where problematic legitimacy may arise.

THE POLICE IDEA - I: ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUBLIC ORDER

The distinctive world view of the police comes to one rather as a surprising shift in perception. Generally speaking, as individuals our view of the social world is self-centered. We, the figure, are in a more or less predictable ground of others who

emit cues which guide us along the paths we follow. The police view represents a shift in perspective in which one becomes responsible for the behavior of others within a given territory: one scans the territory and its occupants for incipient disorder. Here a crowd gathering at a busy street intersection with the possibility of an accident or a fray; there a shop and the possibility of theft; here a group of ill-disciplined youths; there a bank and the potential for robbery, and so on. Some of the components of this view are (1) the responsibility for the behavior of individuals in a given territory; (2) the right to observe; (3) the duty to act; (4) the existence of categories of acts that threaten order; (5) cues that signal the potential for such acts; and (6) the implicit but overwhelming assumption that such responsibility implies the need for authority. This is a shift in perception from personal concern to public responsibility and it comprises the starting point for an understanding of police ideology. This gestalt shift, which can only come about by an empathetic taking of the police role, forms the starting point for a distinctive world view taken by the police. It constitutes such a transformation of individual consciousness as to begin the process which separates the police from the public who, by and large, are assumed not to share their viewpoint. The burden of public responsibility, and the authority it implies, becomes the foundation of a distinctive world view. It is a direct though perhaps unconscious consequence of a distinct perceptual frame of reference implied by the police role in the social setting.

One can hardly underestimate the significance of this perceptual shift; it seems at the extremes to divide the world into two quite distinct groups: those who have not yet come to this state of political awareness, and those who almost by definition constitute some potential threat to it. Psychologically it detaches the police from the scene and makes him an observer of it and characterises his engagement in it as one of responsibility for and assumed power over it.

There is, however, a terrible cost to this somewhat Olympian vision; it is that of real responsibility which operates so as to make the police officer bear personally the risk of disorder; by preventing disorder the officer is protected. And if successful, the officer quickly learns not only to diagnose the public setting for disorder but also to harbour and protect authority while learning to implement methods of intervention. Ideally the officer combines sensitivity to disorder with a pragmatic sense of intervention. Both of these place him in an uneasy relationship with the public.

The sensitivity to disorder is more than an esthetic or moral matter for it becomes a professional responsibility and this separates the policeman from those non-police who might offer support from a personally shared sense of values. Secondly, the pragmatics of intervention are only likely to be fully, intuitively and empathetically shared by those who share the self-imposed burdens of responsibility. Empathy can go so far, but after that it is experience that counts.

Perhaps the reader can feel the remarkable power of this transformation. It can be called many things: understanding, enlightenment and so on. If it is transforming, and for most, perhaps, it is a rueful transformation to unavoidable responsibility for and to others, it is also a moment of political maturing in the gaining and assuming of adult powers and responsibilities.

This concept of authority orients the police officer in the setting. Its concomitants, observation, evaluation and action, all depend upon the social acceptance of police authority, and the police role consists not merely in acting but in propagating the officer's social world view, and his role within it and the acceptance of that authority. Authority means the definition of the situation that is interpreted as existing; this becomes, for the time being at least, the 'official reality'. There are then two challenges a police officer faces: the first is a challenge that occurs within a view of the world -- the self-incriminating flight of the thief, for example; but the second and more insidious form is a challenge to the officer's view of the world, a challenge to the officer's authority to define the situation and his role within it.

Thus some challenges are challenges to social order, other challenges threaten the right to define social order. Properly speaking, only the second one really challenges authority. The notion of authority implies two things: that the police act within an accepted consensus but that where ambiguity exists it must be resolved. The often expressed conflict with journalism is, for example, so deeply felt precisely because journalism flourishes by offering alternative definitions of social reality including the role of the police within society. This constitutes a challenge to the ideology protective of the police role. However, even though such an ideology of police responsibility, and hence authority, provides the foundation of police legitimation, it does not actually define the realities of police behavior because police authority still has to be negotiated in each particular setting. There is, then, a considerable tension between a role-protective ideology of police authority and the experienced actuality of situationally specific, socially negotiated power. This role strain would explain the paradox of the almost unanimous hostility expressed for 'politics' by police while they intuitively recognize that being sensitive to the 'political' nuances of interaction is the mark of the natural policeman[16].

The establishment of 'police authority' is at least as important as the actions that they take and, as discussed above, the real problem is the challenge to authority rather than unambiguous crime. The latter comes from a client, the former, a competitor

in source realization. Authority itself is in this view more important than its exercise. Put conversely, the exercise of authority is to be seen not only as the means to some specific end but also as a means of asserting a valid world view implying that authority[13 14 23]. In keeping with this idea we can see the reporting of a crime to the police as not only an attempt to trigger apprehension of the criminal but also as a means of registering disorder with the authorities. Interestingly, the recognition of the police as authority serves to contain victimization for it is then it becomes the authorities responsibility to restore social order.

THE POLICE IDEA - II: THE CONTINUITY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE; POLICE-GROUP RELATIONS

In the police-interest group relationship a subtle interchange takes place between the police and the organization. One of the major functions of organizational leadership is the capacity to deal with authorities on behalf of the organization. Thus, in recognizing one individual rather than another, the police play a part in determining organizational leadership. Their recognition of a given leader's representative function establishes a rudimentary structure upon the influence-seeking organization. For the individual organizational member the leader is the one who can represent member interests to the authorities. In this way the existence of police authorities who have to be dealt with creates a structure in an organization based upon the emergence of an individual leader who can deal with authorities on behalf of the membership. Thus police authority calls forth a structure of authority within influence-seeking groups.

The cultural transmission of the police thinking through recognition of leadership is an important process for the police for it extends the social reality of the police through a network that eventually organizes social interaction into a sense of community.

In establishing and maintaining their authority within a community the police have a strong interest in working with, sustaining, directing and contributing to the stability of a set of organizations which in effect extend the reach of the authority of the police and through which the social perspective that sustains the authority may be propagated. It is in the contact with a wide range of such organizations that police can extend their reach into a diversity of social settings, and conversely it is by means of such contacts that a variety of social communities can bring their individual perspectives to bear upon police consciousness. Indeed, the wide variety of more or less organized communities that interact with police authorities act as a series of diverse legitimating influences upon the police of a community[6]. The interaction between a police force and its population of organizations is a complex one, and is, perhaps naturally, one in which benefits accrue to both parties to the exchange. Clearly the influence of any organized group upon the police will vary along a number of dimensions, including the extent to which the organization itself enjoys public support as legitimate, has a legitimately recognized representative function, has its own internal discipline and can communicate its view both through media to the public generally and through internal media to its own members.

Firstly, the police-representative-influence group relationship must have some minimal level of mutual acceptability and over any length of time a minimum measure of confidence. For this reason there is likely to be some general influence from the police as to the range of acceptable group leaders and leader behaviour in interaction with the police. Secondly, once such a relationship exists, a mutual interest arises in protecting this relationship such that interest group leaders' power is enhanced by their ability to gain various forms of desirable outcomes that lie within police discretion. Conversely, radical behaviour becomes simultaneously a challenge to authority within the influence group and to social stability generally. In such a case organization leaders may subtly negotiate for the selective enforcement of discretionary police powers against dissenting influences.

Such a symbiotic relationship can help to establish subordinate police authority within organizations and such subordinate authority may be used to extend social order.

Hence police processes enact and give social realization to the police 'idea', but they do this in socially interactive settings. In the process what is promulgated is not only a series of actions affecting the biographies of a set of individuals but also a collective social realization of an ideology of authority. In this sense the police educate people to understand social reality individually and, by example, collectively.

In this way, police recognition of and, to the extent it is offered, any accommodation to interest group demands is not to be seen as a one-way interaction for there is a reciprocal process by which such interaction can, and under assumptions of good will, will extend the reach of the police idea within the interest group[24]; it may be modified or weakened in the transmission but it achieves greater reach and ties the police and influence groups into something more closely approximating a continuous social system. Similarly, threats to this subordinate authority system serve as a leading indicator of social disruption generally. In such a system of authority extension and disruption referral, the police must, of course, take note of legitimate organizational dissent -- and they may use it to establish further organizational extensions of police authority. Such a process of social structure formation and cultural transmission can be seen as a process by which a police perspective extends itself through the formal and informal social fabric of a society.

Thus two processes combine. By virtue of the diversity of influence-seeking groups, a diversity of pressures are brought upon the police. But in addition the need for such organizations to be minimally acceptable to the police and the use of group leader challenge as social authority problems leads to a distinction between legitimate and deviant organizational demands. Thus, it might be summarized that there is an inner circle of elite yet pluralist forces that are legitimated by police recognition and an outer circle policed by the distinction between legitimate and deviant behavior.

Police can thus respond to a variety of pressures while, at the same time, distinguishing between 'reformist' pressures which gain their organizational support and 'radical' ones which do not. The police potential for influencing the leadership of organizations by extending or withholding their co-operation is not inconsiderable. The influence of group pressure largely depends upon its strength of membership, its political connections, its propagandistic competence, and, one might add, its capacity to appear 'reasonable' based upon the reformist/radical legitimate/deviant distinction.

We shall illustrate this "policing of social structure by extension model" in an examination of four types of organization that interact with the police department where the field work was carried out. They are, firstly, labour unions, secondly, civil rights groups, thirdly, women's organizations and fourthly, motorcycle gangs.

The first three form a continuum of political strength and organizational structure, the union representing an institution of political dominance within the policed area, with great public support and a very high degree of institutionalization - meaning that it enjoys a high degree of organizational structure, professional leadership and propagandistic competence. The civil rights movement is of more recent formation and is of intermediate institutionalization, having a moderate degree of professionalization, public support and propagandistic capacity. The women's movement is relatively-speaking weaker. It is still, but to a decreasing extent, seen as an ideologically-motivated movement and at present is in a, relatively, early state of institutionalization and hence political, institutional and propagandistic mobilization.

Thus we have a dimension of organizational institutionalization. Our thesis is that policing is a pluralistic political activity but one with important elitist and conservative tendencies. Policing activities occur within a domain constrained by political authority, public support and cultural communication -- the weapons of social legitimation. To the extent that an interest group can 'capture', threaten or make a claim upon these components of the social environment within which police operate, their influence over police will be greater[25]. Conversely, however, it is to be assumed that the 'capture' of political authority, cultural communication and public support place constraints upon the 'radical' demands and influence an organization can bring upon a police force without putting these social resources in jeopardy.

The community studied contains one of the greatest concentrations of heavy industry in Canada. It is pre-eminently a working-class community dominated by industrial employment and it is a heartland of unionism. The unions are an integral part of the social structure. In an urban Canada of offices and retail trade, manufacturing plants are a far from unwelcome reminder that industry is a fundamental and valuable part of Canadian society. It is a community where generations of immigrants have come to find work. Even its geography plays its part, with the managerial residences separated and overlooking the working-class homes surrounding the plants.

Unions are serious business here and a major thoroughfare is dominated by their business offices and the store front offices of their political representatives. These offices are characterized by a bustle of activists, the entreaty of plaintiffs, the self-assurance of leaders and the rhetoric of working-class politics, although beneath this lies the professional expertise of contemporary labour relations.

Police management of labour disputes takes full account of the political and social realities of the area. Indeed the policing of industrial disputes has been raised to the level of self-art. In part this is the result of the frequency of strikes in the area; with the concentration of unions and industrial plants, the frequency of industrial disputes creates an ongoing laboratory for police-labour relations. And indeed it is claimed that there have been only 41 working days in the past seven years in which there has not been a strike in the jurisdiction. Policing union activities is a continuous process and this has led to a remarkably sophisticated interaction between the police and the parties to a dispute, in particular with the unions. The police make the claim that this process is carried out for rational reasons, to minimize the costs of the deployment of police personnel, court time and so on. While this is a desirable end, it may represent a mildly disingenuous half-truth in that avoiding the legitimate political and propaganda power of the unions may be an equally or even more heartfelt concern. Police officials speak disparagingly of 'hard tactics' used by other police forces in confronting strikers. Having expressed this, they modify it to say there may be some circumstances calling for a riot-control approach elsewhere but not here, not now. For the police the major problem may be said to be maintaining relations with unions and managements in such a way that nothing happens that will force the police into a riot-control stance and/or that can provide opportunities for anti-police rhetoric. This is an important point for the ideolo-

gical history of unions has grown on conflict with the status quo, on the over reaction of authority, and even on martyrdom. It is clear that union managers may be forced into a posture of heroic confrontation or run the risk of the loss of leadership.

In essence the ideology of unionism and that of policing are in certain historical ways contradictory and antagonistic. The potential challenge to police ideology that union rhetoric provides in an alternative social perspective to that of the police, circumscribes the legitimate range of police responses but necessarily involves them in a central way in the process of industrial disputes.

The police, of course, have a mandated responsibility for the maintenance of public order in the protection of the right to picket peacefully and in the protection of the employer's and employees' right of access to property. Frequently these come into de facto conflict at the plant gate.

The management of industrial disputes by the police falls into two parts: the prior ongoing pre-emptive planning as to the strategy the dispute may take, and the form in which the police actually intervene at the picket line. Let us consider the latter first. A picketing group of workers and union officials, 35 - 45 strong, were present at a company plant one morning. Police knew from the management that two non-union trucks were to arrive at 10:30 or so that morning.

In advance of this time the police selected a rendezvous around the corner out of sight of the picketers. As they arrived they consciously relaxed, removed their guns and sticks and so on and locked them in the trunk of a police car. Under the command of a sergeant in plain clothes who specializes in union relations they walked modestly and calmly to the gate. The two trucks were in neutral, drivers in the cabs, on the other side of the street. The trucks pulled over, blocking the traffic and the police - 15 in uniform - formed a line facing the picketing group. They walked towards them to form a wedge. In response to the police presence the left-hand group moved easily, the right-hand less so and the leading truck inched forward into the path opened up. There was continued pushing from the right which edged the police in, back against the truck. Immediately the police were ordered away by the sergeant-specialist and the truck withdrew. Perhaps six minutes had elapsed and as the police withdrew a cheer went up from the strikers.

It seemed clear that the police would easily have seen the truck through but were following a strategy of minimal provocation to the strikers. The police had completely stripped themselves of their physical protection and de-emphasized their authority; no police officer was going to lose his temper and crack heads here. In their vulnerability and paucity of numbers, and in their refusal to use all but the most gentle pressure they pre-empted the heroism of the situation.

The event is, of course, to be interpreted as a preliminary, ideological skirmish. Police restraint, refusal to force their demand, permitted the union leader a mild ideological victory; the union could not be pushed around, the 'scabs' could not get in. In fact, however the police photographers had been gaining evidence which could be used to obtain an injunction against pickets to bring pressure on leaders through the contempt process.

Further, the very picketing had something of the sense of a ritual event with the pickets arriving based on rumors the management were bringing in non-union transportation. With the symbolic victory enacted, the pickets dispersed, the trucks returned and entered the plant grounds.

There is a further refinement to the process. Troublemakers, i.e., those who push or shove the police, urge militant action, etc., are either arrested or in a more mild form identified by police. In the case of arrest union leaders are sometimes permitted to make representations to the police. The police, in return for not pressing charges, require that these people be kept off the picket lines as a potentially inflammatory influence. Thus they identify the 'hot head', putting him under an obligation to the 'moderate' leader and to the police and removing him from the scene of action where a role of 'heroic' leader could be a threat both to public order and union leadership. Indeed, it seems that this informal identification of destabilizing influences is essential to the management of police-union relationships, itself central to the joint control of industrial disputes.

Having granted the union leadership its rhetorical victory, the police can request compliance with the rights of employers to have access to their property. In such a way the authority of the police and union are both maintained. Presumably, too, in many cases the knowledge of the 'hot head' constitutes useful knowledge as to divisions within a union and is hence a leading indicator of potential future leadership politics in the union or of factionalism within it.

The preplanning of a dispute by the police forms the other major part of the policing of industrial disputes. This is initiated by information as to which contracts are up for renewal, and which are likely to involve strikes. In a world of union contracts and few wild cat strikes, prior planning becomes possible. This planning takes the form of separate meetings between the police and union leaders and the police and management. The extent to which this constitutes a sharing of expectations among the parties is presumably affected by the degree of hostility between the two industrial parties, but it seems very clear that the police involvement contains industrial disputes by building shared

expectations as well as by removing or ruling out certain behaviours that can contribute to heightened conflict.

In these discussions prior to a strike, a fixed schedule of problem areas is maintained, reviewed and updated. It is a remarkably detailed process of documentation and negotiation of shared expectations. The police, for example, forbid and, in effect, refuse to police the use of railroad engines as a means of breaking picket lines. There is a conscious attempt to create special 'phone lines', to anticipate and protect against acts of sabotage and, in general, a third-party intermediating role is gradually assumed by the police-specialist in labour affairs.

If the area studied is an industrial city it is also a city of immigrants, if we distinguish these from earlier British, French and American settlers. Most of these are reasonably well integrated within a single sense of community, although differing cultural attitudes to the police die hard. However, one rather recent immigrant group has brought considerable pressure upon the police, claiming inadequate services and insensitivity to their particular problems. This is the East-Asian community which represents a developing constituency to which the police are in the process of responding. The pressure for improved race relations and its method of institutionalization is, as with the unions, quite complex and subtle, involving the creation of a social structure for the Asian community, the establishment of specialist governmental bodies (such as civil rights commissions) representing this constituency, and the development of specialized agencies and competencies within the police force to respond to their special concerns[26].

Among the special problems facing the Asian community are discrimination on the basis of colour, Canadian ethnocentrism, and an ascribed status in Canadian society lower than that in their home communities. This is particularly galling because they come from a society where ascriptive social status is central to their idea of self in society and as many of those who emigrate come from the higher, more educated strata of Asian society, this presents a major source of conflict with the lower status often ascribed the 'coloured immigrant' in Western societies. Put more directly, their higher status in their original societies may have been such as to command greater deference from the police[13]. Individual egalitarianism plays a smaller role than in contemporary North American society. Their generally lower status relative to police personnel in Canada causes them to make demands police sometimes feel are unjustified. Added to this is the issue of colour-prejudice in itself which causes them to view with heightened significance any incident involving them.

Finally there is the role of the police as a social exemplar. If the police respond immediately, visibly, effectively, and in large numbers the respect implicit in such a response de-

monstrates the absence of official prejudice and, indeed, sets the example of officially recognized high social status. In essence, then, the Asian community has become an active group seeking firstly to affect the police definition of incidents so that they are seen primarily as racial incidents and secondly seeking to affect the social status of East-Asians in Canadian society. Although their numbers are relatively small, their interests are cohesive, their leaders highly articulate, their political and administrative influence considerable and the legitimacy of anti-racism compelling in an increasingly multicultural Canada.

From the point of view of the organizers of the Asian community the bringing of pressure upon the police serves a number of functions. Most significant is the creation of a sense of organizational structure within the community. This acts as an integrating source of social structure for that community in Canada and as this occurs, political and economic results can be obtained as a result of organized activity. In such group-building activity a myth of opposition is, of course, a useful component and for this reason police accommodation to community demands may be unable to satisfy those demands if only because in the short run the belief that they are discriminated against serves a community-binding function necessary to the cause.

There are, then, two issues: the first is the police response to the members of this cultural group to which the multicultural programs of police education are directed, but this is only part of the problem because of the possibility that the myth of police indifference or hostility is valuable to the constituency-building process which is underway within Canadian society. Viewed from this perspective the police cannot really win, for their objective behaviour is less important than the delegitimating uses to which this behaviour is subjectively put by the community. Thus, the police serve a catalytic function in building a social community which seeks its own social structure and through this hopes to gain cultural and economic recognition in, for example, greater employment opportunities and status in the society at large. The moral imperative of racism permits them legitimately to bring pressure on the police and serves to create a cohesive organization that may then be put to wider economic, social and political ends.

Both parties recognize this process; the police with some frustration, the Asian community with some sense of irony that the authorities should be so discomfited. This analysis serves to explain why it is that discussions of this issue contain relatively few emotionally-charged issues; so much of the discussion seems to be about the founding of organizations, membership on committees, and other organizational and administrative matters.

The reaction of police to Asian-Canadians is not so public or socially central as that concerning industrial disputes, but

the response is marked. Officers responding to allegations of racial taunts by the public speak of making themselves deliberately visible to members of the community. Incidents in Asian-owned businesses are reported not as simple vandalism or nuisance but are also collated as racial incidents and are reviewed by civil rights officials and community leaders. In this way, the East-Asian community's view of events is established and incorporated within police thinking. Within the force, for example, the education department has been retitled the Community Relations Department although it also continues its schools and public information programs.

This situation constitutes something of a reversal of the union situation. Whereas the fact of union organization can bring pressure upon the police, the Asian communities bring pressure upon the police to help organize their community. That an accommodation with the police is underway is undoubted, and that recognition of the status of some members of that community has occurred is clear. Whether and in what degree the police will reinforce that emerging structure the future will show. So far the police have felt themselves pressured by a rhetoric with which they cannot fully come to terms, but one which they must, of necessity, incorporate into their thinking and methods. But just as the community is building its structure to influence the police, so the police is extending the reach of its influence to a social group formerly lacking an organizational police linkage.

The processes by which the East-Asian community brings pressure upon the police force are instructive. With the idea of anti-racism and on the basis of an increasingly multicultural Canada (note the opposition of racism (bad) and culture (good)) this community builds its structure and gains support from those social agencies which support their cause in civil rights commissions, multicultural celebrations, human rights legislation, and in general a view of social order dependent heavily upon the concept of rights rather than of duty although they imply the other, of course.

By changing the institutional environment the police face, they incorporate their community's values into the force which starts to develop specialized competencies to link itself to that community on terms of mutual accommodation (see, for example, Gerstein, Bowen and Torrance[27], Stern and Mackenzie[28], Ontario Human Rights Commission[29]).

It will not be lost on readers that whereas unions are by now an integral part (albeit in modified form) of police forces, the full participation of East-Asians and, as we shall discuss next, women, is yet to be achieved. Eventually this stage of full participation renders the external issue relatively non-political and it becomes more a matter of administration and inter-institutional accommodation[30].

These two cases, the union and the East-Asian, illustrate some of the complexities of this social network of policing, based upon the negotiation of conflicting legitimacies. Not only do the police, to some extent, propagate their perspective throughout the social network but this network can place constraints upon the range of legitimate police activities. The police, while they have an interest in creating a social network through which their legitimating influence can flow in direct one-to-one individual relationships, are also, however, subject to the reverse flow of legitimating influence which these networks can bring upon the police.

It may then be asserted that the police and organizations negotiate the creation of social structures which they can co-opt and through which the police 'idea' is simultaneously propagated and modified.

If the union situation represents a fully-developed form of police network interaction and in the Asian community case a developing one, the case of the women's consciousness movement represents one in a relatively less developed form.

The major issue that has brought the women's movement into conflict with predominant police practise has been the issue of rape. Police insist that allegations of rape are frequently unfounded. The women's consciousness movement insists that women complaining of rape are unfairly treated, and often psychologically abused, by police and by subsequent court interrogations. At present the position remains a standoff. The rape crisis centers demand referrals. The police insist upon interrogating complainants of rape to determine evidence necessary for laying criminal charges. What is to the police a source of evidence as to a serious crime, is to the rape crisis center a person self-evidently in need of immediate care.

A major component in the building of the rape crisis movement is the identification of the police as a body upon whom attacks can be focussed. The need to deal with the police creates a need for organization and, as discussed above, group identity and a leadership group. The competing claims of care and criminal evidence, and beyond these sexism, provide an ideological rationale rooted in legitimacy. The very process of identifying an issue which gains public support calls upon the police to accommodate their behavior to the demands of the leaders of the constituent group[31] [32]. The issue is in the process of developing. Rape crisis centers are still rudimentary and quasi-professional. To the extent they can gain professional status, a permanent constituency and a claim on public information, they too may further amend police behaviour and ideology.

The women's movement offers us greater insight into the social dynamics we have been attempting to describe. It does so

precisely because it is in the very process of emergence. While we cannot, of course, presume to prophesy the outcome of an as yet incomplete social process, we can learn much about the social change process facing the police, in this highly instructive case. One aspect of the process is the creation of the social recognition of a political problem. So, for example, domestic abuse, rape, and pornography as psychological violence become articulated as a problem that has been as yet unrecognized. It is, so to speak, "found"[33]. Along with this and growing interactively with it is a group organizing process that sustains these new ideas as problems. This is followed by a stage in which these ideas become institutionalized in a variety of agencies which focus upon these new problems and add to the reality of its social definition. These problem-sensitive institutional agencies such as rape crisis centers, referral houses, day care centers, women's rights movements, old-girl networks in employment, schools and clubs gain niches in employee associations, professional bodies, community bodies, departments of education, health welfare, social services, and of course the agencies of the administration of justice.

Out of this institutionalized network, the police find they face a quite altered environment of both ideas and institutions, one in which there has been a reactive clustering of formerly dispersed ideas and interests[25 34].

By this time, of course, specialized competencies are being developed within police forces and the enactment of the new social reality becomes relatively complete. These concepts of idea, group, institutionalization and the transformation of the environment facing police organizations offers a classic example of the external processes of social realization challenging police legitimacy in a number of areas[35 36 37].

The fourth case is a more complex and perhaps a little deeper one. It relates to the police response to gang members generally and in particular to those in motorcycle gangs. From the point of view of the police the gangs are, if not as probablistically illegal as, for example, 'organized crime', they are nevertheless seen to be associated with it and to share some of its characteristics. There are basically two levels of problems facing the police. The first is the extent to which the social organization of the gangs is associated with the commission of crime as a matter of conditional probability. The second is the challenge posed to the police by gang ideology, and this is ironic for while gang thought, in its most 'orthodox' form, if it may be so called, is consciously that of the outlaw and the embracing of social outcast status is explicit, at the same time it is also one of the most formalized of social groups. It is threatening to social order by being simultaneously antagonistic to existing social order while being itself highly ordered. It gains its social coherence from an antagonistic stance to authority, especially police authority, and the degree to which it is an inter-

nally highly institutionalized anti-culture, it creates for the police the threat of legitimacy inversion. Indeed, in certain cases, the Altamont rock concert and vigilante policing of the New York subways, for example, gang order has already become quasi-public order. This is a case where institutionalization proceeded to a large degree but in a primarily 'private' rather than a public form.

This is an area rich in ideological irony for the 'outlaw' ideology in the name of freedom from society in fact offers a strict alternative social order. Again, the social, the political and the criminal are not easily separable. Indeed a vital sociology of motor-cycle gangs already exists written largely by the new journalists, Tom Wolfe and Hunter Thompson. The problem, of course, is that riding a motorcycle is not an illegal act, nor is club membership per se, but viewed from the social reality of the police, it is so coterminous with criminal or society-denying activities that it assumes a status not far from criminal prescription in practice[38].

During the period immediately prior to the field study a gang gathering ("Bikers' Bash") took place within the jurisdiction studied. Gangs from the adjacent area of the U.S. and Canada converged in a rural part of the jurisdiction for their meeting, and the policing of their activities illustrated a quite strict full enforcement policy. All were stopped and searched - some many times - and penalties were assessed for even the most technical of violations such as lack of seatbelts, helmets not conforming to Canadian standards and so on. Police coordinated their activities with personnel at the U.S. border, on the main approach routes and a multi-force group was present for the period of the meeting. In this case police activity served two purposes: identification of the group membership and structure and a disincentive to return to the jurisdiction.

This fourth case further illuminates the society-creating role of the police. In essence the police seek, by individual and structural identification and a full-enforcement policy, to bring every legally available sanction to bear on the activities of a group that we may surmise commits the 'higher crime' of constructing an alternative society which supplants the police in their role. In essence biking is intellectual activity; it constructs in action an alternative social order. It strikes not only at the legitimacy of the police, but at their legitimating function. Here the police aim may not merely be the policing of such groups as probabilistically perpetuators of criminal activity but the rights of membership in such a group at all.

The highly ordered but assumedly criminally-disposed gang may appear to the police as a perversion of their own collective ideal self, for it can taunt the police with a perverse image of themselves in 'illegitimate' form. It may subtly play on deep and

persistent existential problems of legitimacy by mocking the struggle with integrity the police are irrevocably bound to face. There is the possibility there is in the gang a savage and ironic evocation of themselves as others might see themselves as becoming[39]. It is, we surmise, a challenge that compounds a number of rational and irrational (yet understandable) fears.

It is also interesting to see the way the police create a point of junction with such groups. In a police motorcycle club, the Blue Knights, they attempt to incorporate the legitimate aspects of motorcycle clubs, (esprit-de-corps, biking itself, the use of "colours", club structure, mascots and so on) so as to separate out the non-criminal aspects of the group from the illegal activities of criminal gangs. But in creating a legitimate mirror of formerly illegitimate activities they create a bridge to all bikers while depriving "illegals" of their claims to prejudicial treatment on the basis of biking per se.

One has only to see a Blue Knight bike-past in, for example, downtown Montreal (one took place on Sunday, June 20, 1982) to see the many roles the police are called upon to play; a variety as various as social life itself.

To discuss the range of such group-creation and interaction processes is to illustrate the genuine pluralism of the police; not for them the delicate sensibility of bourgeois life, and this work reports only those interactions that occurred and were widely discussed within the force and hence available to the researcher, so that one must assume from the increasing rings of secrecy from patrol to C.I.D. to special units, these interactions leave unrepresented certain underworld connections similarly engaged in and at some level perhaps also managed.

As a coda to this discussion of the policing of areas of unclear social charter, we might also consider the matter where law and some perceptions of legitimacy conflict. This occurs in the policing of drug use which has become one of the more contentious of social problems which, if reports are to be believed, is endemic among the young. Here the police face a real social problem; not only are there widely divergent social attitudes to drug use, but apparently its use is so pervasive as to seriously challenge the consensual legitimacy of its policing under criminal law. When the police officer acting pragmatically fails to 'bust' 'pot' smokers at a rock concert, it is a vignette of the problems of law in the face of contested legitimacy. The police resolution of this is highly instructive. This is an area where in essence the illegitimacy is intensified as users are encouraged to identify dealers, and dealers importers, until the legitimacy of the police right to act is unquestioned, and the sources are also blocked. (Daley's Prince of the City is a poignant description of the moral perils of this process.) In addition, in the jurisdiction studied, the information branch (Community Relations Depart-

ment) reportedly gave over 500 talks in which drug use was a theme, during the preceding twelve months. This educational aspect illustrates the importance of legitimacy as a determinant of the scope of police action. Not only is this an example of the way a lack of consensus undermines police legitimacy, it is a telling example of the way police response accommodates itself to this reality for drug education becomes in effect for many an alternative to the fine and jail cell reserved for the most criminal. This case once again illustrates that seemingly pervasive relationships between legitimacy and networking, in this case the identification of an illegal network of economic exchange.

Thus, there are problems where law faces problems of legitimacy but it is notable that the law does not tell the police how to act on a picket line, whether their function in a case of rape is primarily criminal or medical or whether an incident is criminal or racial. These are determined by a more informal social process. It may already have occurred to the reader that these examples do not touch so much on issues around which there is broad social consensus and high individual confidence, appropriate to law, but rather on those very issues of economic and political ideology, of cultural and sexual differences that lie, in our time, beyond general consensus and confidence. It is on these issues that the police are and must continue to be sensitive to the play of social forces within their communities; these are the touchstones of social change. If there is a true politics of policing it is to be found in their response to the subtle dynamics by which these issues affect change in the social order.

The process might, then, be summed up as one of reaction to those ideas and institutions that make up the political environment[40], responding to the political participation of minorities and women and to their constituencies in public agencies[41]. It should be no real surprise to discover that these groups are following the successful model of unions[42]. Although what is less frequently recognized is that the very processes of leadership and organization which grow out of and make possible challenges to the legitimacy of authority create the very social network through which social control can be exercised. Thus, ironically, political stability depends upon the organization of dissent which then becomes the means to potential stability through mutual influence. As groups openly organize to challenge authority, they create the networks of legitimate governance.

THE PROBLEM AND OPPORTUNITY FOR POLICE LEGITIMATION IN THE SPECIFIC INCIDENT

There is, however, another level of legitimation which rests less obviously upon the influence-interaction, reality-institutional relationship and is played out more publicly against the setting of the values and attitudes generally held and defended throughout society. This we call the legitimation of the specific

incident. These events tend to be of high public salience or to involve the question as to the appropriate degree of police response to situations. In essence, the critical incident can be defined as a specific police action of sufficient salience and ambiguity as to permit several plausible posterior constructions as to its legitimacy as an act.

If networking provides the groundwork of the institutional social fabric, the critical incident is the figure in the foreground. It tends to be highly symbolic, dramatic in its intensity and to reveal in its specificity the actuality of police-society relationships (see also Manning[15]). There are reasons for thinking that the management of critical incidents enjoys less public support than do police activities viewed as a whole (see Appendix II for a development of this theme). One can best look at this in terms of a calculus in which this marginal illegitimacy of the precipitating act is measured against the legitimacy of the degree of police response. Proportion is here the touchstone of legitimacy.

This idea of proportion is important in another way for the coercive resources available, (i.e., the legitimacy of means that may be used), are consistent with the illegitimacy of the misdeed perpetrated (i.e. the legitimacy of the ends desired). The Iranian hostage taking in London legitimately permitted the use of commando troops and violence in an otherwise police role. The calculation of the equation of the social grant of powers is a nice one for failure to use sufficient resources where the events 'demand it' and the use of overweening power beyond that seen as 'necessary' can both serve to erode the standing of the police; the latter is more likely, however, to give rise to challenges as to legitimacy, and the former to be seen as ineffectiveness. Not using powers you may have is less theoretically problematic than the 'abuse' of powers you do not possess. The overwhelming reality of policing is, however, the use of force and the perennial problem, the legitimacy of the degree of this force. Let us consider one case that was still current during the period of study. It was referred to as a problem of high speed chases but there was much more to it than chasing.

Flight has such a guilt-confirming quality to the police that it immediately triggers an assumption of a higher social wrong. In one sense this is self-validating, as flight from the police is, technically, a felonious offense. This triggering, which is of course as much autonomic as deliberative, increases the stakes. Once a car is on the radio as evading the police, for example, it triggers the vicarious instincts of the chase in officers in the area. The extension of the response, both in degree and in scope of the manpower devoted, is likely to lead to an overresponse -- one in which it is likely that it will be interpreted as one in which the police were out of control. If the chased individual dies, if the chase ends in a shoot-out with guns

fired, the police have a nasty problem to deal with -- and if the precipitating offense is not serious, it may prove necessary to discipline to restore legitimacy. Such an incident had occurred in the jurisdiction under study and a full-scale internal inquiry and Police Act prosecution occurred, the discipline re-establishing morale as it restored legitimacy.

Another interesting single incident was a very serious property crime carried out in the jurisdiction by one of the most notorious of Canadian criminals -- a man not only convicted of a series of important felonies, but also a double escapee. The arrest, when it came, was quick, smoothly done, and very understated but there were some subtle touches to the case. For example, at a press conference prior to the arrest the possibility of a shootout was raised. It may have been a ruse, if so it worked for there was no shoot-out but simple surrender. But it may also have been a social notification of the assumption of greater powers in this particular case. In talking to police one sensed here again their sensitivity to legitimacy inversion, the fear that the really high-powered criminal might take on such stature (as, for example, Ronald Biggs has to some extent), as to be able to defy police in authority with impugnity.

Of course there are also situations of public danger or disaster where, by confronting danger for and on behalf of society, the police in essence play an explicitly heroic role. Much police work has this characteristic, especially as it is viewed by the police, although in all but the most rare cases, this tends to become identified with their professional role and to that extent taken for granted. It does sometimes stand out for all to see, however, and an act of selfless courage contributes more than anything else to the legitimacy of the police as an institution although, of course, at considerable risk to the individual. One such case occurred during a shoot-out to be described later. When, during a shoot-out, an apartment was evacuated and a deaf-mute remained in the building a senior officer ran into the building in the line of fire to rescue him, and was later decorated for his bravery.

In addition to an act of individual heroism a collective one can occur, as for example in the evacuation of a burning hospital. A large force worked many hours evolving a complicated system of triage, communications and transport. One senses that it was the sort of event for which the communications of a modern police department were created; out of danger, crisis and confusion, order is the police objective. There is an interesting footnote here to our discussion of policing discussed earlier. A complaint was registered during a debriefing after a mains gas leak. The police in evacuating the area of danger from a possible gas explosion were unable to identify the utility staff coming to repair the damaged main. The recommendation was to identify leadership personnel with armbands and other identifying symbols. For our

purposes the basic ideas underline our earlier discussion: police operate through delegated, negotiated authority in the face of the need to act to overcome disorder.

There is one other crucially important category -- the use of ultimate power which creates an irrevocable irremediable situation. This occurs in the case of police homicide, and here all the prior problems take on a sharper focus. In the case of police homicide subsequent review is irrelevant for the person whose life has been taken. And yet this taking of life is implicit in an armed police, especially in the creation of teams trained for terrorism, hostage-taking and shoot-out situations. Here the police become 'militarized' and are pre-emptively definitive; nothing can restore the status quo ante.

Police homicide is a fact of police work just as is police death[43 44]. Such circumstances are very difficult for the police for if they have acted wrongly what recompense can be made? Some cases have gone to trial but they rarely have resulted in successful prosecution. An example of police homicide occurred in the jurisdiction and while no observations were made of the actual situation, the subsequent internal police documents were made available. Two files were made; one from the inquest, another from a recorded debriefing that took place the same day as the shooting. From these the facts emerge that in the early morning a young man with a shotgun started to fire at people going to work. A police car, on arrival, was parked in the line of fire and a policeman who was injured by a shot and his partner were unable to retreat. Forces were brought up including a commandeered Brinks truck, a specially trained negotiator and the special weapons team. Some hours later, after gas grenades had failed, as the man raised his gun, shots from marksmen hit him. When the police entered the apartment he was dead from loss of blood.

The debriefing in which officers spoke in the order of their involvement has a terrible sense of tragic narrative to it. The debriefing is concerned with establishing above all a sense of order as to the police involvement and a sense of the sequence of events that would make it clear that this killing was the only available response to an immediate threat to others.

The autopsy report contains statements by those last with him. Medical reports and other documents established a personal history of a gang member, a minority candidate for mayoral office and a life in which going berserk was a culminating event. But the question remains. How does one, how can one evaluate such an event? In the last analysis does someone simply have to dare to act and hope it will be seen as justifiable? Is this the more complicated form of heroism? Do we judge such acts in retrospect or in their prospective sense? Do we say the past is the past -- what can be done now? Or do we read the past as if time were

flowing forward and as if these actions are to be judged against all alternatives as a prospective plan for future action?

At the end all we know is Weber's paradox. Ultimately the problem of policing comes down to the legitimacy of the single mortal act.

CONCLUSION

As we have described in this chapter, the problems of the police are those of the immediate need to act and a sometimes unclear social mandate. We have discussed various formal aspects of the mandate in law and offices of the Crown but have sought to supplement this with attention to a more subtle negotiation of legitimacy in an exchange between social order and police behaviour. In this spirit we also examined the related issues of the legitimation of the individual act as a balance between social problem and police response, and we see in all processes, the legitimation of a legitimating institution.

It can be seen in these examples that legitimation of police behaviour depends upon the degree to which it is constrained by the legitimacy assumed by the groups with which the police interact. Their capacity to delegitimate police activity becomes an important social constraint upon and guide to police activity. At the same time it seems clear that the maintenance of social interaction between the police and such groups is an important mechanism for the transmission of the police perspective. The seamless web is made then, of both social interaction and social definition and redefinition.

In this work we have identified a basic tension between the law and social approval as separate sources of legitimacy. We have argued that the police have a mediating function and therefore require a theoretical framework that represents a mediative relationship between law and society. This is the theory of legitimation: not that the law is society; nor that we have to choose between law or society; but law and society are in continuous interaction.

The social imperative for the police consists of an active propagation of the police ideology through a social network. Society creating consists of the simultaneous production of ideas and a social structure that sustains those ideas. This process occurs against a broader background of public opinion in which specific critical incidents form the basis for a grant or a withholding of popular support. This, then, is the framework for the socially-based aspects of policing: the trickle-up from society; the trickle-down of the law and the police ideology based upon their legal responsibility and their professionally felt need for social order.

Police are subject to an evaluation of their legitimacy to the extent that they play a core role in emerging social definitions. It is asserted that they do so both in initiating the prosecutorial processes of the law and in acting in other pre-emptive ways that are socially definitive. The problem facing policing is their use of power to define social reality while maintaining their own legitimacy. To the extent that they live up to this responsibility, they contribute to the maintenance of the greater social order in a world in which the only constant is change. This, it is suggested, is the standard to which they are accountable, this their higher responsibility. To recognize it is perhaps to contribute to a more genuine understanding of their function in our society, to make the orderly continuation of that society possible and by so doing to make it in the larger sense humane. To do this means to aim at so applying the legitimating function that it contributes to the legitimacy of the state, its institutions and to its individual citizens.

This aspect of the study is the report of an attempt to carry forward an enquiry into a central theme of social science, that of legitimacy and legitimation, in the area of police studies, where it is likely to inform both legitimation theory and, it is hoped, the understanding of the police by the public and vice versa.

REFERENCES

1. Boulding, K. E. The Dynamics of Legitimacy, in N. Jacoby (Ed.), The Business-Government Relationship: A Reassessment. Pacific Palisades, CA: Goodyear, 1975.

2. Dowling, J. B. and Pfeffer, J. Organizational Legitimacy: Social Values and Organizational Behaviour. Pacific Sociological Review, Vol. 18, 1975.

3. Epstein, E. M. and Votaw, D. (Eds.). Rationality, Legitimacy, Responsibility: Search for New Directions in Business and Society. Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear, 1978.

4. Berger, P. L. and Luckmann, T. The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1966.

5. Dowling, J. B. Organizational Legitimation: The Management of Meaning. Ph.D. Thesis. Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1978.

6. Wilson, J. Q. Varieties of Police Behaviour. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.

7. Turk, A. Policing in Political Context, in The Maintenance of Order in Society. Ottawa: Canadian Police College, 1982.

8. Turk, A. Organizational Deviance and Political Policing, in Organizational Police Deviance. C. D. Shearing (Ed.), Toronto: Butterworths, 1981.

9. Cain, M. Towards a Sociology of the British Police: A Review 1979 and 1980, in The Maintenance of Order in Society. Ottawa: Canadian Police College, 1982.

10. Reiner, R. Fuzzy Thoughts - The Police and Law and Order Politics. Sociological Review, Vol. 28, 1980.

11. Ericson, R. V. Making Crime: A Study of Detective Work. Toronto: Butterworths, 1981.

12. Schutz, A. Collected Papers Vol. II. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1964.

13. Black, D. The Manner and Customs of the Police. Toronto: Academic Press, 1980.

14. Sykes, R. E. and Clark, J. P. A Theory of Deference-Exchange in Police-Civilian Encounters. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 81, 1975.

15. Manning, P. K. Police Work: The Social Organization of Policing. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1977.

16. Muir, W. K., Jr. Police: Streetcorner Politicians. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

17. Bittner, E. The Functions of the Police in Modern Society. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

18. Rumbaut, R. R. and Bittner, E. Changing Conceptions of the Police Role: A Sociological Review, in J. Morris and M. Tonry (Eds.), Crime and Justice: An Annual View of Research. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

19. Weber, M. Politics as a Vocation, in H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (Eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1946.

20. Merton, R. K. Social Theory and Social Structure. London: Free Press, 1957.

21. Black, D. The Behaviour of Law. Toronto: Academic Press, 1976.

22. Dowling J. B. Ritual as Social Realization. Proceedings of American Institute of Decision Sciences, 1979.

23. Reiss, A. J., Jr. The Police and the Public. New Haven, MA: Yale University Press, 1971.

24. Gouldner, A. W. Modern Sociology. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, World, 1963.

25. Emery, F. E. and Trist, E. L. The Casual Texture of Organizational Environments. Human Relations, Vol. 18, 1965.

26. Ashby, W. R. Design for a Brain. New York, NY: Wiley, 1952.

27. Gerstein, R., Bowen, N. and Torrance, G. V. Policing in the Eighties: Perceptions and Reflections. Toronto: Solicitor General of Ontario, 1980.

28. Stern, D. and MacKenzie, H. Slurs, Stereotypes and Prejudice. Hamilton Anti-Racism Committee (n.d.)

29. Ontario Human Rights Commission. Workbook for Police in Service Training. Toronto: Community and Ethnic Relations Unit, 1980-81.

30. Dowling, J. B. and Schaefer, N. V. Institutional and Anti-Institutional Conflict. Academy of Management Review, Vol. 25, 1982.

31. Eichler, M. Leadership in Social Movements. Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 47, 1972.

32. Battelle Memorial Institute. Forcible Rape: Police Administration and Policy Issues - Police Volume IV. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, 1978.

33. Pounds, W. F. The Process of Problem Finding. Industrial Management Review, Vol. 11, 1969.

34. Ontario Provincial Secretariat for Justice. Helping the Victims of Sexual Assault. Toronto: 1979.

35. Rose, V. N. Rape as a Social Problem. Proceedings, Pacific Sociological Association. March, 1976.

36. Nall, E. W. Battered Women: The Political Process of Defining a Social Problem. Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health, 1974.

37. Simon, B. L. Rape: View from the Center and Periphery. Philadelphia, PA: LaSalle College, 1979.

38. Werthman, C. and Piliavin, I. Gang Members and the Police, in D. J.Bordua (Ed.), The Police: Six Sociological Essays. New York, NY: Wiley, 1967.

39. Daley, R. Prince of the City: The True Story of the Cop who Knew Too Much. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1979.

40. Rowan, B. Organizational Structure and the Institutional Environment. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 27, 1982.

41. Kinsella, N. A. International Consultation of Selected Human Rights Professionals. The Journal of Intergroup Relations, 1980.

42. Landsberger, H. A. Maximum Feasible Participation. Journal of Voluntary Action Research, 1979.

43. Kobler, A. L. Police Homicide in a Democracy. Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 31, 1975.

44. Westey, W. A. Violence and the Police: A Study of Law, Custom and Morality. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1970.

OTHER REFERENCES

Cooper, W. H. Police Officers over Career Stages. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 6, 1982.

Douglas, J. D. Investigative Social Research. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1976.

Fox, J. C. and Lundmann, R. J. Problems and Strategies in gaining Research Access in Police Organizations. Criminology, Vol. 12, 1974.

Fyfe, J. J. Observations on Deadly Force. Crime and Delinquency, 1981.

Johnson, J. M. Doing Field Research. New York, NY: Free Press, 1975.

Manning, P. K. The Narcs' Game. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1980.

Maslow, A. Motivation and Personality. New York, NY: Harper, 1956.

Neave, E. M., Cooper, W. H., MacDonald, V. N. and Petersen, E. R. Management Issues in Canadian Municipal Policing. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 4, 1980.

Van Maanen, J. Epilogue on Watching the Watchers, in P. K. Manning and J. Van Maanen (Eds.), Policing: A View from the Streets. Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear, 1977.

Weber, M. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York, NY: Free Press, 1964.

APPENDIX I
CHAPTER I

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE POLICE

In the course of the field study we interviewed 150 residents of the area about their publicly expressed attitudes towards the police. The interviews were of the semi-focussed, open response type of which some were tape recorded and efforts were made to capture major demographic characteristics; there was a noticeable underrepresentation of the elderly; and a refusal bias by people of East-Asian origin was noted. There are three phenomena of noticeable interest in these data. The first is that there is a generally positive rating among respondents. The second is that in the case of specific incidents there was a tendency of a withdrawal to a neutral evaluation rather than an increase in overt criticism. Thirdly, it was possible from conversational responses to build up a profile of public awareness of the police and of their role in specific incidents.

Not all respondents were asked all questions and the number of respondents is given below for each item.

The level of support for police services generally was 72% of all respondents, the suburbanites nearly reaching a figure of 90%, while only 65% of city respondents indicated satisfaction. Of those who did not, somewhat more were neutral than were overtly negative.

It is of some interest that those who expressed support for the police generally and those who expressed criticism did so spontaneously in our interviews for much the same reason, e.g., response times (good or poor); presence (good or poor); good with drunks, hard on alcoholics; helpful, harassing; honest, dishonest; and so on. It seems clear that at this level the public evaluation of police operates through the same criteria.

As one becomes more specific, however, levels of support tend to drop. Thus, levels of support for the police's racial sensitivities were 61%, their use of force 52%, and on increasing the police budget 46%.

Similarly, when questions were asked as to the support for police activities regarding the motorcycle gang meeting, it was recorded at 61% of those asked, and at 54% of those who knew of the action. Of those who supported the police generally it was at the 63% level.

Generally speaking there is a higher level of generalized than of specific support for the police. Secondly, where support was lower, there were more shifts to neutral responses than outright criticism. When things become concrete, people become

fuzzy. Thus the 14% overall neutrality rating rose to 35% on questions about discrimination, 30% on the use of force, 32% on the question of an increased police budget. In the case of the gangs, uncertain responses accounted for 28% overall and of those who knew of the incident, 23% were neutral.

What do the public know? There is a very rough accuracy in the following categories:

homicide:	overestimated occurrence rate and underestimated clearance rate
break & enter:	slightly underestimated occurrence rate; strongly over-estimated clearance rate
hit and run:	grossly underestimated occurrence rate; grossly exaggerated clearance rate
drug arrests:	roughly accurate
manpower:	roughly accurate

When asked what they knew of the gang meetings the following profile emerged. The dominant spontaneous items reported were the use of drugs and civil rights issues (eight responses each). Searches and arrests were next most common with six mentions each and these four make up the dominant public associations. In the intermediate response category weapons were mentioned four times; searches three times; the locations and the use of minor charges were each reported twice. In the minimally mentioned category were references to explosives and fighting.

These responses were given spontaneously by respondents during two days immediately following the event. Of those asked, 83% were aware of the gang meet.

These data are summarized as follows:

1. Satisfaction with police services generally

	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Neutral	
(a) all respondents	72%	13%	16%	n = 97
(b) suburban respondents	87.5%	5%	5%	n = 21
(c) city respondents	65%	16%	19%	n = 75

2. Approval of specific services (city only)

(a) special weapons squad

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral
52%	13%	35%

(b) police use of force

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral
52%	13%	35%

(c) racial attitudes of police (Note: systematic non-response by East-Asians.

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral
61%	4%	35%

(d) support for increased police budget

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral	
46%	21%	32%	n = 28

3. Knowledge and attitudes towards police actions at motorcycle gang meet

(a) evaluation of general police services

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral	
71%	15%	13%	n = 52

(b) knowledge of police activities

Did know	Did not know
83%	17%

(c) evaluation of police in this incident

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral
54%	18%	28%

(d) approval by those who knew of the action

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral	
61%	15%	23%	n = 39

(e) approval by those who did not know of the action

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral	
33%	0%	67%	n = 9

(f) approval by those who approve of the police generally and knew of this action

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral	
63%	17%	20%	n = 30

(g) approval by those who do not support police in general and knew of this action

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral	
43%	57%	0%	n = 9

COMPARISON WITH THE NEUTRAL'S RESPONSES REMOVED

4. Satisfied with police services generally

		Approve	Disapprove
(a)	all respondents	84%	15%
(b)	suburban respondents	95%	5%
(c)	city respondents	80%	20%

5. Approval of specific services

		Approve	Disapprove
(a)	special weapons squad	80%	20%
(b)	police use of force	80%	20%
(c)	racial attitudes of police (special conditions, 3(c))	94%	6%
(d)	support for increased police budget	69%	31%

6. Knowledge and attitudes towards police actions at motorcycle gang meet

		Approve	Disapprove
(a)	evaluation of general police services	83%	17%
(b)	evaluation of police in this incident	75%	25%
(c)	approval by those who knew of this incident	80%	20%
(d)	approval by those who approve of the police generally and knew of this action	79%	21%

Thus when we factor out those who are neutral we return to the same or higher levels of police support. Neutrality may be considered to reflect a falling-off of support in absolute terms but not in terms of those who take a negative position. Thus we have two processes: a rough stability in those who take a position, but a reduction in their number. The ratio of supporters or detractors remain high.

It is interesting to note that the public opinion of press coverage of police matters is as follows:

Approve	Disapprove	Neutral	
25%	22%	53%	n = 23

In this context it is further interesting to note that the only person who denied a request for an interview in the whole research program of perhaps 260 interviews was the city editor of the city's single paper. His reason? It might jeopardize his relationship with the police department.

From this we can observe two basic phenomena. There is far more variety in the approval-neutral shift than in overt hostility. Hostility ranges from 5 to 16%; support from 87 to 46%; neutrality from 5 to 35%. These data suggest: that there is a fair degree of knowledge of the police; that generalized support is higher than specific support; and that while there is some persistent criticism of the police, ambiguity is more likely to be manifested as neutrality towards the police than by overt criticism. This can be interpreted in two ways: from a point of view of the retreat from active positive support; or as a neutral toleration of what the police have done.

It does suggest quite powerfully that in some cases specific acts can erode explicit police support. It also seems to indicate that the public grants the police more institutional legitimacy than they do act legitimacy.

The view of the news media is itself most interesting and provides the police with some basis for comparative support. Whatever the police are doing, they enjoy more support than does the media in doing whatever it is doing.

Thus police general legitimation would seem to be more constrained by the influence network than by the public at large and specific incident legitimation more by the public loss of expressed confidence than by evaluations of their overall performance.

A STATISTICAL NOTE

For a number of reasons dealing with sampling and inference, we have not submitted these data to journal tests of significance. Firstly, and perhaps of least importance, we have not used formal sampling techniques; also and probably of greater importance we are concerned about the problems of selective non-response[1], (it was notable that East-Asians failed to respond to our inquiries, for example); but most important of all, it is not clear what the base rate or implied criterion of comparison should be. Any assumed distribution, be it equiprobable, normal or exponential, is largely a subjective expectation. For these reasons then, rather than impute a false significance to the figures, they are presented in simple descriptive rather than formally inferential terms.

For a general critique of opinion surveys of the police (see for example, White and Menke[2]) and for levels of confidence in other institutions (business and government) see Wirthlin[3], Yankelovich[4], and Dowling and Schaefer[5].

REFERENCES

1. Daniel, W. Non-Response in Sociological Surveys. Sociological Methods and Research, Vol. 3, 1975.

2. White, M. F. and Menke, B. A. A Critical Analysis of Surveys on Public Opinions Towards Police Agencies. Journal of Police Science and Administration, Vol. 6, 1978.

3. Wirthlin, R. B. Public Perceptions of the American Business System 1966 - 1975. Journal of Contemporary Business, 1975.

4. Yankelovich, D. A Crisis of Moral Legitimacy. Dissent, Vol. 21, 1974.

5. Dowling, J. B. and Schaefer, N.V. Institutional and Anti-Institutional Conflict. Academy of Management Journal, Vol. 25, 1982.

APPENDIX II
CHAPTER I

ON THE METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED IN A CASE STUDY IN POLICE ORGANIZATION

The participant-observer method is a hallowed one but one very difficult for someone who is not already an organization member. Methods are informal - taking up ideas that seem interesting, looking for validation from others, from documentary evidence and so on. But it is by definition a roving commission and naturally a sensitive one. It operates from the first principle of investigation that when the subject is uncomfortable you are on to something. I was vastly aided in this enquiry by the fact that my theoretical and empirical interests occurred within the framework of larger 'covering' studies.

I was covered firstly by the fact that the research was sponsored by a police organization, one which had already produced a report satisfactory, indeed praised in police circles, and one which had visited this research site so that there was inherited official goodwill.

This study had three investigators, one of whom was by these standards more formal in his design and analysis[1]; and another of whom (MacDonald) had held a commission in the Canadian military and subsequently had become a widely-recognized researcher in police matters. His work has included the development of police management curricula and he has served as an instructor for senior police management courses. The issue of entree was facilitated both by the styles and the personal character of the researchers who accompanied me on the team. Needless to say this only became apparent in the doing. It is not clear whether entree might have been gained directly for this method.

The process, then, becomes one of discovering what it is you want to find out and the first step is to get to know the senior officials. We engaged in what must have been for them a very time-consuming series of interviews which served to familiarize the senior officers with me and to sensitize me to their relationships, responsibilities, their individual histories and the history of the force. This process constitutes a second level of entree.

The third stage was that of developing empathy with the police role. By numerous interviews with police officers of all ranks and responsibilities one develops a feel for the force. And then one looks for interesting areas to probe and follow up on. Such a research posture is not for everyone. The unstructured format calls upon one to make up in synthesis what is lacking in prior formal design. This sort of research has been formalized

under a number of different titles; most commonly it is called grounded research[2] in which the research grows out of the research experience itself.

Of course, this sort of enquiry appeals to a particular sort of mind and is really only appropriate to essentially impressionistic or specifically incident-centered concerns. For many today there is a very real concern that methodological orthodoxy limits academic enquiry, i.e., that the interesting 'things going on' do not turn up through more formal laboratory experiments and survey techniques. There is a further ontological assumption that lies behind this sort of method. For some, data implicitly serves as a test of pre-existing theory; the object is to refine the theory. From my perspective in this research, however, there was an interest in the data for themselves. It started with a theoretical concern but also with a presumption of ignorance. This assumes the knowledge in itself is valuable, that we simply do not know what is going on, and that theory is no more than an attempt to give some coherence to this gained knowledge and to integrate it given the prior knowledge one brings to the matter. Understanding, then, is the object, not proof. In essence all of these elements contribute to the method of the anthropologist.

The process consisted of the selection of events or situations which spoke to the concerns brought to the study. Here individual themes such as labour relations could be taken up or a file requested on, for instance, police interaction with the East-Asian community, or interviews requested as, for example, with officers coordinating the gang-related policing. Other confirming information came to light serendipitously in other interactions as, for example, the problem of establishing order in crisis situations, in a hospital evacuation report and in very informal debriefing after a gas leak. From such a variety of elementary data a preliminary impression is constructed.

At this point it was necessary to go into the larger community to check impressions against those held by others and visits were arranged with, and documents saved from, perhaps twenty members of organizations that systematically interact with the police. We also tape-recorded interviews with 150 members of the public on their views on police matters.

Eventually both the police and the researcher have had enough. There is, after all, some kind of bargain over the time one will take for research purposes and eventually one realizes the marginal gain is slight. There is a tendency to a repetition of key themes and gradually, and quite reasonably, one realizes one is not going to get any more and, indeed, putting together what you have is going to be a considerable task anyway. It is important to add that there are discoveries to be made in police-work, about the reality of physical violence and coercion for

which the researcher may be quite unprepared. When the researcher becomes shocked or overloaded, he has gone as far as he can at the time[3].

This, then, constitutes the quarrying stage of the research in which one gets the rock from which the ore must be refined and then shaped. The refining process is itself quite difficult, and consisted of attempting to satisfy three quite distinct readerships, the body sponsoring the research, the academic community generally, and the informants themselves. The latter are in fact the more difficult. They stand most at risk in the ethical matters covered by the research and they are in a difficult relationship to the research product. They have contributed of their substance to it, yet by its nature it is not usually immediately useable by them.

The mechanism of interaction with research participants was carried out in two basic phases: one of individual feedback to key individuals within the force and later a more collective discussion of the way the research was developing. This is very important too for the researcher because, while it may offer the informants a chance to deny the validity of the data, it is invaluable for its capacity to confirm ones interpretations both verbally and more importantly in the manner in which they show understanding.

The problem which bedevils the whole process, from start to finish, is that of evaluation. The subjects of the research know the researchers are there. And the fear of being evaluated communicates itself from the subjects to the researcher who in turn may come to assume this function. It is a very human problem and a natural response on the part of the research subject and the researcher. But it is the absolute enemy of objective research for it undercuts the objective relationship of researcher to subject and tends to demand resolution by either sympathetic reassurance, retreat to the non-controversial, or the misdirection of the research into that which is of technical use. Anthropological research cannot be subject to such limitations while in a real world it cannot be free from it either. In a social setting lack of bias is a lonely and, for all concerned, a rather frightening stance.

ON THE ROLE OF A RESEARCH ASSISTANT IN FIELD RESEARCH

A research assistant can be and was in this case a most useful adjunct to the research process. In areas of sensitivity a R.A. can serve to gain information which is felt by the researcher to be sensitive and where the investigator does not wish to compromise his authority. His delegating of tasks to the R.A. carries with it his implied authority and yet is received as 'expected behaviour' by the R.A. and those he interacts with.

This protects the triggering of sensitivity in the subjects. The R.A. can absorb equivocality by not recognizing its significance and hence not communicating this sensitivity to others.

A further role is that of the companion pure and simple in a field setting. A single individual can become easily isolated and the pressures on isolates to conform are powerful. The presence of another who more or less shares one's 'home' viewpoint in the 'foreign terrain' of the field setting is an essential anchoring device for one's intellectual position, otherwise one might find oneself for emotional reasons becoming dependent upon one's closest inside ally. In fact the R.A. does not prevent one from 'going native' which is in fact essential to the process, but he holds one from staying native too long.

The uncritical and supportive R.A. helps one maintain ones modified original persona. You can then hope to draw upon your data and experience to speak to both academic and practitioner audiences. This is a critical point, for you must become a mediator. To withdraw and merely criticize, to evaluate in fact, or to go native, is in either case to betray the trust placed in you. The end product must have practical value and sufficient sympathy both for the development of academic thought and of police practice.

A CONCLUDING NOTE ON FEAR

The police possess institutionalized dominance and the means of making it felt. A crucially important part of that dominance is the triggering of the fear response. For many people just to see the police car sets off a physical response. The social sanctions institutionalized in the police are awesome but fear of the police may not merely be the fear of their power, real though that may be, but also a fear of self-knowledge. Research on the police is an exploration of that knowledge and those fears.

REFERENCES

1. Cooper, W. H. Police Officers over Career Stages. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 6, 1982.

2. Glaser, B. and Strauss A., The Discovery of Grounded Theory, London, U. K.: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968.

3. Westey, W. A. Violence and the Police: A Study of Law, Custom and Morality. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1970.

CHAPTER II
IDEOLOGY AND ITS IMPACT UPON PERSONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMATION AND LEGITIMACY

VICTOR N. MACDONALD

INTRODUCTION

In a complex organizational world of diverse realities and changing values, traditional sources and types of authority are being consistently questioned and those people who represent that authority are undergoing agonizing scrutiny. It is little wonder that individual police officers and police managers, given their highly visible, authority-related roles, are finding it hard to cope with the multiple pressures and ambiguities. For one thing, as discussed in Chapter I, the process of legitimation for police, in general, has become much more complex in a pluralistic society. Insofar as there is any generally recognized authority, it is perceived to reside in the law, whereas the legality of police behaviour is as open to question as the behaviour of any other citizen. The social determinants of police legitimacy are changing, as new interest groups gain power and values shift; therefore, the very nature of what was traditionally recognized as the police role is in question. Perhaps more than ever before, the legitimacy of police action and the authenticity of police authority is in doubt.

Challenges to police legitimacy are not entirely external, however; as Reiss[1] has observed, and our experience indicates, there is a crucial need for individual police officers to believe in the legitimacy of their own acts. Thus their belief about legitimate police roles and police behaviours will have a considerable influence on their actions. In fact, while other factors unquestionably have an affect upon police behaviour, our evidence indicates that the search for personal legitimacy (the feeling that "I'm OK" and that I'm contributing to my organization and to society) has a major influence upon both individual and collective police activities. It appears that this legitimating behaviour is a personal response to the individual's own beliefs and that, in the police profession at least, these beliefs are largely collective in nature; what can be labelled 'a police ideology'.

Chapter I dealt with police legitimacy in a social context; both the legitimation of police behaviour and the role of the police as legitimators for other people and organizations. In this chapter, the discussion will turn to factors which influence individual police actions and, in particular, the extent to which personal legitimating behaviour is influenced by collective belief systems. We will try to define and describe those belief systems, indicating their probable origins and identifying their impact upon police behaviour. In effect, this is an extension of the theories discussed in Chapter I. The objective of this chapter is

a better understanding of social reality from the viewpoint of individual police officers and the impact of that perspective combined with operational stresses and pressures, upon their attitudes and actions.

Effective management is fundamentally involved with maintaining the social legitimacy of an organization and with attaining the support and cooperation of its members. This entails an accurate perception, on the part of managers, of the characteristics of legitimate behaviour and also an understanding of, and ability to influence, the actions of individuals and groups within the organizations. An awareness of the processes by whichindividuals attempt to attain legitimacy, and the belief systems which determine its content, seems to be a basic requirement for police managers, particularly now, when society is undergoing significant changes in beliefs and values.

The theoretical arguments presented in this chapter have grown out of an interpretive synthesis of data from a number of sources. These include a number of years spent in close contact with senior police managers from across Canada and inferences from the data obtained from three different studies[2]. There is no question that the discussion which follows represents a qualitative leap from the data. Both the categorization scheme and the inferences are subjective and we have not attempted to support them with specific references to objective data. To an extent, this has resulted from the expanding nature of the study; the increasing awareness on our part that there was a critical need for frameworks which could incorporate the internal and external dynamics of Canadian policing and which had the potential to provide an explanation for the relationship between the two. We are satisfied, from our subsequent studies and discussions with both police and academics, that the frameworks and models we describe here and in Chapter I and III have the potential to provide a basis for more socially relevant policing and for police-related education.

The host force data from this particular study consists of interviews with over sixty police officers; from seven percent of the constables in the force to eighty percent of superintendents and above. Although the selection of interview candidates was based on availability, the sample was representative in terms of seniority in rank and we have no reason to believe that any systematic bias was operating.

The interview format was semi-structured (see Appendix I to this chapter) and the interviews ranged from one to two hours in length. Detailed notes were kept which were carefully analyzed for recurring themes. These themes were combined with information from other sources to provide the summary data.

In addition to the interviews, police reports were reviewed, particular incidents were analyzed in detail, and police patrol operations were scrutinized to some degree. The inferences made from the data were cross-validated within our team and discussed with officers from both the host force and other forces. Many of the primary inferences which we made prior to theory development are explicit in the main body of this Chapter. Those which are not, have been consolidated in Appendix II.

During the interviews care was taken not to fall into the trap of inciting interviewees toward a prejudice which could then be reported as their viewpoint; most of the dimensions reported are indirect rather than direct inferences. Attitudes, for the most part, were inferred from descriptions or observations or were taken as implicit from assumptions, rather than expressed directly. For example, interviewees were asked to give examples of good or poor policing activity or good or poor supervisory behaviour. These stories were analyzed for implications relating to police beliefs and attitudes about other objects, e.g., the public, courts, superiors, etc.

Police unquestionably constitute a biased sample of Canadians (a result of both self-selection and organizational selection processes). Almost all of the people we interviewed came from stable, law abiding, middle and lower middle class backgrounds. Fifty percent had been in the military or had relatives in policing. Most had relatively stable upbringings and, of course, had been in no trouble with the law. Their behaviour and attitudes may result in part from that bias, as this report indicates, as well as from a variety of forces which impinge on them. We have tried to identify some of those forces and also to identify pre-police experience biases. Conclusions and recommendations relevant to professional police managers, have been reserved for the final chapter.

The data, both from the structured interviews and from other contacts, observations, and discussions, indicate the existence of an intense collective belief system, extending through all police ranks and all levels of authority. The core values and beliefs are so consistent, so strong and so universal that it seems possible to consider this belief system an occupational ideology, an ideology which we believe has rather important connotations for the evaluation and evolution of the police function in our society and certainly for police management.

The primary concern in this report is with factors that have an impact on police legitimacy. In the belief that ideology is one of those factors, working through the medium of personal legitimation, the relationship between ideology and legitimacy will be examined. This exploration will begin with a discussion of the interaction between social legitimacy and personal legitimation. Then an attempt will be made to clarify the impact of ideology

upon legitimation behaviour prior to justification of the use of the term ideology, an explanation of what police ideology, used in this sense, means. Having clarified the nature of police ideology we will discuss its sources, the reasons why it is so important and its implications for police behaviours and for both the short and long term legitimacy of police organizations.

While acknowledging the limitations of the data and recognizing the relatively abstract nature of the theoretical inferences, we do, however, believe that this relatively comprehensive yet simple theory has a great deal of explanatory power for various common policing behaviours. Included in those behaviours are: reactions to stress and role ambiguity; motivation and leadership in the policing context; job satisfaction; police productivity; and effective internal and external communication.

Personal legitimation as an activator and ideology as a guideline, implies rational behaviour, not necessarily centered on self interest but still rational from the viewpoint of the individual policeman. Where regulations or the apparent desires of police management conflict with individual beliefs, the response will vary with the particular police officer, but our evidence indicates that common beliefs have a major impact. A few of the implications of common beliefs or ideology and personal legitimation for police behaviour will be outlined in the latter section of this chapter and in Appendix III. In fact, Appendix III describes what appears to be some of the modes of adaptation to role stress adopted by various officers. We realize that any discussion of implications is somewhat presumptuous on our part and hope, eventually, to hear from experienced police and legal practitioners, regarding their evaluations of our theories.

INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR AND SOCIAL LEGITIMACY

While theorists frequently attribute organic properties to organizations, the analogy is always risky[3]. The legitimating behaviours of an organization, for example, are the result of decisions and actions by individuals or, sometimes, the collective impact of the decisions or actions of a large number of people. It is true that social legitimacy is determined relevant to expectations that exist for an organization, however, in reality it is individual or group decisions and actions of the members of that organization which are being evaluated.

An effective manager, therefore, while being aware of what constitutes social legitimacy for an organization, must also have an understanding of the perspectives, motives and actions of the members of that organization.

As briefly mentioned in the introduction, individual police officers have a strong sense of responsibility and are very concerned with the legitimacy of their own actions. This concern

often supercedes orders, regulations and what they perceive to be the desires of their senior officers. Game playing was not uncommon around rules, regulations and measurements of effectiveness, but officers had a strong belief in the police role, as they defined it, and took the fulfillment of that role seriously. The state of personal legitimacy is hard to define because it really consists of a perspective and feeling on the part of a person. It is not strictly cognitive but contains feelings, actions and perceptions, therefore it must be felt to be understood.

As a patrolman drives out of the compound and checks in with dispatch to indicate his availability for calls, he assumes a unique perspective toward the world around him. That young, strained quasi-innocent face on the corner! 'Lisa's on the street again.' That group of boys straggling along the sidewalk; a sudden recognition; 'Jimmy Oaks and his gang, starting off on an evening of B & E's.' An errant motorist, an evaluation! 'Not serious, besides he didn't see me -- no need for action.'

> A bit of static on the radio and some barely distinguishable words, from Anne, the dispatcher. To the non-police observer, nothing. To the young police officer, 'someone in danger', 'a need for police action', 'a buddy who needs back-up'. Potential danger, pumping adrenalin, keen senses. Lights! Siren! "Figure" becomes an uncertain incident which calls out for police action. Everything else becomes "ground" as the "fight or flight" syndrome is activated.

What does personal legitimacy mean? To some extent it means the carrying out of a self-assigned responsibility, variously defined by different officers but with high similarity in content. It is based on a feeling about responsibility, a perception of role; a partially physiological, partially psychological reaction to events unfolding in the surrounding world. It is doing what is "felt" to be appropriate at a given time and a given place. Police behaviour can only be understood from the police perspective. "Figure" for us, is what, in our environment, is likely to affect us. "Figure" for a police officer is anything which may influence the state of social order -- "his responsibility".

Orders, regulations, and guidelines pale in the significance of immediate events. The world of the police officer is a "here and now" world. "This is where the action is", and the response must be immediate.

'What is this drunk husband with the gun likely to do?' 'Those two in that car look like pretty rough customers -- should I call for back-up?' 'That driver started to speed when he saw me -- he must have pulled some job.'

Unknown motives, uncertain consequences, but definite responsibility and a need for action; the policeman's world in all its visceral and intuitive splendour.

Observations and interviews led to the conclusions that the search for personal legitimacy could be considered a central drive which seemed to influence almost all individual and group behaviour. It had more influence on individual police behaviour than regulations, police management, or court decisions; and resulted in the personal and subjective interpretation of the application of many laws. This system of beliefs surrounding an officer's subjective understanding of the police role and responsibility is almost certainly of paramount importance in understanding and analyzing police behaviour.

It had occurred to us, very early in this study, that we were finding a startling similarity in police backgrounds and an even more striking congruence in beliefs and values relating to policing, society, and to the relationship between the two. This was not surprising, since the available research, largely American, had indicated that this would be the case. What surprised us was the intensity and integrated nature of the beliefs and the extent to which they permeated all ranks and statuses. It seemed evident that we were dealing with an occupational phenomena which was capable of having an influence on the actions which determine police legitimacy or, in management terms, the effectiveness and productivity of police forces.

A thorough examination of the initial inferences from the data, partially contained in Appendix II to this chapter, and further interviews and discussions with members of additional forces, led to the conclusion that a collective belief system, which could be clearly identified, played a fundamental role in police behaviour and was a necessary part of the theory of police legitimacy.

There are, unquestionably, a number of other important determinants of police actions but, when we listed them and considered their apparent impact, it appeared that most of them were in some way related or integrated with the collective belief system. To provide the reader with the same perspective, we will identify and briefly discuss what we believe to be the major factors which have a general influence on the actions of individual police officers.

These include:

1. socially and behaviourally conditioned reactions, often largely the result of training and social and sports experiences;

2. physiological factors (some general ones, such as the natural bodily reactions to the stresses of the police role, and some specific ones, such as the level of

emotionality of the individual, which contribute to individual differences);

3. the factor we are calling police ideology -- the collective beliefs and values related to policing, which have apparently resulted from an interaction between cultural values, police responsibilities, psychological needs, and conditioned and physiological reactions;

4. written regulations and orders;

5. the perceived preferences and objectives of senior officers;

6. peer pressures and the need for peer support;

7. organizational processes and measurement systems, particularly those related to discipline, promotion and other forms of career advancement; and

8. individual beliefs and values, in addition to, or which differ from, the ideology described in 3. above.

While we feel that all of these factors have an influence on police behaviour, we point out, as illustrated by our previous discussion of personal legitimacy, that behaviourally conditioned reactions, physiological factors and peer pressure will interact with police roles and responsibilities to determine reactions and that probably police ideology is both a partial cause and a partial outcome of this interaction. On the other hand, orders, regulations, the beliefs of senior police managers and organizational processes are, to some extent at least, the outcomes of police belief systems or ideologies (we have noted at several points the consistency of collective beliefs in all ranks and statuses). Individual beliefs and values may create some conflict or role ambiguity for individual officers when there is sharp divergence of their beliefs from those of the collective belief system. Some aspects of this conflict are discussed later in the paper.

Of the above listed factors the most interesting is factor 3, the ideology, because it seems largely instrumental in defining the activities and reactions which constitute legitimate behaviour, in their view, for most police officers. Therefore, it has an immense impact upon both individual and collective police actions and upon the degree of social legitimacy which the police attain. It is clear, both from our experience and from the theory thus far described, that police ideology and the social legitimacy of the police could well be in conflict. Regulations and disciplinary processes, designed to counter this problem, are usually largely irrelevant to policing ends and tend to increase uncertainty in the minds of operational officers regarding approved means (well illustrated in Brown[4]). What appears to be legitimate

behaviour to an individual police officer, could very easily lead to socially disapproved police action. At the very least, ideologies can contribute to inflexibility and a lack of adaptive potential. This is not to say that ideology does not have positive connotations as well. It implies a commonality in beliefs and actions which facilitates both communications and joint action within the organization. It may act to contain harmful deviance, e.g., corruption, and it may provide a set of standards which limits the effects of harmful external or internal influences.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to define ideology as concisely or clearly as one would like. Over the next few pages the concept of ideology will be discussed, prior to an examination of the specific example of police ideology. As the reader will note, it is a fuzzy concept which has an almost undefinable impact upon the behaviour of any particular person. It does not consist of so much of this and so much of that, but it is essentially an interactive phenomenon. In spite of these problems of definition the concept appears to have great significance for understanding the behaviour in, and the behaviour of, police organizations.

THE MEANING OF POLICE IDEOLOGY

The basis for the use of the term ideology, in an occupational context, is well founded in the behavioural science literature. A functional sociological view, expressed in what Karl Mannheim[5] calls the sociology of knowledge, holds that the ideas, values, and attitudes of a given group derive from the social conditions under which the group lives. Groups express those values and attitudes through social and political actions and the denotative content of those actions can be regarded as an expression of the ideology of the group. Occupational groups, therefore, that exist under unique conditions, which distinguish them in a meaningful way from other occupational groups, could be expected to have somewhat diverse ideologies. Ideology, in the broad sense of the sociology of knowledge, constitutes those ideas upon which distinct social behaviour is based. That would include not only political views, social values and beliefs, attitudes and aspirations but also a major behavioural concern, motivation in the work setting. The data indicate that police officers in common, hold sufficiently strong interrelated and distinctive values, attitudes and beliefs so that their overall belief system could be classified as an occupational ideology.

Turning to political science for another view of ideology, we find Plamenatz[6] referring to ideologies in general, describing ideology as "a set of beliefs, or ideas, or even attitudes characteristic of a group or community", whereas, Cranston[7] suggests that ideology is an action-oriented theory. Both of these conceptions seemed to be inherent in the belief systems which characterized police, a set of ideas, beliefs and values that could be labelled "a police ideology". While the foundations for this belief system are probably primarily sociological, there are also social, psychological and, perhaps, even political orienting and reinforcing influences. These will be described and discussed after the nature of the police ideology has been outlined.

The overall role of the Canadian police could be described as the provision of an order and control function for Canadian society (the enforcement of the law and the maintenance of order, including anti-crime activities), and police ideology could be broadly defined as an action orientation toward the fulfillment of that role. More succinctly, police ideology in this context is "a relatively consistent and enduring set of values and beliefs, which orient the activities of the police community and which form the basis for personal and organizational legitimating activities on the part of the police". We will return to additional social science based connotations of this concept.

AN OVERVIEW OF POLICE IDEOLOGY

This rather lengthy discussion of police ideology begins with an overview of the belief system itself, followed by a discussion of its origins and implications for the behaviour of individual police officers. Police ideology is not socially deviant but appears to be firmly based in the beliefs and values of the Canadian middle class. It includes a sincere commitment to a broad social service role, wider than, but centered upon, the enforcement of criminal law, the protection of the public, and the maintenance of social order. There is a strong concern with a pervasive mandate for police authority and a tendency to stereotype people, who question that authority, as hostile to the police. Social events or incidents involving disorder, disagreement or apparent illegalities tend to be simplified and fitted into a suitable framework so they can be dealt with through police action, even though the appropriateness of both the categorization and the action might be questioned by an impartial observer. Policing is a strongly action oriented occupation and, not surprisingly, the conceptual aspects of the ideology are integrated with action tendencies which should, therefore, be considered part of the ideology. In fact, ideology does not only have an action orientation; it involves action components.

Police ideology is collective in nature for a number of reasons. Initial recruit training inculcates a collective feeling, as Manning[8] indicates, and during the initial period on the job the police recruit learns to depend on peers and more experienced constables in ambiguous and questionable situations where snap decisions are necessary. It is easy to make an error; often the rationale for police involvement is questionable, and only the potential to rely on mutual support relieves some of the stress and makes the situation tenable. This requirement for mutual support in situations where the legality and advisability of police action may be questionable, adds a component of secrecy and, at

the same time, establishes peer loyalty as a fundamental aspect of the value system. On the other hand, if an officer is caught breaking the rules, force legitimacy cannot be allowed to suffer, the disciplinary process is activated, and the individual will bear the brunt of seemingly unfair castigation for often well intended actions. In effect, however, the internal consequences of police reactions to criticism may be much different than the public is led to believe.

While this brief overview presents a tentative picture of police ideology, the complex nature of the phenomenon, its bases and its impacts upon individual officers cannot be captured so easily. To attempt to illustrate that complexity more fully, what follows may be a more useful but also a rather lengthy and complex portrayal of the dynamics of police ideology, the interactions between social, psychological and political factors, all of which have some influence on its nature. This will begin with a brief discussion of the cultural or social base for the belief system, and will then turn to a discussion of the service orientation and the professional acceptance of responsibility by the police, before describing aspects of the police role which interact with psychological and physiological characteristics to result in the joint cognitive-action tendencies which we have called a police ideology.

THE CULTURAL FOUNDATION OF IDEOLOGY

Most police recruits enter the force with a set of beliefs about policing that provide a foundation for the development of what we are calling a police ideology. From our discussions with these recruits, and from observations of and discussion with numerous middle class Canadians, we have inferred that these beliefs are culturally based. They include an acceptance of, and almost reverence for, strong police authority and an apparent belief that there are firm, simplistic and easy to institute, authority-related solutions to social issues. In the middle class and, to a somewhat lesser extent in police circles, there is evidence that there is limited tolerance for divergent cultural values and for other forms of deviance from a relatively rigid set of social norms and expectations.

On the other hand, there is generally a high degree of respect for and trust in the police. There is relatively little fear of the abuse of police authority and very often abuses of police authority, in what is perceived to be the interest of society, are generally supported. There is a relatively common belief that the police should be given a strong hand, that laws are insufficiently rigid and that the courts and penal services are overly permissive and lax.

Given the beliefs of the source population for police recruits, it is hardly surprising to find the ready acceptance of a

strong mandate for the maintenance of order and the accompanying monopoly of legal coercion within the force. Recruits, in particular, believe that police can have a major impact on society and tend to assume that the police role is relatively straightforward, therefore, perceiving law enforcement in rather simplistic terms.

Recognizing this evident potential for early attitudinal conditioning and also for the reinforcement of the legitimacy of certain police beliefs about policing, by a proportion of the Canadian public, we turn now to describe, dissect and explain the belief system which we identified, and suggest what it might mean in terms of the police role, internal interactions within police forces, interactions with the public, police training, police socialization and, finally, police efforts at legitimation. First, this entails an examination of some of the inferences made from observations and structured interviews.

A BELIEF IN THE CONTRIBUTION OF POLICE TO SOCIETY

The data clearly indicate that at least ninety percent of police recruits enter policing with a sincere desire to contribute to the resolution of social issues. Most of them are aware of the human suffering that exists as a result of social and interpersonal disorders and violence against persons. Many, if not all, begin their careers with the belief that they can help to alleviate these problems and that there is a direct causal relationship between police action and social consequences. They believe that they should, and will, have an opportunity to perform a respected and needed social function and that they will receive recognition both within the force and from society for effective performance. Essentially, the legitimation of their own beliefs about themselves and their role calls for some evidence that they are contributing to a better society. Failures, which can be attributed to causal factors beyond their control will not interfere with a belief in their own legitimacy. However, failures which cannot be rationalized in any way can create great anxiety.

If this belief in a social service function had not been evident in the minds of recruits as well as experienced officers, we would have attributed it to a role justification effect. Probably eighty percent of police patrol involvement with the public is directed toward public service concerns that have little relationship to the generally recognized core policing activities of crime fighting. Many of these public service functions are among the least liked and are least likely to lead to police legitimacy in crime fighting terms, so some role rationalization could be expected. It was clear, however, that new recruits also had a social service orientation and so it appeared that this was one of the more common motives behind a policing career choice.

POLICE ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO IDEOLOGY

Probably it is logical to conclude that their values and beliefs will influence the responsibilities which police accept and the roles they perform. At first, it might not seem so logical to conclude that police roles and responsibilities also have an immense impact upon what police believe and value, but that is precisely what our data indicated. Not that this is a new contribution to behavioural science knowledge; there are volumes which present empirical support for this process[9]. For a better understanding of police beliefs and values and the way in which these are formed and influenced by the requirements of the police role, however, the following discussion should be constructive.

Police in Canada have, professionally, accepted a very broad and inclusive responsibility for helping citizens in trouble, for protecting people and property and for the maintenance of order in Canadian society. The difficulty of defining the boundaries of this partially self-imposed mandate has led to confusion, stress, and endless concern with authority and personal legitimacy and has been a major contributor to the evolution of a protective, supportive and collective set of beliefs, which create some problems for the social legitimacy of the police institution. Our observations reveal what appear to be some dynamic interactions between police beliefs, police roles and responsibilities, actual police actions and general psychological and physiological factors.

ROLE AMBIGUITY, ROLE STRESS AND COLLECTIVE BELIEFS

It is possible to hypothesize from Schacter's[10] general mode of the psychology of affiliation, that job stress leads to both interaction and expressive coping. There are, in fact, many sources of job stress in policing and Sutton[11] has suggested, supporting Schacter's model, that ideology may emerge as "a reaction to the strain of a social role". For example, the enforcement of laws, in itself, creates some role strain because it means the initiation of a somewhat punitive face-to-face confrontation, a type of interaction which is contra-normative and, therefore, tension producing. "Sir, did you realize that this was a fifty kilometer zone? I clocked you at over seventy." The courtesy is encouraged by something more than a departmental desire for good public relations; the officer, too, finds a pleasant, constructive interaction much easier and less stressful. The response; "haven't you got anything else to do, pig?" produces stress on several counts. First, it indicates an inadequate degree of respect for the police authority which is so crucial to smooth interactions with the public. Second, it is a personal attack and is personally stress producing. Whatever the officer's reaction, and almost regardless of his personality, there have been some emotional costs involved here.

As discussed in Chapter I, changing value systems create significant questions for the exercise of police authority, while general social legitimacy issues arise relative to interest groups with newly established status in the pluralistic Canadian society.

Both of these factors contribute to role ambiguity and, therefore, to stress. Police recruits encounter stress when they go through a period of social adaptation to the police role. This may not involve wholesale changes of friends, but it usually does mean some curtailment of activities and changes in relationships, which may contribute to the general stress level. "So you're a cop, eh! Well, some of your guys sure like to throw their weight around. I got this ticket..." What police officer hasn't heard something similar a dozen times? Shiftwork, frequent exposure to danger, unpleasant encounters with some elements of the public, frequent attendance at crisis situations and involvement in stressful activities, e.g., high speed chases, fights or on-going break-and-enters are also stress-evoking aspects of the police role, as described earlier.

To an extent, the very nature of the police role forces a wedge into normal social interaction between police and other people. Cooper's[12] data strongly confirms this point. It is unusual to interview a police officer who does not feel that the police role has affected his or her family and community life. Some of the older ones have adjusted, perhaps at some residual costs, and, again, Cooper's data confirms this point, but many of the younger ones comment vividly upon the role strains.

As Schacter's model indicates, stress creates the need for mutual support, both psychological (through expression and interaction) and physical (collective support and back-up). Uncertainty about the legitimacy and appropriateness of actions taken on the spur of the moment, often in highly ambiguous situations, can create a need for protection through mutual secrecy. On the other hand, a highly developed sense of ethics and a public service orientation contributes to considerable ambiguity and internal stress when fellow officers, who a constable feels obliged to protect, behave in what is perceived to be an inappropriate manner.

In view of the ambiguity and highly variable nature of the situations encountered, it is not surprising to find a desire to simplify and categorize where possible, to look for some type of clearly defined line between right and wrong, and to attempt to develop a personal catalogue of appropriate actions. Actually, as Gerard[13] has indicated, this is a characteristic human behaviour, particularly in a complex environment, "the individual constantly works to simplify his thoughts about the environment and to impose some system on events around him". In the police case, while this probably stems from a desire to avoid ambiguity and simplify the choice of legitimate actions, it does create problems for the police officers throughout their careers. Many situations en-

countered by the police are ambiguous and complex and, given the doubtful bounds of what constitutes order, police readily become involved wherever there is human anxiety. 'Where else can people go?' the police frequently ask. Personal legitimacy requires the fulfillment of police responsibility and, thus, the police officer assumes authority and takes action in situations where the adequacy of both his authority and his actions are questionable. Often police find themselves dealing with complex social problems, largely because there is no one else available, and attempting to apply simplistic solutions and controls which are not appropriate. The consequence of this role ambiguity and resulting band-aid solutions include:

- job stress for the individual police officer who is unsure about the boundaries of his role and who is aware that he is not providing any lasting solution for complex human problems;

- the expansion of the police function into highly questionable areas where the police are not adequately trained, nor do they have the time or the inclination to deal with the type of problems encountered; and

- questionable beliefs about the role and function of the police which permeate the thoughts and actions of police officers, resulting in police performing functions which they are ill-equipped to handle and possibly neglecting roles which are appropriate.

Thus, role ambiguity leads to stress, to the general expansion of the police role into areas where police involvement is questionable and to the almost inherent justification of that action, 'when the public calls, we must answer and take action'. The police seldom question their authority to act; they cannot afford to, without violating the cardinal informal rule 'one must never lose control' (Brown[4]). For police management, concern with priorities looms large in such cases, because police legitimacy can suffer from the resulting potential inappropriate allocation of resources.

THE NEED FOR AUTHORITY

As the discussion to this point indicates, it is clear that the acceptance of a very broad and ill-defined police responsibility has contributed to a tendency for police to interpret moral and legal standards, to assume authority and to take action to control disorders in situations where such action may not be strictly legitimate in either a legal or a social sense. While the law legitimates police action, in many cases, it also restricts police power in many others. There has been an understandable hesitancy, in a democracy, to give police any greater power than necessary, in part at least, because they would have a natural tendency, as Gerard[13] suggests, to narrowly define and simplify the law and the situations they encounter to make policing easier. Misapplication of police power and the law could easily result. These legally imposed constraints upon police behaviour, however, mean that it is difficult for police to maintain order while operating fully within the law. Since their legal authority is so limited, police tend to regard threats to that authority with some concern. At times, as we are well aware from the Macdonald Commission[14], there is a strong attraction to operate outside the law to achieve what the police (and a large proportion of the public) may regard as perfectly legitimate ends.

This concern for authority on the part of the police, however, should not be entirely confused with a desire for power "per se". Without the requisite authority, police feel that they cannot fulfill their assigned mandate, that their own legitimacy is in doubt. In addition, they recognize that the passive acceptance of police authority by the public can lead to the orderly diffusing of what might otherwise be incidents involving violence.

Bendix'[15] comments on managerial ideology also appear relevant to the authority problem in policing in a slightly different sense. Police have accepted the responsibility for managing or, at least controlling, order in our society and they require authority to carry out that role. Challenges to police authority threaten the potential of police to carry out a task which most, if not all, regard as being extremely important. On the other hand, if people respect police authority there is little need for confrontation; the police image is served. Finally, the police definition of an ideal society is necessarily that of a rational, orderly place where police authority is unquestioned. In Berger's terms, that is, their "legitimating definition of reality"[9].

Police, somewhat unconsciously, categorize the various elements of the public in terms of the extent to which they display the necessary respect for police authority. Those who do question police methods or who do not react with the expected, or at least desired, conformity are perceived in a negative light because they are questioning police legitimacy. Criminals, insofar as they respect police power and authority, may actually be regarded more favourably than dissenting citizens. An interesting, but not unique, quote in this regard follows:

"Police are generally very well respected except by well educated people who feel they don't have to abide by the rules - rules are not made for them; ladies who sympathize with criminals; and social agency people who often make the wrong decisions. On the other hand: criminals generally respect the law".[16]

A common problem for police on patrol is the extent to which calls for service involve situations in which they really have no authority and probably, in fact, no real responsibility. In a

broad sense, however, police have accepted the responsibility for maintaining order. As a result, their desire for personal legitimacy demands that they deal with any case of public or personal insecurity by providing an aura of authority which, if accepted by the relevant members of the public, would result in the control of disorder and the alleviation of uncertainty. This has at least two consequences. One is the role ambiguity-stress problem, already discussed, while the other is an almost unlimited expansion of the police role.

Since the police deal with such incidents as, e.g., barking dogs, suspicious individuals, noisy neighbourhoods, missing children, and trespassing, and since they are the only agency on duty twenty-four hours a day, they tend to create demand for their own services through their almost automatic reaction to any public requests for service. These reactions reinforce public expectations that the police will respond and the police, in turn, receive calls for an even wider range of incidents which may go well beyond legitimate police responsibility and authority. In many cases, the police have no real authority or, sometimes, capability to effectively deal with a situation. Usually, in such cases, they advise people of sources of help that are available. In some instances, however, police assurances that they will take some action are intended to create a feeling of security or satisfaction (and, therefore, approval) on the part of the people involved, that is really not warranted. It seems that, to admit that public concerns do not fall within the proper zone of responsibility of the police, is sometimes seen as tantamount to a failure to maintain social order and control. Part of the police self-image is a belief that they should be competent to cope with all varieties of social uncertainty. Inability to do that, for a variety of reasons, leads to defensiveness, to a fear that their own legitimacy is in question, and to some hostility to people who appear to stand in their way.

As a consequence of this perceived uncertainty regarding their authority, police are relatively defensive in their dealings with public criticism, particularly, with the media. This defensiveness, in turn, tends to limit interactions, communication, and joint problem-solving.

Before we leave this very important area of police authority, one further observation appears to be required. In their search for legitimacy which, in interactions with the public, is signified by public respect for police authority and a favourable reaction to police service, the police are very action or perhaps better, reaction oriented. This action orientation is a critically important aspect of policing and is really a central element of police belief system. Other attitudes and emotions are influenced by this orientation as the following discussion indicates.

ACTION ORIENTED BELIEFS AND VALUES

There is, of course, a whole complex of social-psychological literature surrounding the relationship between action, emotional involvement and cognition. Festinger[9] and his colleagues' work on the stress aspects of cognitive dissonance, the justifying of decisions, effort justification, etc., seems highly appropriate to the police situation. Ben, Kogan and Wallach's[17] work on the controlling and reinforcing effects of group membership is also highly relevant since both forces seem to operate coterminously in policing.

Of all occupations, police are probably the most likely to be found to make rapid decisions in situations where much desirable information is lacking. Those decisions almost all concern people, most are public, to a considerable degree, and errors in perceptions or judgments leave the police officer, and often his fellows and/or the force as a whole, open to public reproach. As previously mentioned, discretion is a frequently used, but inadequate word, to describe the decisions which police must make. Discretion implies an awareness of likely and potential outcomes which rarely exists in policing and a choice, which also doesn't exist in some circumstances, e.g., there is an expectation that a constable will take action in most cases, even though he might judge the situation as an inappropriate one for police involvement.

The dispatcher calls "Car 16 -- would you check 923 Melton -- neighbour reports a fight -- sounds as if some woman is being killed".

At 923 there is obvious evidence of excess drinking and some evidence of considerable hostility, but no one asks for help. There are many unknowns and several courses of action. Under such circumstances the police officer frequently takes action, seemingly appropriate under the pressure of time and numerous other stresses, which proves to be of a highly questionable nature. Such action must either be recanted or supported in subsequent actions or discussions when the decision is questioned. Frequently, there are considerable implications and side effects of police action. In one similar circumstance, an officer intervened and death resulted. In another, an officer didn't intervene and a woman was badly injured. If nothing else, in such cases, an admission that the action was inappropriate has the potential to reduce police credibility and, therefore, the impact upon both personal and force legitimacy. The officers may, in fact, be charged, depending on the situation. There is little wonder that in Manning's[8] words, "the legitimacy of police authority is unquestioned and assumed rather than discussed", by police constables. Similarly, action taken must be treated as though it was appropriate, even though, in retrospect, better alternatives may have been available.

Not only are police actions tacitly approved through a mutual code of silence in such cases, but a process similar to effort-justification takes effect as well. The 'effort', in this case, is really more appropriately regarded as tension, resulting from the actions of the numerous stress agents previously identified. The ideological justifications, 'policing is important, the police role is significant, police authority is necessary and justified', are the largely unconscious reactions to role strain, and they reinforce the belief systems we have identified, providing unspoken and unconscious personal and mutual legitimation for various police actions.

There are, of course, implications for social legitimacy in all of this. Police actions which involve obvious infringements of the law, or of the social rights of individuals, affect the legitimacy of the force and of the police in general. Obviously, the force's legitimacy cannot be challenged, so individual officers must answer for the legitimacy of their actions. In view of the factors discussed, the uncertainty surrounding police decisions, the almost automatic mutual support of action taken, and a collective visceral reaction to incidents, it is no wonder that police are often perceived to be covering up for ineffective and even illegal behaviour. Yet, to some extent at least, this is the only way they can operate with any semblance of cooperation, given the nature of the policing job. An officer's actions may have clearly been wrong, given the clear light of all available information, but from his perspective at the time of the incident, it was the best available option. We believe that this has significant implications for police training, for police management and for public understanding of police behaviour, and we will attempt to provide further illumination of this complex phenomenon in a later section.

One further point seems to be appropriate regarding the effect of collective justification for individual action. Where police are acting together and responsibility is dispersed, we believe that there is a tendency toward stronger decisions and less leniency with the client than when an officer is acting alone. Our evidence is weak in this regard and, in fact, the presence of additional officers usually means that other variables in the situation also differ, but we feel that there are group-related factors in operation, possibly similar to the phenomenon described by Wallach and Kogan[18] dealing with risk taking behaviour: "it is the effective bonds formed in discussion that may enable the individual to feel less proportionally to blame when he entertains the possible failure of a decision". Other factors than this could be operative in such situations and there is a need for more empirical evidence of the frequency and the extent of variability in decisions made under individual or collective circumstances.

IDEOLOGY AS A COLLECTIVE BELIEF SYSTEM

Through the discussion of ideology we have argued that factors such as similarities in background, initial motives, training and work-related experiences, characteristics of the police responsibility and roles and the operational police officer's distrust of the public and police management, all interact to contribute to a common belief system. There is, however, a good deal more implied in the term collective ideology. The need for personal legitimacy carries over into collective legitimacy because police officers seldom act alone, because they are seen as a collectivity and because there is an empathetic reaction to incidents which occur on the street, at all hierarchial levels in a police force. Several factors seem to contribute to, what might be called, 'a visceral identification' with the man on the street.

Police constables develop a common sense of isolation from normal social interactions, early in their careers. All police are aware of a distinctive social control mission, which sets them apart, and there is significant feeling of physical danger, stress and resulting anxiety about the work, no matter that it is not considered appropriate behaviour to admit to such feelings. Thus a collective reaction emerges to protect against both physical and psychological insecurity and this collective component plays a major role in the rationalization and internal legitimation of police actions.

Even when discussing their training, recent recruits mention as high points, what appears to be vicarious involvement in the storied experiences of their instructors. A strong sense of commonality and mutuality develops during training, as Van Maanen[19] has fully documented, and this is later reinforced in several ways. As already indicated, police are often uncertain regarding legitimate courses of actions and the code of silence and mutual support protects against possible indiscretions in the heat of the moment. Police are also linked by the unique critical-observer aspects of the police role, where interest is focused on people and their apparent intentions relative to others, rather than on the typical self-oriented view that pertains to most of us. In effect, police perform a type of watch-dog or monitor role in which they are separated from the people they serve by their very function. Only another police officer sees situations in a similar way and they are linked, to an extent, by the commonality of their viewpoints[20].

Shared experiences, stories and stereotypes contribute to a collective system of beliefs, attitudes and, therefore, perceptions, relating both to the public and to the appropriate role of the police. An outcome of this sharing of feelings, experiences and expressions is a mutual bonding, a support and verification mechanism, which leads to attempts at a collective legitimation; a mutual support phenomenon which may or may not contribute to

social legitimacy. It does, however, add to the ability of police officers to cope with the uncertainties, ambiguities and other strains of the police role. The vicarious aspects of this process, mentioned earlier, contribute to something more than a mutual bonding, however. This is a major element in the process of police socialization or, at least, it represents the continuous reinforcement of a set of beliefs, conceptual attitudes and emotion that seem to be deeply ingrained in the expressions and action of police officers at all rank levels. There is a broad mutual understanding, and even characteristic emotional reactions, which define what is perceived to be appropriate police behaviour. There seems little doubt that senior officers, listening to a morning briefing where the night's experiences are recounted, share those activities at the visceral level and that this visceral reaction has an impact on decisions. As a consequence, police at all rank levels, have an obvious sense of being part of a collective enterprise; an enterprise where the focus is upon the street activities involved in the maintenance of order.

To our knowledge, in fact, there is no other occupation where there is a similar emotional identification by senior managers with those who are among the most junior people in the organization. The reality, however, is that police officers are not line employees in the usual sense. Under the Police Act[21] they have personal responsibility for the maintenance of order and the enforcement of the law, a responsibility which is not assigned through an administrative hierarchy, and an authority which is granted by a legal document rather then by senior officers in the chain of command. Thus, the mandate of the police officer contains the potential for a great degree of discretion and independence. He can be disciplined for improper behaviour under the law, or for his appearance and demeanor in dealing with the public, but his decisions relating to law enforcement, providing he remains within the law in his own actions, cannot readily be questioned by a senior officer.

The very fibre of policing exists in the activities of patrol officers and investigators. Senior officers identify with the actions of their operational subordinates rather than vice-versa. As Manning[8] points out, these are the legitimate activities of policing, which are only available to senior officers in a vicarious sense. This leads to a type of "bonding down", the senior officers identifying with the activities of their subordinates, a phenomenon which contributes to a number of interesting management concerns. For one thing, the junior officers perceive that the role of senior officers is unrelated to policing and not infrequently regard them as out-of-touch and interested only in political machinations, both within and external to the force. They believe that senior officers are primarily interested in good public relations for political ends, whereas, in actual fact, senior police seem to be overly involved both emotionally and managerially with the incidents and activities at street level.

This identification with street policing, the everyday crises and challenges, tends to divert senior officers' attention from the more abstract and broader concerns of police management. They try to manage events on the street through administrative mechanisms which have little relevance to effective policing. It is interesting to note that, from our observations, the senior officers who are able to abstract and to deal with broader issues, are very likely to be suspect within their own forces because they attempt to re-examine police roles and redirect police energies and, therefore, they create some anxiety. This is not improbably related to some self doubts, on the part of most officers, about the legitimacy of normative police behaviour. The "real police officer" is perceived to be one with a reputation for effective street work. Administrators are acceptable, however, if they have won respect as patrol officers and investigators and if they don't question the normative activities of the operational police.

CONSTRAINTS ON BONDING

Although we have argued that there is a distinct collective identification with officers engaged in core policing activities, there are some factors which seem to mitigate against close personal, supportive relationships. There is a strong sense of individual responsibility and relatively unique personal styles of policing are normative. In a situation where collective legitimacy is also influenced by individual behaviour, a certain amount of tension is bound to exist and the continuous requirement for mutual support and back-up makes this tension particularly important in policing.

The parts of the collectivity are not exactly the same; the bonding is far from perfect. Each officer is unavoidably part of the whole, yet is also a distinct individual. Where divergence from accepted behaviour is very significant, police officers indulge in the sanction of isolation. Moderate divergence means only that certain officers prefer not to work with the deviant. Most officers know some others with whom they prefer to be teamed and a large proportion whom they will tolerate. For example, teaming of young and old, or keen and less enthusiastic patrol constables or detective sergeants, can create problems. A partner has a major impact upon an officer's behaviour, especially if that partner is senior, and many keen officers feel that they are not able to legitimately fulfill their police role because their partner's beliefs and actions differ from their own.

Also contributing to a sense of impersonality, and restricting the really cohesive bonding which might otherwise be possible, is a seemingly general tendency to protect against the display of tender emotions through the maintenance of a macho image. The stories which circulate in the locker room and over the coffee table have a macho flavour and there is a convergence of peer expectations. The stereotypical police officer is male, strong,

self-sufficient, hard when necessary, able to cope with all situations without apparent stress, and shows little sign of emotion regardless of the situation. Much of the peer interaction involves posturing which is intended to confirm and maintain this macho image. Anticipated peer reactions may well have a role in determining how an officer will act in a given situation, the high speed chase or the drunk who challenges police authority are examples, although expected peer reactions are not the only variables which determine an officer's behaviour in these cases.

Actually, on the other hand, police are probably more socially conscious, concerned and sympathetic toward people in trouble than people in general. Some are not, of course, and others cover their emotional involvement very well. Generally, however, it appears that the frequent, relatively shallow play-acting hides real feeling and may also tend to prevent the development of really close relationships. The appropriateness of particular actions by individuals are seldom, if ever, discussed and there is little open admission there is a collectivity both in terms of vicarious involvement in the actions of others and in terms of a mutual conspiracy of silence. There is not generally a strong emotional cohesiveness which makes for psychologically supportive relationships.

Even the public service commitment and idealism we have described is covered up with compensatory symbolic expressions, a facade of light-hearted but sardonic repartee, "well we call it ...", or "we have to give them their money's worth". There are expressions to represent various clients, "pukes", "maggots", etc., or various situations, "bloaters", which tend to depersonalize and to enable police to discuss and possibly even deal with emotion-producing situations in a seemingly blasé manner.

This seeming inadmissibility of emotion in a job where there is frequent involvement in emotion-laden situations, seems to be a protective device that carries over into interpersonal relationships, resulting in somewhat shallow friendships in spite of the strong mutual support on the job. On the other hand there is a need for tension release so a whole vocabulary of the aforementioned short-hand develops and situations are recounted, almost from an observer's perspective, to insulate the recounter from evident emotional involvement.

CONFLICTS WITHIN THE IDEOLOGY

In the past sections the sources of a broad complex of interrelated beliefs, values and action tendencies have been identified. These appear to be held, to a significant degree, by most police officers of all ranks and positions. This belief system or ideology is important, because it seems to have a major impact upon police behaviour and it is our purpose, in this section, to review and consolidate the character of that impact.

As indicated earlier, it appears that an individual's beliefs are strongly related to that person's legitimating behaviour and that all people carry out legitimating behaviour most of the time. Thus an understanding of ideology, the reasons why it exists, and its relationship to legitimating behaviour and legitimacy, is a very important part of management. This final section of this chapter consists of a review of some characteristics of police ideology and its relationship to legitimating behaviour and social legitimacy.

A SUMMARY OF MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS

The major characteristics which describe, define and explain police ideology include the following:

a. it is culturally based and supported, although the support is somewhat less comprehensive in an increasingly pluralistic society;

b. it is generally informal although formal training tends to contribute;

c. it is both expressive and action oriented;

d. it is mutually supportive;

e. it is social service (somewhat altruistically) oriented;

f. it is definitive, directive and interpretive with regard to police roles, responsibilities and activities;

g. it is psychologically protective and self-reinforcing;

h. it is integrally concerned with the maintenance of police authority;

i. it is moralistic and somewhat simplistic in its definition of roles and relationships;

j. it is defensive and somewhat intolerant of conflicting views; and

k. it involves both a self-image and an image of police in society.

Essentially, police ideology defines what police, in common, believe about themselves, their role and their interaction with people, other organizations and society in general. To understand the police view of reality and police behaviour we need to be aware of their belief systems and of the interactions and contradictions between the various elements of that system. We will

discuss some of the internal conflicts within police ideology on the next few pages and explain why we believe they are important.

EXPRESSIVE VERSUS INTERACTIVE OR MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE NATURE

When we imply that police ideology is expressive, we mean that there is strong emphasis on independence and individuality although there are collective philosophies and routine expressive activities as well. We feel that police operate as individuals first, and as members of a team second, so there is some conflict between the expressive and mutually supportive nature of the ideology. Insofar as the belief system is culturally supported and oriented toward similar roles, and responsibilities, this conflict creates few problems. In fact, mutual support and loyalty actually protects individuality. However, recruitment from all segments seems advisable in a pluralistic society where legitimacy is dependent upon the achievement of a social balance. While internal cultural diversity has not been achieved to this point, for a variety of reasons, it could result in more diverse views which would probably add to strains which already exist as a consequence of differences between the values and attitudes of various officers. This conflict is already apparent in attitudinal differences between older and younger officers in many forces[22].

SOCIAL SERVICE VERSUS AUTHORITATIVE FUNCTION

Some conflicts also exist between the social service orientation of police beliefs and the concern with maintaining police authority. The social service role is complex and interactive, whereas the pressures to maintain police authority tend toward simplification and limitation of the complexity of interactions with the public. Police authority is a concern of police in the management of social order, whereas a large part of actual activity is oriented more toward positive interactive relationships with people. This leads to a schizophrenic relationship which detracts from police-public cooperation. Adding to this problem is an ideological commitment to certain central policing issues: "real policing". These include crimes of violence, major thefts of property, armed thefts and other threats to the person. Such core policing activities have strong public support; police training is usually oriented to them and young police officers anticipate patrol or investigative work related to these areas. Since eighty percent of police time is involved with social service activities, however, this 'real policing" and actual task demands are in some degree of conflict causing both strategies and morale to suffer, as might be expected.

ACTION VERSUS CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION

Another aspect of the ideology which creates a problem for effective police management is its action oriented nature. Police

exist in a world of action where public reactions and the extent of public support is shaped by visible police behaviours. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that there is very little concern with strategies and long-term policing goals. The public and the press, police management and peers are more apt to respond to particular actions, than to well-planned efforts at crime prevention. While tactical issues are frequently discussed, the discussion is relatively shallow and the major emphasis, even at the senior level, is upon the assessment of police reactions to incidents. Police on-the-job training, where it exists, is largely concerned with effective reactions to the various incidents.

There are some additional reasons why strategic concerns are a relatively low priority. The law, itself acts to limit and restrain proactive police behaviour; the police have little freedom to act and even to obtain information unless a crime has been committed and, even then, they need to have some evidence linking people they would like to investigate with a particular crime. The legitimacy of proactive police behaviour is always subject to question.

Potential reactions to particular situations form a very important and major part of police training. Where strategies are discussed and considered, such as methods of crime prevention, the approach is largely incident-oriented, or it frequently involves an attempt to create attitudes which will support the police in their more customary reactive endeavours. The clearest rationale for the use of coercive authority, in a pluralistic society, is the protection from physical harm or property damage. Until one or the other actually occurs, there is little basis for action, so the lack of a strategic orientation, which implies prejudgement of a need for police involvement is not surprising.

DEFENSIVENESS VERSUS ALTRUISM

In an earlier section, we discussed the psychological self-protective and reinforcing aspects of police ideology in some detail. These contribute to police reliability and consistency (through the collective elements) but also tend to contribute to cover-ups, excessive conservatism and an inability to change methods, attitudes and orientation. In the latter sense these factors can conflict with altruistic aspects of the ideology and with the ability of police management to sense changes in the environment and to initiate changes in roles. This defensive aspect of police ideology combines with the concern for the maintenance of police authority, a concern which is also partially defensive, to contribute to an intolerance for conflicting views that we have identified as a characteristic of police ideology.

As with most ideologies, both a self-image and an image of society are involved. Society is largely evaluated in terms of order and control because police are primarily concerned with

those aspects. Since this is their function and that function is so critical for society, people overtly cooperate with them. In reality, of course, many people test the boundaries of personal freedom, sometimes violating the law and creating disorder for personal and selfish reasons, sometimes just rebelling against what they feel are unrealistic constraints. Regardless of the reason for the disorder, the police are likely to interpret such behaviour negatively. To an extent, they perceive themselves as being relatively free from self-indulgent motives and take the self-assigned role almost of a conscience for society, defining morality for the masses as it were. This frame of reference leads to rather disparate consequences. First, it is important, given this self-image, that police corruption is non-existent. As a consequence, real corruption is probably relatively rare in Canadian policing[23]. Second, since the police believe that it is the legitimate purpose of the police to keep order and departures from an accepted code are defined as disorder, there is a constant tension relative to social change. The police self-image is that of a monitor or controller of human behaviour, of having the legitimate purpose and the authority to enforce social regulations. 'Police authority must be unquestioned because we represent the law. Whatever uncertainty emerges we must deal with it, because that is our function. Without us society would break down.'

It is not surprising, therefore, that police perceive even the questioning of police behaviour or decisions as a threat. Essentially, such questions are perceived as a threat both to the self image, and to the authority required to perform the social role of the police (both to personal and organizational legitimacy). While police ideology tends to protect members against role ambiguity, it also contributes to sensitivity to criticism. Criticism of individual police action is often taken as personal; it impinges on internalized values. General criticisms of police behaviour seem often to be interpreted as attacks on the self because the self image is so highly related to the collective image of the force as a whole. While collective reactions to criticism increase cohesiveness, they also tend to isolate the police even more from the society they serve, particularly from any groups which have deviant values. There is often little effort by police officers to understand criticism. In fact, a common reaction seems to be to inflate it, to make it so extreme that it must be perceived as having a warped origin because that way it can be rationalized within the existing ideology (Berger's sacred canopy concept[9]). Thus, the criticism is unintentionally misinterpreted, anti-police motives are assumed and a somewhat maladaptive but stress-relieving police response results. To an extent, such occurrences as unpopular court decisions can be discounted and regarded as evidence of an overly permissive society in this way.

To maintain their composite self-image, the police must assume authority whenever there is uncertainty. Since changes in

the power relationships within a society create uncertainties, anxieties and threats to people, such changes can readily be interpreted by police as threats to order and stability.

Certainly changes in the power relationships in society do affect policing; in fact, due to the consensual nature of social impacts on police behaviour, informal renegotiation of the police power base becomes necessary as new interest groups achieve power. In relatively static cities this is a minor concern. However, in cities where there is dynamic growth, the process of renegotiation and reassessment is continuous. On the other hand, new laws gradually emerge as a result of social change, and these create some uncertainty for the police, even in relatively static cities or municipalities. Changes in the degree and method of law enforcement soon follow social disapproval of police behaviour, but these may not be effectively incorporated in the police ideology as acceptable or legitimate activities. Thus social disapproval may continue, reflected in either public criticism or court decisions, and can quickly limit and constrain police authority as the social legitimacy of the police attenuates.

When police authority erodes, new sources of power must be found, for example, informal accommodation with groups which "were considered deviant in earlier times" (see Chapter I). In some cases, however, there is consensus in society, e.g., about particular groups which are consistently regarded as threatening or about particular types of violent crimes. In such cases there is strong public support for police positions and beliefs; the ideology is supported by public attitudes and no role conflict or self-image problem emerges. To some extent, police interaction with the homosexual 'community' in some major Canadian cities seems to fall in this category at the present time[24].

We turn now to a discussion of problems which police experience with the effective use of feedback.

IDEOLOGY AND THE INTERPRETATION OF FEEDBACK

Feedback is usually regarded as an important source of information whereby an individual or an organization may correct inappropriate behaviour. Theoretically and rationally, this assumption appears valid but, in practice, the effectiveness of feedback is often questionable, particularly where a strong ideology, such as the one we have been describing, is present. Some reasons for this problem in modifying behaviour are:

a. a police ideology consists of a basic set of beliefs which map the universe of appropriate police actions; contradictory evidence may indicate only that someone else does not understand or is trying to manipulate police behaviour for their own purposes;

b. unless the belief system itself is modified, police officers have no real guide to legitimate behaviour; if they are forced by upper level management or the court system to act contrary to their belief systems, they will either attempt to avoid certain situations or enter into a game-playing mode, in which they act in such a way as to avoid trouble but do not have any commitment to such action because they feel it is inappropriate; and

c. feedback often comes to senior officers, not directly to the officer involved; the interpretation of the original situation which resulted in the feedback is often contorted and/or the reaction suggested is often a public relations gesture rather than a real examination of the police beliefs and activities which initiated the feedback.

Negative feedback is an attack upon perceived legitimacy. Before it can be effective, defenses and barriers must be removed. Most of the feedback reaching the police is a direct attack on central belief systems and the defensive behaviour, discussed earlier, comes into play. Where senior police officers do recommend changes in policing practices, they sometimes do so for public relations reasons, when they are not really committed to the change, or they may actually feel that previous action was inappropriate. This can lead to a number of rather unsatisfactory outcomes which include role ambiguity and deteriorating morale at the operational level.

INDIVIDUAL BELIEFS, COLLECTIVE BELIEFS AND SOCIAL LEGITIMACY: A SUMMARY

We have argued that police ideology has a major influence upon policing behaviour, particularly because it identifies, what is collectively perceived to be, legitimate behaviour. While there are other factors which affect the perception of legitimate behaviour from the perspective of any individual police officer, ideology has a major impact, largely because it does represent a collective set of attitudes which developed as a reaction to the police role, peer pressures, management beliefs and organizational processes and which have a major impact on the individual's frame of reference. At the same time we recognize that personal legitimation is a highly individual thing which depends upon a particular officer's perceptions, beliefs and feelings regarding his role and his relationships with the public and police management. We found police ideology strong, consistent and very influential but we also found that police officers have distinct personal styles and, it seems, a high desire for independence. Thus personal legitimating behaviour (behaviour which met the standards and needs and satisfied the belief system of individual officers) varied somewhat in content between different officers but, in general, their beliefs, values and behaviour had a high degree of similarity.

Problems arise for police legitimacy when the collective ideology is out of step with society or, in other words, where it leads to police behaviours which are not socially approved, socially supported or which do not meet either the immediate or long range needs of a society. To an extent, and particularly in certain circumstances, ideology and social legitimacy may be in conflict. Ideology contributes to collective perspectives, and collective perspectives determine the general interpretation of feedback. Thus, ideology influences responses to a changing environment, almost insuring that those responses are somewhat maladaptive at times. Ideology is a conservative influence and it contributes to what might be called an "ideological lag".

An even greater problem arises with regard to the longer range and more abstract policing needs of a society. Where police do react to feedback they tend to be concerned with the immediate reaction of people to police actions. As we have pointed out, police are very action oriented as a consequence of the role itself but they become even more action oriented as a result of feedback. The immediate path to legitimacy involves a favourable public response to police actions but the cumulative effect of favourably perceived police actions may not result in police meeting the overall policing requirements of a society, i.e., achieving real social legitimacy.

With higher rank, an individual's zones of legitimacy becomes wider and reputations are dependent upon the actions of a number of people. In most organizations the manager has a definitive role, which is connected in some positive way with the output, productivity or service function of the organization. In policing there appears to be a less definitive connection because, as we have just explained, police tend to identify with the incidents, events and actions, rather than with strategies, plans, overall objectives and outputs. Police managers thus tend to attempt to influence the quality and quantity of the work through visible indicators, appearance, reports and number of charges, which are not directly related to output. Operational officers do not regard these indicators as being representative of truly effective policing behaviour, thus they tend to question the credibility and aims of police management. Priess and Ehrlich[25] identified this tendency to be suspicious of the motives of senior police managers, in their comprehensive study of a United States, state police department and we have found an almost identical reaction in several departments during our current series of studies.

In a sense, while police managers try to influence the force members to do more and better policing, the composite behaviour of a force is really far more responsive to the collective ideology, than it is to police management. The difficulty arises when a senior officer wishes to change behaviour patterns, when he feels that the force should be focussing on different broad objectives

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

and, therefore, different activities. There is a conflict at that point, between what he perceives to be legitimate behaviour for the force and what most of the members regard as legitimate behaviour. Essentially, an organization has a significant degree of inertia based on conditioned practices and belief systems. If the environment changes and there is a requirement for a different type of activity and output (as the legitimate role of a police department changes), it is probable that belief systems must change before there is a potential to influence the behaviour of operational police officers. Even when the chief of police recognizes that a change of role is necessary, therefore, the initiation of change within his force may be very difficult.

We have discussed a number of factors which seem to contribute to the development of an ideology; the cultural base (which is changing); the commitment to social service; the desperate need for authority to fulfill role demands; the stresses and pressures of the role; the macho role identity (which certainly makes acceptance difficult for females); the collective pressures; and an effort justification process. There is an additional factor which we had not mentioned. In the police selection process, selection boards of active officers are commonly used. We would suspect that recruits who score high on their selection board interviews are those who have similar beliefs and values to those of the assessing officers. Thus, ideology may well play a role in the selection process itself and later in the appraisal and promotion process. There is little wonder that organizational change is so difficult and haphazard because factors such as these are seldom recognized and dealt with as a part of the change strategy.

As Berger[9] has suggested, ideology can function as a protective shield against discrepancies between perceptions or to protect people from new developments which might threaten the status quo. Certainly changes in police strategies and objectives can be threatening to the self-images of traditional operational police officers, at least to the extent of implying that the work they are doing is not as valuable as they had believed. Remembering that it is the personal legitimacy of the individual which is being questioned, in such a case, some effort to change the belief system before trying to change the role might be advisable. The implications of ideology for police managers is much broader than that, however. Common belief systems are necessary for consistency and internal communication. Where such systems are partially defensive, largely unconscious and are related to role conflict and role ambiguity, they can blind the members of an organization to the social criteria whereby the legitimacy of their organization is determined.

Appendices II and III to this Chapter are somewhat more significant than their status as attachments might suggest. Appendix II is a partial overview of the inferences we made from our interview, observational and experiential data, whereas Appendix

III describes some patterns of individual responses to career related stresses on the part of police constables.

To some extent, we have referred to the implications of this theory for police managers in this section. However, in the main, we have reserved the discussion of impact and practical significance for Chapter III. Even then we have treated the subject of implications in very general terms, because they really need to be determined by operational police officers, possibly working in conjunction with members of our research team.

REFERENCES

1. Reiss, A. J., Jr. The Police and the Public. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971.

2. The primary author of this chapter has been involved in general curriculum development and the development and presentation of a number of relatively abstract seminars for the Canadian Police College. The two additional studies referred to are:

   - Neave, E. G., Cooper, W. H., MacDonald, V. N. & Petersen, E. R. Management Issues in Canadian Policing. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 1, 1980.
   - MacDonald, V. N., A Study of Police Supervision - The objective data from this study of one Western Canadian and one Central Canadian municipal force and one RCMP detachment is currently undergoing analysis. The observational and interview data support the theoretical inferences reported here.

3. A note on organization:

   While it is inaccurate to impute human qualities to an organization, there seems to be no question that people perceive them and react to them as entities. Essentially, an organization consists of a set of beliefs which may differ somewhat with each person. There is, however, a sufficient commonality in perspectives within particular groups of people within an organization that it takes on a fairly consistent meaning, usually related to its institutional role in society. Police organizations certainly have specific meaning within a culture; they are expected to perform collectively ordained roles and their performance relative to these roles determines their social legitimacy. Rampant social change has resulted in cultural inconsistencies as has the tendency for racial and national groups to congregate, however, so legitimate behaviour is harder to define. Views of people within the organization are necessarily different from outsiders, because the organization fulfills different functions for them. Thus an

organization must satisfy the needs of two very different constituencies because its external legitimacy is dependent pendent upon the legitimate performance of its members and that, in turn, is dependent upon an exchange relationship between the organization and those members.

4. Brown, M. K. Working the Street. New York, NY: 1981

5. Mannheim, K. The Meaning of Ideology, in Ideology and Utopia translated by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils, New York, NY: Harcourt Brace, 1942.

6. Plamenatz, J. P. Democracy and Its Illusions. London: Longman, 1973.

7. Cranston, M. W. The New Left. New York, NY: Library Press, 1971

8. Manning, P. K. in R. Blankenship (Ed.), Colleagues in Organizations. New York, NY: Wiley, 1976 pp. 263-89.

9. See, for example: Festinger, L. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson, 1957; Berger, P. L. and Luckmann, T. The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1967.

10. Schacter, S. The Psychology of Affiliation. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959.

11. Sutton, F., et al. The American Business Creed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956.

12. Cooper, W. H. Police Officers over Career Stages. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 6, 1982.

13. Jones, E. F. and Gerard, H. B. (Eds.) Foundations of Social Psychology. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons 1967.

14. Macdonald Commission, Third Report. Ottawa: Canadian Publishing Centre, 1981.

15. Bendix, R. Work and Authority in Industry. New York, NY: Wiley, 1956.

16. This particular quote came from an interview with a keen and outspoken police constable with six years seniority. Similar sentiments were echoed by others.

17. Bem, D. J., Wallach, M. A. and Kogan, N. Group Decision Making under Risk of Adverse Consequences. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 1, 1965.

18. Wallach, M. A., and Kogan, N. The Roles of Information, Discussion, and Consensus in Group Risk Taking. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 1, 1965.

19. Van Maanen, J. Police Socialization: A Longitudinal Examination of Job Attitudes in an Urban Police Department. Administration Science Quarterly, Vol. 20, 1974.

20. Society has assigned police the role of protecting people and property and ensuring that people behave in accordance with a socially acceptable version of the law. Police have accepted a responsibility to society, which is very difficult to carry out in a complex, pluralistic society containing several sets of more or less enforceable laws. The role has unavoidably set police apart, they are our monitors, a type of collective conscience in uniform. To keep order, they must define disorder. They also must encounter and interact with people in unpleasant and often crisis laden situations, some involving danger. Quick decisions and rapid action under stress are major aspects of the role requirement. To give the non-police reader some feeling for the realities of the police perspectives and its potential influence upon feelings, attitudes and behaviour, we have included some short descriptions of 'the world from a patrolman's eyes' earlier in this paper. Generally, we have limited such examples, however, to keep the manuscript manageable.

21. This refers to the Police Act of Ontario but Police Acts in other Canadian Provinces are similar in connotation.

22. While we have emphasized the existence of a common belief system which encompasses all ranks and statuses, we would be remiss if we did not point out that there are important motivational differences between younger officers and those older ones who have given up hope of promotion to a higher rank. Older constables tend to emphasize personal appearance, good relationships with the public, and street-corner justice. They are not concerned with effectiveness and tend to do what they are told but little more. The younger officers (those who are keen) tend to be interested in "real policing", getting things done, enforcing the law and believe in dressing to get the job done. They are likely to do more work but conform less.

23. While the Macdonald Commission, Reports One, Two and Three, 1981, identified many cases of police breaking the law, primarily by exceeding police powers, there was almost no evidence of corruption for personal gain.

24. A series of reports in the Toronto Globe and Mail during 1980 and 1981 regarding police raids on alleged homosexual establishments and other police interactions with the homosexual community.

25. Priess, P. Q. and Ehrlich, J. N. A Test of Psychological Role Theory. Boston, MA: Little-Brown, 1966.

APPENDIX I
CHAPTER II

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW
(Average length 2 hours)

1. Would you explain how and why you entered policing and trace your policing career? Include promotions and change in assignments.
2. What previous work experience did you have and what was your family background?
3. Have you ever thought about leaving policing? If so, why?
4. What do you particularly like about policing? Let's look at each assignment you had.
5. Identify three or four high points that come to mind.
6. Are there things you dislike about policing? Let's look at each assignment you had.
7. Identify any really low points that you can remember.
8. How has your perspective on policing changed over the years?
9. What is the purpose of a municipal police force?
10. What are the major objectives and priorities?
11. What are your objectives -- what are you trying to accomplish and what is most important?
12. How is your performance measured?
13. What are you able to achieve on your job? What impact do you have?
14. What are you responsible for?
15. Do you have sufficient authority to carry out that responsibility?
16. What are your feelings about public support of policing? Are police generally respected?
17. Do you feel public support is increasing or decreasing?
18. What type of people are most likely to question police authority?
19. Do you obtain help from the public?
20. What is your reaction to the legal system?
21. What about the number of new laws that have been passed or are under consideration?
22. Are you married? How does your wife feel about policing?
23. Did you find that you tended to change friends when you joined the force?
24. What influence does policing have on social activities -- for example, do people give you a hard time?
25. How would you describe changes in society which might have affected policing?
26. What are the criteria for promotion? Are they fair?
27. Does public pressure have any impact upon your force? What public pressures can you describe?
28. Are there internal politics in your force?
29. What are the characteristics of a good constable? A poor constable?

30. Describe an effective first line supervisor. What typifies an ineffective supervisor?
31. What really turns you on about your job -- what is the root of your motivation?
32. What would you describe as the core activities of policing -- "real policing"?
33. What do you think of force management?

APPENDIX II
CHAPTER II

BELIEFS AND VALUES OF MUNICIPAL POLICE

As we observed police operations, talked with police officers, reviewed their regulations, reports, plans and expenditures, we made a number of inferences related to their beliefs and values. Our next step, which has resulted in the contents of Chapters I, II and III, was to try to make some sense of those inferences in the form of a theory of policing. Thus the theory which is presented in this paper is really twice removed from the data we obtained.

To provide some basis for a better understanding of the sources of the theories we have postulated, we are including this overview of inferences we made about the values and beliefs of police officers, primarily from the interview data. While these values and beliefs are highly interrelated, what follows is an attempt to categorize them in a useful way. Little attempt will be made to supply proportions or percentages from the structured questionnaire to support the inferences made here. The inferences are not based on a one-on-one relationship with the questions in the structured questionnaire. Answers to many questions may be relevant to particular conclusions. In fact, inferences were made by individual researchers and then discussed by the team and only those which were strongly supported are reported here.

A number of inferences which we made from our data have been transposed more or less directly from the narrative in Chapters I or II. Where that has happened, it will be noted in this Appendix and we will not exhaust the reader's patience by unnecessary repetition.

For example, the body of the report includes full explanations of five of our major inferences relating to (1) "the desire of police to contribute to society", (2) "the concern of police with police authority", (3) "the maintenance of police authority with social interest groups" (Chapter I), (4) "factors related to police beliefs about manipulative political influences on policing", and (5) "the action oriented nature of policing". These are so thoroughly covered in the body of the paper that they have been dropped from this Appendix.

We will begin, therefore, with a sixth inference relating to perspectives on the courts and legal system.

6. PERSPECTIVES ON THE COURTS AND LEGAL SYSTEM

Another reason for the development of police cynicism and feelings of task related inadequacy, during the earlier phases of their careers, is their perceptions of the actions of the courts

and the operation of the legal system. As mentioned in the body of the report, police recruits tend to have a relatively simplistic view of the law and society, beginning their police life with a belief that they can have a significant personal impact, partially through using their own discretion in law enforcement. While they do have considerable discretion, they also lack control over public behaviour. They find that courts often treat offenders with what they regard as great leniency, even when those offenders have been apprehended after considerable police effort and, frequently, personal risk. When offenders are either absolved by the courts or are given, what the police perceive to be, light sentences, they are perceived to return to the streets displaying little respect for the police and adding to the potential for disorder. Negative police attitudes are almost certain to develop, especially given the previously described importance of authority to the police belief system.

There can be no question that police beliefs about court leniency create questions about personal legitimacy and that they have a negative effect upon police morale. The police feel that potential offenders have little respect for police authority and, thus, that police lose a good deal of the power they need to maintain order and to carry out the policing function, through inappropriate court decisions. If there was better communication between junior and senior officers and if the police had more general and abstract objectives, the problem would not be so serious. As it is, however, police objectives largely involve the carrying out of a number of traditional activities. Measurement of success is largely based on the appropriate (in police eyes) resolution of incidents. Thus, when convictions are not forthcoming, or sentences seem too lenient, a sense of frustration results. With an accompanying distrust in the motives of top management, there is no medium whereby frustrations can be removed either through catharsis or through "rational" explanations by senior officers[1].

7. PERCEIVED LOSS OF POWER AND RESPECT

Almost universally, police in all ranks and functions believe that public respect for the police has decreased and that this is particularly evident in the reactions of younger people. In fact, this perceived loss of respect and, therefore, of the authority which is very important to police, is almost a mild paranoia. There is a strong feeling that the courts contribute to this loss of authority, through their increasing leniency, particularly, once again, with young people. The media, of course, attain a degree of acceptance by attacking those in authority who could be accused of violating the rights of various people, often those who the police perceive as criminals. Thus, the police often feel that the media, and thus the public, regard them as criminals while the real criminals are regarded as heroes.

8. DISTRUST OF THE VICTIMS OF CRIME

It is an interesting phenomena that the police so often distrust the victims of crime. Probably rape victims are an outstanding example. One of the reasons appears to be that criminal incidents and incidents of violence are so often the result of rather ambiguous interactions between the apparent perpetrator and the victim of a crime. The police, taking the word of the supposed victim, may find themselves caught in an unsupportable position and this results in what is essentially a threat to police veracity, authority, fair play; in a word, legitimacy. Thus, the police have learned, probably somewhat unconsciously, to avoid commitment and, therefore possible compromise, by retaining a distrust for the victim until they have overwhelming evidence of the guilt of the perpetrator.

There is also a tendency for some victims to exploit the circumstances surrounding a crime. Exaggerated claims and inaccurate information about the state of the premises, the vehicle, or the precautions which the victim took are rather common examples of this tendency. Small wonder that police develop a distrust of the public. They so frequently see people at their worst and have little reason to trust them, let alone to develop a close and cooperative relationship.

9. FEELINGS REGARDING DESIRABLE AND UNDESIRABLE ASPECTS OF POLICE WORK

While we expected that personality characteristics of police officers might influence their judgements regarding desirable versus undesirable aspects of police work (Simon[2] and Mitroff and Kilmann[3]), we actually found remarkable consistency that seemed to result from a high degree of uniformity in the organizational stories (Witkin and Martin[4]) which provided a reference for the evaluation of the relative value of various aspects of police work and from the consistent belief system we have discussed at length in this chapter. We also found consistency in the type of individual who would be described as a "good" versus a "poor" constable and significant, although somewhat less so, consistency in perceptions of "good" versus "poor" sergeants.

Police at lower rank levels identified the extent of the discretion they had on the job, the ability to use judgment, the relative freedom, the constant action, and the contact with people, as favourable aspects of the policing role.

There was a general agreement that policing is becoming more complex, police authority is being questioned more, laws are increasing in number and complexity and that citizens have more knowledge of the law and of the limited extent of police authority. Thus the decisions of officers on the street and on car pa-

trol are being questioned more and the uniform itself is no longer a significant source of authority.

Undesirable aspects of policing included shift work, pressure on families (as a result of the special status of a police officer), the need to deal with many unpleasant people (often those who are negative towards society), the need to give tickets, dealing with drunk drivers, dealing with domestic disturbances and with superiors who do not support and back-up the person on patrol or who tend to hog the glory when something special takes place. All of these attitudes seem quite compatible with the belief systems.

10. CONCEPTIONS OF "GOOD" VERSUS "POOR" CONSTABLES AND SERGEANTS

There was a high degree of consensus among constables regarding the qualities of "good" and "poor" constables. Sergeants also described weak and strong constables in terms similar to those used by constables but were more concerned with measurable outputs, such as tickets and effective reports, than the constables. Too few tickets could hurt, but a large number did not necessarily help, particularly if they were accompanied by a large number of public complaints. Sergeants did not describe empathy and consideration as being important qualities as did the constables, but did judge officers on their ability to interact smoothly with peers and superiors. Thus sergeants were concerned with the ease of supervision, the quality of information they received and with the thoroughness and reliability of the constables.

QUALITIES OF A "GOOD" CONSTABLE - IN THE VIEW OF CONSTABLES

A good constable is sharp in appearance, is reliable, answers his radio when called, provides back-up when required, keeps a look-out for incidents where police action is required, and takes the required action. He is also empathetic, concerned about people, not overly aggressive, considerate in enforcing the law and cool under pressure.

Constables almost universally expressed the belief that one major criterion used for judging their effectiveness was the number of charges they dispensed. While sergeants and higher level supervisors denied that this was the case, they did confirm they did not feel that constables were doing an effective job unless they issued a certain number of tickets. "All the civilians he meets in the course of a day can't be obeying the law, and we need to take some firm action or we will lose respect". It is clear that there is the basis for some ambiguity regarding legitimate police behaviour in the minds of some constables. Promotion and progress demand one type of behaviour whereas the belief system may lead to another.

"GOOD" VERSUS "POOR" SERGEANTS

Constables described good sergeants as those who left their "men" on their own, except when back-up was required. Junior constables were more concerned with the sergeant's advice as a form of support.

Most officers were somewhat schizophrenic regarding the extent of support versus freedom they desired from superiors in handling the incidents they encountered. Detailed discussion on this point, the stories told and incidents described, led us to believe that what qualified as required back-up probably differed considerably for different constables. Some apparently disliked the exercise of a high degree of discretion, although discretion was consistently identified as a desirable aspect of the job. Others felt hurt when the supervisor interfered in any way, unless they actually needed advice, for example, in a situation where the sergeant had experience which they lacked.

A representative quote illustrates another quality mentioned by about half the constables interviewed: "You can talk with a good sergeant, in fact he will welcome 'beef' sessions and will try to resolve some of the problems you are experiencing". Both sergeants and senior police officers were most respected if they had a good deal of street time and if they knew how to deal with the specific situations the constables faced. They had street legitimacy in the eyes of the constables.

Many constables indicated that they had a need for someone within the force "who I can talk to". "We can't take the job home because our wives won't understand and it will worry them".

11. ATTITUDES TO CIVILIAN REVIEW BOARDS

As might be expected from the bonding phenomenon and the high level of concern with police authority, plus other aspects of the belief system, there was a strong feeling that the police can and should police themselves. The consistent arguments are:

a. that the police will police themselves because they, too, want to be free of bad actors;
b. that no civilian review board is as capable, as the police themselves, of obtaining self-incriminating information from police officers; and
c. the police, themselves, are most capable of judging the adequacy of police work (really the only legitimate judges).

To an extent, the police defeat their own argument in this regard. There are insufficient processes for ridding most forces of incompetent officers once the probationary period is ended. Police enjoy a security similar to that of academic tenure, to some ex-

tent for similar reasons but this does affect their claim to be appropriate judges of their own legitimacy. The Police Act of Ontario does provide protection for incumbent officers against gratuitous dismissal. However, police management has generally overreacted to the Act and really have more scope for the dismissal of incompetents than they are prepared to accept. A detailed process of documentation is required for dismissal and few, if any, forces have initiated such a process.

Civilian review boards constitute a threat to police authority and legitimacy and, as might be expected from the previous discussion, the reaction to that threat is almost universally negative within municipal forces. Actually, this reaction is rather unfortunate because civilian review boards do offer one potential avenue for better communication and mutual understanding between the police and the public.

12. MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS IN POLICING

In spite of the shallow organization and relatively long period of time in rank, promotion has a great deal of importance for people in lower rank levels. This emphasis upon promotion, in view of the long time periods involved and the lack of other realistic employment alternatives for police constables who become demotivated, creates a major motivational problem for police management. For those police constables who have been passed over two or three times for promotion, there is little or no extrinsic incentive to perform effectively. Most of them are assigned to police patrol work which, although it requires considerable ability and interpersonal skills, is generally treated within police forces as the lowest status task.

Even though police constables have a highly responsible role which, properly performed, requires considerable skill and expertise, many become very demotivated when promotion is not forthcoming. The reactions to lack of promotion vary considerably. Some tend to turn their backs on trouble, to back-up their fellow officers only when necessary and to fail to notice incidents or situations which would benefit from police intervention. Other officers seem to carry on with little change and continue to perform effectively.

Other factors which seem to be primary motivators toward police work are the already mentioned belief that police are respected (although not as much now as previously) and that they perform other valued services for the public in addition to the control of crime. Primary reasons for low turnover include the relatively high initial salaries of police constables and the high degree of occupational security involved in policing. There is, however, an undoubtedly strong attachment to the task of policing and even many of those constables who have many years of service

and who have little or no hope of promotion, would probably consider the situation very carefully if they were offered another job with equivalent pay.

There seems to be little question that most police (80% of our sample) empathize with the public and enjoy helping the public to solve problems, often whether or not the problems could be specifically defined as a police responsibility. This tendency has already been discussed under the title of police authority, but it is worth re-emphasizing here.

In spite of some disgruntlement and discouragement on the part of many constables who have served for a long time without promotion, police officers almost universally feel that they are carrying out a valuable social function. In many of their eyes police form "the backbone of the community". Almost all police officers feel that they are respected by most people. Those who have not been promoted when expected may feel that they are not respected within the force itself or at least by those senior officers who have the power of promotion, but most still feel that they have an important role in the community.

13. THE CENTRALITY OF CERTAIN POLICING ISSUES

Certain police roles and issues constitute "real policing". These include crimes of violence, major thefts of property, armed hold-ups and threats to the person. The investigation of occurrences of "real" crime is strongly supported by the public and success in this area is almost consistently mentioned as a high point in a policing career.

Crime prevention, and many other activities directed towards the maintenance of order, on the other hand, do not have the same high profile, either within the force or in the public view. As long as groups, e.g., motorcycle gangs, are viewed with apprehension by a large proportion of the public, special police controls extended to those groups will be supported. This public support is fickle, however, from the police viewpoint, and police may go to some trouble to reinforce public anxiety and thus legitimate the need for stringent controls and strong police action, in cases where groups represent a perceived threat either to social order or to police authority.

Police sincerely dislike issues which are ambiguous, either in regard to the extent of public support or in terms of an appropriate and satisfactory solution. Many ambiguous situations are, or course, "no-win" situations for the police. Even when they succeed in maintaining order, neither the public nor the specific people involved in the disorder, are particularly happy with the solution and the police receive little credit, often for acting in a situation which involves some risk and usually a considerable exercise of police capability and discretion.

Domestic quarrels are the most prominent example of such issues and are heartily disliked by almost all police officers. The enforcement of questionable laws, the perceived need to deal with neighbourhood disturbances where the police have no real authority, the enforcement of laws which are not totally accepted by the public, are all examples of this type of issue.

It is quite clear from an examination of these issues, that criminal investigation is regarded as the glamour role in policing. While the patrol function is more visible and is continuously in the public eye, it has somewhat fewer intrinsic rewards than investigation. Add to this the fact that police forces generally use criminal investigation duty as a reward for effective behaviour and we have the foundation for a serious motivational problem. In fact, the existence of an intense and pervasive belief in the role of police, which we have described as police ideology, is probably a saving grace for what we perceive to be one of the more serious incipient motivational concerns in police management; the relative downgrading of the patrol role.

14. THE ISSUE OF POLICE VIOLENCE

A specific issue of some importance to both the public and the police is the question of police violence. The social control function of the police brings them into frequent contact with violent people and/or people who are temporarily out of control. In a purely rational sense, police would be expected to use the minimum force required to bring such situations under control. There are, however, a number of complex psychological variables which seem to have a variable effect on police reactions in such situations.

First, and probably most important, the police have a deeply ingrained sense of responsibility for the maintenance of order. Violent people threaten that order and, therefore, are a threat to police authority. Thus there is an immediate desire to restore order and police authority by quelling the disturbance.

Another dimension enters the picture when there is either threatened or real injury to the police themselves. Such occurrences are evidence that police authority was not effective in establishing order. Added to the threat to police authority is an actual threat to the personal security of police officers. When an injury actually occurs there is a natural tendency to reciprocate, particularly since police distrust the ability of the courts to dispense appropriate justice. Thus, there are many factors contributing to a tendency to police violence, not the least of which is the highly physical and action-oriented nature of the control required for people who are either extremely emotional or under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

On the other hand, police violence, itself, is a form of disorder. Escalation of violence by the police is an acknowledgement of the failure of police authority to contain disorder. Thus, there are strong psychological pressures working, in any extended situation at least, to limit the escalation of violence. Police are generally motivated to protect the public from harm and it is only in situations, similar to the ones described above, that police violence is likely to erupt. There are exceptions, of course. Some officers have more difficulty controlling their behaviour than others and some have a tendency to resort to physical means of behavioural control.

In recent years, police violence has been subject to considerable public criticism. This has promoted efforts to limit such instances by higher levels of police management. It is clear, therefore, that incidents involving violence create considerable ambiguity for the police. Psychological and disciplinary pressures often conflict and a good deal of secrecy often comes into play for self or mutual protection. The supervisors, who are relatively close to officers, more patrolmen than they are management in perspective, may often identify with and protect the operational officer. Situations such as this create problems for police discipline, motivation and management control. Analysis of police reactions are always "after the fact" and the psychological forces at work and the pressure to make decisions when many facts of the situation are in doubt are often not considered. Often violent incidents have high public visibility and the actions of participants are largely unpredictable. It is little wonder that police managers are concerned with incidents and occurrences for strategic considerations take a poor second place to the demands of the moment.

15. THE IMPORTANCE OF DISCRETION IN POLICE DECISIONS

Probably there is no other occupation where the lowest ranked people have as much discretion regarding the actual action they take and are in such constant contact with the public and, essentially, in the eye of the media. To add another dimension, police have both a public service and a public control function, acting in both capacities for the same people, occasionally at the same time. Small wonder that they find the response of people to the police to be somewhat schizophrenic.

It is clearly impossible for a police service to provide rules or even guidelines for police officers to follow in all situations. The inputs and potential outcomes of any situation are only partially known, even to the police officers on the scene, and therefore, the exercise of a large degree of discretion, often in the form of an almost instantaneous reaction, is normative behaviour.

It is interesting to note that many forces have attempted to establish guidelines for the behaviour of force members in all circumstances and that a plethora of rules and regulations exist. It is commonly known that, for most officers in many forces, a day where no guidelines or rules are violated would be an exception. These violations do not necessarily result from intentional disobedience, but may actually be required if the job of policing is to be carried out effectively. Thus there is considerable onus on individual officers who must bear "post-facto" responsibility for what seemed to be a wise decision that backfired. When the decision involves the breaking of some regulation or order, the officer finds himself in a difficult position and liable to discipline. Under such circumstances, the attitudes and morale of constables are of considerable concern, both as they influence the public reputation of the force and insofar as they influence the effectiveness of police work.

This required post-hoc analysis, when a field officer has been subject to public or internal criticism, creates another problem relating to mutual trust and cooperation. The individual can be censured and the reputation of the force protected, but such occurrences tend to have a very negative effect upon the individual's attitude, the subsequent exercise of initiative and upon future policies of upper level management.

Another motivational concern relates to the case where some significant incident has occurred which offers an opportunity for a constable to do some "real" police work. It is not uncommon for the sergeant or even a more senior police manager to assume control in such events. Thus constables handle the dull and routine occurrences but have few opportunities to display their skills in handling the more complex and exciting events. Many forces have attempted to remedy this problem by allowing constables to follow through with investigations. This tends to interfere with the scheduling of patrols. Municipal forces are still organized around their patrol function and to a large extent are relatively inflexible. Since, in some forces, as little as fifty-percent of patrol time appears to be usefully occupied, a search for alternative allocations of police manpower seems to have considerable potential for pay-off.

16. ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIETY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As might be expected, police have developed a somewhat cynical attitude toward the increasing permissiveness which they regard as a primary characteristic of contemporary Canadian society. This they feel is exemplified by the lack of parental control, the court system (already discussed), and the parole system. (It may be, however, that police officers themselves would sometimes make equally lenient decisions if they had the responsibility). Almost universally, police, in all ranks and functions, believe that public respect for the police has decreased and to them this is particularly evident in the reactions of younger people.

The media are perceived as attaining a degree of acceptance from certain elements of society by attacking those in authority and supporting the rights of those, who, themselves, have no respect for the rights of others. In fact, in certain explicit situations, police officials felt that the real criminals were regarded as heroes. From our perspective, as observers, the police were not entirely unjustified in that opinion.

REFERENCES

1. Priess, P. A. and Ehrlich, J. N. A Test of Psychological Role Theory. Boston, MA: Little-Brown, 1966.

2. Simon, H. A. Administrative Behaviour. New York, NY: Free Press, 1957.

3. Mitroff, I. I. and Kilman, R. H. On Organizational Stories: An Approval to the Design and Analysis of Organization Through Myths and Stories, in Helman, R., Pondy, L. and Slezin, D. (Eds.), The Management of Organization Design. North Holland, NY: 1976.

4. Witkin, A. and Martin, J. Organization Legends. Unpublished paper, Stanford University, CA: 1979.

APPENDIX III
CHAPTER II

IMPLICATIONS OF IDEOLOGY FOR THE OPERATIONAL POLICE OFFICER

Individual's who act in a way contrary to their own beliefs, are not acting legitimately in their own eyes and pressure to act against their principles can lead to either value confusion or contra-value behaviour, possibly resulting in violations of the law. Where the beliefs are particularly strong and continuously reinforced, as they are in policing, ambiguities and role strains become highly significant. Given the largely discretionary nature of policing, ideology is a highly significant force, and police officers will frequently act in accordance with their own beliefs in violation of orders, regulations and the expressed desires of senior officers.

In reality, however, the conflict between ideology and orders is relatively infrequent because, as we have indicated, the beliefs of police officers at all rank levels, regarding the proper roles and actions of the police, are remarkably similar. What is more likely and perhaps even more of a problem for police management is the case where a senior officer does not believe that actions advocated by pressure groups are appropriate but gives orders for police response for public relations purposes. In this case the officer giving the order is unable and probably unwilling to fully support his decision. This can contribute to a belief within the force that the police are being manipulated, that police management is bowing to public pressure and that there is no real reason to make an effort, involving personal risk, to carry out the relevant action.

Thus, while we believe that personally legitimating behaviour is largely guided by ideology, it is subject to a number of other pressures. Usually, however, ideology will play a role, even in the case just mentioned, where the officer decides that altruism is out and behaviour which will optimize short term gain is in.

While we do not feel that what we are calling police ideology changes greatly with either rank or seniority, the social reality of police views does change. Cooper's work on this project, published separately[1], indicates quite vividly what some police recruit views are like, and how these initial expectations change in the light of experience. Our own interviews also identified this process and we are able to draw some conclusions regarding the legitimating behaviours which junior officers, in particular, adopted to cope with ego related threats or with disappointments regarding the actual versus the anticipated impact they, as police officers, could have on society.

As indicated earlier in this paper, the operational police officer has considerable discretion regarding choices of action. Often little direct information regarding the actions of the operational police officer, effective or ineffective, is available to police supervisors or managers. In fact, a major concern of police constables is their belief that the criteria by which their work is judged are inadequate. Incidents in which they have been helpful to the public, in which they have weighed the variables and have decided not to charge a citizen for a violation of the law, counselling and reassurance which they have been able to give to people in trouble, incidents which they could have ignored, which required considerable ingenuity and cautious extension of control -- few or none of these come to the attention of their police supervisors, let alone to upper levels of management. Yet, to many conscientious police constables, these are the real gut issues of policing and determine in their own minds whether or not they are fulfilling their legitimate roles.

In effect, the image of the force to the public (legitimacy) and the effective application of police authority rest, to a large extent, upon the efforts of these constables. They can choose to ignore incidents or they can take action; they can be pleasant, courteous and helpful to the public or they can be abrupt, discourteous and non-commital; they can sympathize and empathize in given circumstances or they can be hard, unforgiving and go by the letter of the law. The behaviour of operational police constables has much impact upon the relationships between the police and the public and so the factors which determine that behaviour are worthy of some scrutiny.

In addition to police ideology and individual career aspirations, some other factors influencing police behaviour include attitudes toward people in general and to oneself and one's family in particular, the psychological make-up of the individual and expectations regarding force management's reaction to particular behaviours on the job.

Since these pressures will have different impacts on behaviour at different times in a police career, it appears most useful to examine the inferences which can be made from the interview and observational data, in a chronological order from the point of entry to the force. It is clearly impossible to separate the influence of these various factors without further research, but knowledge of their existence is still useful. It is well known that people manage meaning in such a way that both the self-concept and the important core values are protected.

Almost all recruits seem to believe that police are able to have a major positive influence upon society. A positive influence, from a recruit's viewpoint, includes the ability to maintain order and to help to eliminate crime. Essentially, many, if not most, new recruits may be regarded as conceptual missionaries, who

perceive that they can have a major impact upon the creation of a better society.

Fairly soon after training, which customarily does not reveal very much about the true nature of policing and which seems to create rather unrealistic expectations about the impact of police on society, the new recruits begin to understand that they can have somewhat less influence than they anticipated upon socially disruptive behaviour. They fairly quickly adopt the police ideology discussed earlier, because it fits with their socialized perception of the police role. However, they soon realize that the courts and the public are instrumental in determining the "real" impact of their actions and that a process of social negotiation really controls the extent to which laws are enforced. As they realize that police cannot really control the decisions which govern public behaviour, even in what, they feel, are evident cases of serious criminal abuse, a period of considerable dissatisfaction ensues. The cause-effect relationship is clouded, the young policeman needs to redefine his social role and, therefore, his self-image. He becomes aware that social forces play a large part in determining police effectiveness and he begins to perceive many of his peers and supervisors in a different light.

Our evidence strongly indicates that most police constables experience a period of cynicism at about this juncture, one to four years into their police career. There is a serious examination of their own desire to continue in the force and some of those with obvious alternatives leave, usually within one or two years. The salary is good, however, and there are some compensating factors. It appears to be true, that those who are most idealistic experience the greatest culture shock at this point, but it is also true that these same people have already accepted the following doctrine. 'There is a need for order in society and the police are the major source of that order. In spite of social constraints on police effectiveness, the police still have the responsibility and can obtain the authority and power to have an impact on society. Someone has to provide the backbone for an otherwise lenient society.'

Inherent in that set of values is the belief that police are respected, that they are carrying out a needed role in the face of adversity. Add to that the psychological satisfaction obtained from having a self perceived position of authority and a reasonable amount of discretion and freedom on the job, plus the partially psychological, partially physiological benefits of a relatively high salary, and there is a strong motivation for remaining in the force. Thus personal legitimacy is retained, with some modification of the belief system.

Of course, the motives described seem to be normative and particularly representative of those recruits who adjust appro-

priately to the contemporary police role. There are also police recruits who join primarily because they enjoy prestige and/or the exercise of authority. Constables with these motives do not experience the self doubts, self examination, role strains and role conflicts just described. They have other role conflicts, often in the form of critical reports from the public and, sometimes, in the form of internal charges for misdemeanors. They may appear, early in their careers, to be highly desirable police officers, because they play the police game, about to be described, from the outset. It is probable, however, that their very desire for authority and power may create problems in their police careers. We need more evidence in this regard.

PATTERNS OF POLICE ADJUSTMENT TO INITIAL CULTURE SHOCK

The various modes of adjustment to the real requirements and roles of policing are still somewhat hazy at this point. There is a need for more evidence in this regard and we believe that this is an important issue. There is no question that there are serious motivational consequences as the junior police officer adjusts and adapts and that these influence police satisfaction and productivity. In fact, this is one of the three most important areas we have identified for subsequent research.

The evidence we have appears to indicate that there are at least two and probably three general modes of adjustment early in the police career, all probably partially dependent upon the personality and motives of the individual involved and also probably partially dependent upon the type of socialization process encountered and the qualities of the supervisor or supervisors.

Supervision certainly can affect adaptation. The first partner, or the first supervisor, has considerable impact on the degree of learning and the nature of the things learned. The young police constable feels that he is on his own, in a highly responsible job and he needs someone he can talk to, complain to and who is generally prepared to act as a sounding board. The constable's evaluation of the effectiveness of police sergeants is largely based on their ability in this area.

For a period of time, in this phase, sometimes for the rest of their careers, police officers begin to see policing as a type of game. On the one hand, they have pressures to satisfy their sergeants that they are doing something useful with their time. Thus they need to have some evidence of their activities in the form of charges and reports and they find it advantageous to be easy to contact by radio. Many constables feel that these pressures merely interfere with the important issues of policing, public contact, keeping order, helping people in trouble, ensuring the security of neighbourhoods and identifying and apprehending criminals. Generally, it appears that personal decisions are made at this time which may affect the police officers for the rest of

their careers. The common resolution of the dilemmas which occur at this time appear to include at least four, probably partially unconscious, alternatives or approaches to personal legitimation:

1. an adoption of what the constable feels is the predominant values which will lead to progress and promotion;

2. an adoption of behaviours which reinforce the police ideology, a relatively independent stance where the police officer consciously decides what action is appropriate for effective policing;

3. a rather rare, at this point in the career, resignation to a pure game mentality, where the main object is to alleviate unpleasantness and pressure by satisfying the minimum acceptable levels of conduct desired by the department, without incurring displeasure and dissatisfaction on the job; and

4. a relatively unconscious decision to do, what appears to be, the relatively painless aspects of policing (a perception of the police role as a largely helping and supporting relationship) and to do that well.

Each of these models of adjustment of personal legitimation will be discussed in some detail.

1. AN ADOPTION OF VALUES WHICH WILL LEAD TO PROMOTION AND PROGRESS WITHIN THE FORCE

Not all constables perceive the route to promotion and progress in the same way. Some believe that they are measured primarily in terms of the numbers of charges, the adequacy of their reports and their deportment and attitude. Others believe that effective outcomes in terms of positive public reactions are more important and that the help and aid they give the public, the use of discretion, and an emphasis on courtesy are major factors.

While the actual behaviours may differ, these individuals, in general, have opted for the career game. The primary motive is promotion and progress. The police ideology is important but it is a secondary value. Circumstance may mitigate against effective policing but, on the other hand, the individual can control his own career opportunities to an extent. These constables may become adept at reading the situation and they will change and revise their behaviour to meet the perceived role demands of their supervisors. Legitimate behaviour is that behaviour which is most likely to result in career advancement and ideology plays a minor role.

2. AN ADOPTION OF BEHAVIOURS WHICH REINFORCE THE POLICE IDEOLOGY

Essentially, people in this category remain missionaries to some extent. They have internalized the police ideology, often only a minor adjustment from their initial beliefs and values, and have a clear concept of what they should do to implement the ideology.

While they have been somewhat frustrated and disenchanted with what they have seen in practice, neither cynicism nor career goals has come to dominate their philosophy. Most are career minded, but they believe that career success will come to those who police effectively.

Once again, the actual behaviours of people in this category will differ depending upon their personal interpretation of police ideology and purpose. Some will believe strongly in the exercise of authority and control whereas others will believe in control through cooperative interaction with the public. None of them will be easy to co-opt, either through internal or external pressure and they will be strongly independent, applying discretion only where they firmly believe that discretion will lead to more effective outcomes in terms of social order and control.

3. RESIGNATION TO A PURE GAME MENTALITY

This is a state which becomes more common later in the career, after individuals have been bypassed for promotion or have been disciplined for carrying out, what they feel, is effective policing. It does happen in some cases, early in the career, however, and the evidence for this transition of attitude includes evident lack of commitment, the avoidance of potential unpleasant situations where possible (e.g., enforcing traffic laws), and a relatively slack attitude toward police activities in general. This is the "lifer" syndrome, the person who neither enjoys nor believes in his job, but is locked in by an attractive compensation package and few external alternatives.

4. AN UNCONSCIOUS DECISION TO AVOID PAIN

In a way this is a variation of the missionary tendency, a positive definition of policing in which aid and help to the public is emphasized and the control aspects are de-emphasized. People who choose this orientation probably do so unconsciously. They are not generally avoiding danger, but they appear to define effective policing as a pleasurable interaction with the public, the creation of good relationships, gaining of respect through service, etc.

It is important to note that these inferences about career implications are little more than well established hypotheses at this stage. There is no question that junior police offic

react to policing responsibilities and career decisions in a variety of ways and that different interactions with supervisors and different organizational climates will affect different people in different ways.

REFERENCE

1. Cooper, W. H. Police Officers over Career Stages. Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 6, 1982.

CHAPTER III
THE SOCIAL REALITIES OF POLICING: THE INTERACTIVE HELIX OF LEGITIMATION

JOHN B. DOWLING AND VICTOR N. MACDONALD

It is now the time to seek to bring our themes together, to see them as part of a single process and to draw from them some of the lessons that they might contain.

Policing is not a single reality rather it is made up of many different realities and the problem for the individual police officer, and for a force as a whole, is to find a way of bringing the various realities into the social order in contemporary society.

This diversity of social realities is, of course, something the police experience more than most other occupational groups; the ceremonial visit, the tavern brawl, the football riot, the battered spouse, the store hold-up, the vice patrol, the fatal accident, the traffic ticket follow one another, not as merely distinct incidents, but as different social realities each sharply defined and different in character and mood. Policing is the capacity to understand the character of behaviour in each of these contexts and the ability to defuse them of their individual threats to order and to bring them all into a reasonable relationship.

This sensitivity to varied interpretations of different social occurrences is critical to a strategic view of policing. The central theme is that a behaviour occurs within a particular social situation and, furthermore, any event appears quite different by those engaged in the action and those who observe it externally with considerably more distance from the emotions involved.

Policing may be said to be a matter of creating an institution acutely sensitive to social disorder in varying social contexts and capable of responding to control behaviour within them. Less a body enforcing a single set of precepts, the police are more an awareness of the stimuli of social disorder. Public behaviour is thus mainly a source triggering a variety of police responses. To see the world from this perspective is to see a larger and more complex social reality in which a trained capacity for observation plays a large part in the interpretation of action.

It is this particular perspective on the world that is created and sustained by what we have called police ideology. There is a collective commitment to a view of the world that is particularly sensitive to problems of disorder and the need to assert authority. Thus the police are part of a reality creating

body which seeks to interpret the variety of experience from their collective and individual professional perspectives.

THE CRITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Beyond this process there are also those in society whose concern is to observe the agencies of the state. Just as the police are collectively sensitive to public disorder, their critics are perceptually sensitive to police power and its potential misuse. These we may call the critical institutions. They take up a stance vis-a-vis the police that is one of conditional approval just as this is the natural stance of the police vis-a- vis the public. This, then, comprises a social system containing three distinct parts: firstly, a variety of more or less ambiguous social settings for behaviour; secondly, police institutions sensitive to social disorder; and thirdly, critical institutions sensitive to police actions. These entities all rest upon separate institutional bases. The strength and acceptance of these bases contributes powerfully to the strength and acceptance of their claim on social reality. It is for this reason that a women's movement seeks special recognition of women's rights in employment and pay and representation on regulatory bodies. It explains why they have campaigned against pornography as violence, created referral houses, rape crisis centers and day care centers so that they may enter the labour market on equivalent terms to those of men; as a totality it constitutes a process by which the reality of women's equality is institutionalized in the structure of society. Social reality then rests upon social structure.

Similarly the network of civil rights commissions, multicultural policies, and civil rights legislation are not only a way of institutionalizing changing social structure but in addition a way of changing the social reality facing immigrants.

This discussion leads us to look at a reality as being fully expressed only when it is fully institutionalized within a society. Institutionalized reality is not, of course, only important to those "caught-in-the-middle" it is also important for the police and critical institutions to enjoy relative full institutionalization in society.

This tension is important, for democracy can be seen to have two quite different meanings, one of which sustains and the other of which erodes police legitimacy. In the first sense democracy is a system for giving political authority to the agencies of the state; this sees what the police do as legitimate because it is sustained by the "democratic process" - a Hobbesian view of the social contract; the other sees democracy as the continuing right to criticize and, peaceably, to oppose the state, a more Rousseau-like view of legitimacy.

The police are largely an action-oriented body while their critics do not have this burden or prerogative. And this forces the police into a difficult position for there may often be no action available which cannot be criticized on one ground or another.

What is, perhaps, most often overlooked in this battle of criticism, and hence legitimacy, is that the major parties to the conflict are not viewing the same perceptual field. It is less a disagreement over a common issue and more one over what in that field is to be seen as important.

The perceptions of the police are institutionally shaped to take a preventative and primarily prospective view of social disorder; that of their critics is directed as a primarily retrospective corrective view of police practice. Put in a nutshell, in most cases they are neither looking at nor talking about the same thing. Therefore, we try to solve problems of public order by sensitizing the police to problems of social disorder on one hand and by institutionalizing potential criticism of them on the other.

To see this process, it is necessary to appreciate firstly, the social dynamics of the various worlds each confronts, secondly police ideology and, thirdly, the challenges to legitimacy. Only through these perspectives are the social realities of policing to be understood by those concerned, be they citizens, critics or police.

In the final analysis, criticism is to be seen less as a social dynamic of correction and more as an index of challenges to legitimacy. Because these matters are so strongly perceptual, criticism should be seen as propaganda over the conflicting legitimacies of police and their critics and the real threat they pose is in how many minds they change and in the inflexibility of police ideology.

LEGITIMATION AS THE TENSION BETWEEN OFFICIAL AND CRITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Thus we can view one aspect of legitimacy in society as the relative strength of competing institutions. At one end, supported by the prerogatives of the state to define and to act, stand the official institutions, the "authorities". At the other pole are groups of potential critics, some well established and some of such limited claim to the public "consensus" or of such primitive organization of institutional achievement as to represent little more than a vaguely recognized sense of mutual sympathy and antagonism to official reality and action[1].

Perhaps in this discussion it is useful to distinguish between those groups who are covert because they, regardless of their interest, have not come "out of the closet" as was said of the homosexual movement, and those who seek secrecy as a cover for acts they believe are indefensible in contemporary socio-political terms. Drug-use advocates might, for instance, fall above the line, drug-traders below it.

However, between these, the extremes of official and covert institutionalization, lie the majority of groups who make a public claim to participate in the creation of reality as it evolves in society. The occupational ideology of the police, which enhances their distinctive role as the defenders of an official view of reality, develops, as we have suggested, from the need to take action to maintain public law and order which implies the need for authority. The distinctiveness of view, then, growing out of the responsibility-authority relationship that police bear and their role as the primary state agency of public law and order, inculcates in them an occupational ideology and distinguishes them from these other institutions which are essentially institutions of criticism. Even the friendly critic is still far removed from the world of action; indeed, sometimes, we need to be protected more from our "friends" than our "enemies"; the support of a "friend" in this sense may be necessary but conditional and, therefore, far more persuasive and even pernicious in its influence. There is, then, in this continuum of public institutions a break point between "official" and "critical" institutions, but the more fully institutionalized the criticism, the more general its claim, by that fact alone, to be taken into account as a valid part of social reality.

The distinction between official and critical reality underlines an interesting distinction between their basic rhetorics[2]. Official reality is far more likely to speak in the voice of and to appeal to a sense of duty, legal obligation or command. Critical realities tend to respond in a different voice, one that focusses upon feeling, wishes and an evoked sense of the morality of the act rather than the legitimacy of the actor.

This means that the less institutionally developed interests must make up in a rhetoric of sensibility or emotional appeal what is lacking in institutional development. It is for this reason that moral and ethical issues often characterize less socially developed institutions; it is the cry of fairness, justice, and individual respect that is the chief weapon of the institutionally weak and a characteristic of their activity is to force the tone of the public debate as, by implication at least, it seeks to strip officialdom of its legitimacy, leaving it with a denuded and insufficient mere legality. The challenge this poses is not inconsiderable for this destroys the spirit of consensus that is essential to the moral vitality of any social structure.

Indeed, one might risk the assertion that the one indispensable component of social structure is broad agreement as to morality. Now, fortunately, a wide degree of social, moral and political consensus, or at least tolerance for diversity does exist and without it we could hardly speak of law at all; for in its absence policing with predominant public support would be impossible. So, fortunately, we are not talking here of the majority of police actions but rather of those few activities that lie at the boundaries of consent. But to do so is not to encourage complacency, for a consensus that is taken-for-granted and not continually tested and re-established, can easily disappear.

Thus we expose our police to this "critical" climate testing them from a perspective essentially different from that implied by their own responsibility for public law and order. Therefore, police form a conservative tripwire of change in society locked in by their responsibilities for order but this is continuously subject to challenge from perspectives besides their own.

We, collectively, create a force to protect or warn ourselves of threatening change by positioning the police within areas sensitive to change. However, because the power of the police is also itself threatening, society generally, and often with the police's tacit though not in all cases enthusiastic support, tolerates a body of institutions critical of them. This second tripwire sensitized to police issues becomes another institutionalized social sensor of possibly undesirable behaviour and between them, we create a rhetoric of free people within a free society. It is of course to be recognized that not all criticism of the police is liberal in spirit, and civilian criticism may be motivated by self interest within a more diverse and publicly supportable critical scope.

We have, then, two forces frequently in contention: the first is the police "idea" derived from their professional and collective responsibility for public order, which tends to focus upon sources of incipient disorder. By making the police officer professionally responsible for such order, it heightens his sensitivity to disorder, making it a personal threat to this professional self. By making it collective, that is, by surrounding the police officer with similarly responsible professionals, the "idea" is further reinforced by a collective occupational ideology. These forces shape and maintain the distinctive world view of the policeman which, given his experience of the need to act, will tend towards a personally defensive perception of the world that is both socially conservative and philosophically pragmatic. Through the psychological and social experiences of the police officer, society creates in the police force a "conservative" tripwire against social disorder, thus leading him to be sensitive to incipient threats and pragmatically realistic about its deterence and resolution. On the other hand, the perception of those who are the potential or actual critics of police power, is less of

threats to social order and more of the challenge police power potentially poses to individual well-being. Critics see the power institutionalized in the police and the perceptual sensitivity of the police as itself being a challenge to social order. Fearful of a too-heightened police sensitivity to incipient disorder, they are concerned with the preservation of areas of political and social diversity and in addition because they are concerned with pragmatic uses of police power, they tend to be sensitive to the challenges to social order posed by police power itself.

It is thus the different roles that people occupy in plural institutions that tend to define their perceptual field towards problems of order. There is a famous study of the perceptions of Princeton and Dartmouth students of a football game between their schools. Students disagreed as to the number of fouls each saw the other's team commit; the police and their critics may similarly interpret public behaviour in different ways[3].

In another study the effect of professional training is seen in its effects upon perception. When Simon and Newell gave a range of professionals an ambiguous problem, each professional group saw the problem as one directed towards their own professional competence. Moral: make a person a policeman, and he will see problems as problems facing the police; make him a civil libertarian, he sees abuses of state power[4]. The point here is that there are likely to be valid reasons for differences between the police idea and public reaction to it in the different institutional experience of public and police. While the heightened sensitivities of the police are socially functional, they may also, from some perspectives, challenge the freedom of some persons who, in response or in anticipation, organize to press their claim on social reality.

This suggests that there is a basic and ongoing tension between a professional police organization and the processes of society as it organizes and expresses itself. At the extremes of this divided debate is a dialogue of the blind for each is only aware of the unrecognized and perhaps even non-existing faults of the other. But, nevertheless, it is in finding social structures that illuminate this mutual blindness that police legitimacy resides.

It is because of the fear of such an absence of shared perceptions that police resist "civilian" review, as it is called, even as police authority rests upon finding ways of creating reassurance among the general public for it is hardly sufficient to rest all claims upon law alone, for if the action speaks not for its own legitimacy, it erodes law as well.

Let us here speculate upon two social structures that might contribute further to the legitimacy of police actions in the face of public sensitivities without, we hope, going so far as to ham-

per the police's ability to carry out their responsibilities to the public.

In socially and politically sensitive areas, police still predominantly act within the modalities of criminal law, in some (e.g., sexual) cases stretching old laws to new circumstances. Might it not be possible to recognize some areas as more explicitly appropriate for test-case prosecutions, that is, attempts to ventilate public discussion and decision rather than as prosecution of the self-evident wrong? So posed, the problem takes the form that the police face a variety of problems with the often too blunt weapon of criminal prosecution. Could we not have some form of public policy inquiry as a midpoint between criminal and civil prosecution. It means, of course, recognizing the lessened criminal status appropriate to such cases, in first instance at least and more profoundly, perhaps calls for a recognition of a more explicit legitimating role for the police through their exercise of a quasi-legislative function implicit in the responsibility for the prosecution and hence promulgation of "new" case law.

On a more pragmatic question, the matter of force, the reassurance of the public is more difficult for the problem here often takes the form of a conflict between a problem-solving orientation of the police and a more idealistic or theoretical perspective taken by the police's public critics. There is often a fundamental difference in the subjective realities of police and their critics, a matter of difference in philosophy that both determines and is reinforced by such differing perceptions.

The issue of force shows the police legitimation problem at its most intractable. Two dominant reactions are available where allegations of abuse of powers are made. One is the public process of either criminal prosecution or the bringing of a civil suit by an individual against a police officer, and the other the internal disciplinary and administrative processes of the department. While in theory these can exhaust all possibilities, the lesser offenses being internal and subject to disciplinary or administrative review, the greater being subject to public prosecution of suit, there is no easy resolution of the fact that to be a matter for public law, there must be a high degree of prima facie abuse, while on the other hand an administrative review is by its nature not public. While public notification of internal disciplinary action may be reassuring, there can be fear of a gap between desirable administrative standards and that degree of severity necessary to give rise to individual disciplinary action.

This problem is, of course, most pressing where police action results in death. While an inquest is necessary in such cases, this is less a matter of the public review of administrative practices and is of its nature charged with establishing the cause of death of an individual.

A major fear in making administrative review more public is, of course, that police will be opened to greater criminal or civil liability. While Crown immunity and a broad definition of police discretion serves to contain this problem, it must be recognized that it does so to some extent at the expense of a fuller public review of police practice. The problem can be posed as one of a public fear of the coarsening of police practice to standards below those that give rise to disciplinary action but which are still matters of genuine concern. Police discretion is a two-edged sword; it permits a broad range of action, but at the same time places much police behaviour beyond public review. One wonders, for example, whether a review by the Solicitor General's Department of police procedures used in every case involving the use of deadly force might be a solution; if it is not public it is at least an external review of police practices in a form distinct from issues giving rise to individual discipline. The idea that any act that does not give rise to disciplinary action is ipso facto publicly endorsed is hardly a satisfactory resolution of the problem, and it is important to recognize that this issue is directly related to the problematic legitimacy of the police.

In these concluding remarks we have viewed policing as a tension between the actions and demands of a free society and a responsibility derived "conservative tendency" located in the institutional police. We make the police responsible for the protection of our society and criticize them as they react just as we hoped they would. However, as both police and critic can act and argue respectively in their own view of the public interest, there is, perhaps, more sense to this process than might seem immediately apparent, although, unquestionably, it has some challenging implications for effective police management.

Social reality, then, or different versions of it, are in this way "processed" through "conservative" and "critical" filters and as a result we have through time a sort of ongoing processing of social reality; from the diverse enthusiasms of the critical publics through the collective police consciousness, as, case by case, values and society change over time.

We have argued here that two things give rise to challenges to police legitimacy: the difficulties over defining the proper limits of the political, the social and the criminal, and the proportionality of police responses to threats perceived by them.

The subtleties of these processes of guidance are an important part of police legitimation for while the fundamental claim to police authority resides in the absoluteness of law, and it is in the name of law that police exercise their legitimating function in society, institutions with such a function cannot risk the erosion of their formal authority by constant appeal to that legal legitimacy per se. Rather they will be guided by more subtle social processes to gain for their acts an ongoing legitimacy independent of their institutional standing. By the matching of response to threat and in an ongoing interaction with interest groups, and in testing ideas against their professional responsibility, they optimize the legitimacy of their acts and avoid drawing down their precious, and precarious, store of institutional legitimacy. The irony of legitimating institutions is that they cannot go to the well of formal authority very often before finding it dry. A clearer understanding of the sources of problematic legitimacy and the processes by which it is maintained and restored is a first step to the continuing legitimation of institutions in our societies.

For police are, in certain important ways, dependent for their legitimacy upon a diverse yet competing set of interactions within society and the police idea is at one and the same time both a synthesis of and a reaction to these forces. Police synthesize the tensions placed upon them and this is then fed back as the core of the police "idea". There is then a cyclical, or more properly helical, quality to this process over time. The more internal psychological processes restore in the individual a sense of consensus and personal confidence and this becomes part of the next cycle which will once again put that resolution to another test of social consensus and individual confidence (see Chapter I). If it is sisyphean it is also heroic -- but, perhaps sadly, it seems to be necessary; Boulding is right when he says that a "legitimacy that is taken for granted is often and surprisingly withdrawn". He warns us, grimly, that "if you lose legitimacy, you lose everything"[5].

CHANGE AND MORAL AMBIGUITY

We have discussed this process of sequential external accommodation and internal synthesis as we have observed it. But it is unlikely, however, that this is an entirely satisfactory description of how, except perhaps at senior levels of the force, it is experienced cognitively and emotionally by the officer as it occurs. One of the consequences of the personal legitimation of the officer himself, and his force and profession, and of policing generally, is that such conflicts are likely to be experienced much more as a moral conflict accompanied by considerable problems of perceptual denial of undesirable elements.

That a series of successively more complex insights occurs within a primary frame of a struggle of good and evil is probably the greatest cognitive and emotional struggle that the police face. Let us examine a facet of the problems caused by social value change where actions already taken commit one to a previously individual moral assumption. Actions taken commit an individual, because of a desire for an internally consistent view of his own legitimacy, to the values that are congruent with that action[6]. Thus, change may appear as a threat to moral integrity[7],

so that the necessity of change may require in the first place a sense of alienation or distance from ones own acts or moral life. This may only be relieved by a higher order moral or philosophic resolution and may have something of the quality of a conversion experience[8].

One can appreciate, in this situation, how the conservative tendency can become personalized in the moral identity of an officer. Obedience to command may take part, at least, of the personal responsibility from the individual officer and transfer and concentrate it in the force, on its command structure, but in the absence of a shared legitimacy of leadership and of personal legitimacy, a sense of powerlessness, moral confusion and cynicism is likely to develop[9]. This, however, is likely to be part of an evolving process for it is the working out of moral confusion that creates integrity in the process, and any command structure denied moral intelligence from the force supervised will soon be cut off from a vital source of decision inputs.

A related process in moral adaptation, as it may be experienced by the individual officer, is the problem of coming to approve of ideas and actions formerly seen as reprehensible. In part this may derive from the professional assumption of a public responsibility that comes to be a part of the police ideology. With such a shift of consciousness, a different moral imperative may come into play, one that professionally balances a threat to order against a response to that threat. The issue of the "civilian ideal" comes to take the form of "what is an acceptable use of police power to meet that threat to order". A simple case is the use of arrest as a temporary process while investigation continues, the most serious the taking of a life in anticipation of saving another's.

The theoretical search for a perfect force-avoiding modality becomes for the policeman a more pragmatic decision of response to a given stimulus. This shift is significant morally, for it implies that for certain problems of order, there will not be a resolution that does not involve some social cost. The ideal of a civil society is a process of interaction such that social costs are either avoided or shared equally in some consensual accommodation, but the professional taking of responsibility for public professional taking of responsibility for public order admits that some problems involve some people bearing social costs in the public interest.

Once this reality is admitted there are further pragmatic steps that become admissible; indeed, once the idealism of the "there-is-no-conflict-that-cannot-be-mediated-to-our-mutual-satisfaction" position is foregone, there now comes a gulf in the moral order between the "practical" mind of police and the "ideal" mind of his civilian critic. These, then, represent a clash of world views rather than of tactics; the ideal acts as a constraint upon

the pragmatic but its assumptions are often removed from the professional logic of the police. It is, as we have noted, primarily because of the fear of an absence of shared perceptions and assumptions, that police protest civil review.

But this may place the individual in a moral dilemma in that previously undesirable or "immoral" acts when viewed from a professional perspective take on, at least, a relative morality. But worse is the fear that this process may be progressive, that increasing assumptions of "responsible actions" may involve increasingly "abhorent" means. This is the Weberian paradox of political power to which we referred above[10]. In part it consists of coming to terms with a moral understanding of things previously seen as unconscionable and it would be the rare human who did not see the awful possibility of being wrong; as such the "soul" is put at risk, as Weber says, and the police officer inclines even more towards only those who can understand the moral imperatives of his occupation. The sense that one is on a one way trip to moral degradation must occur in the dark night of the soul and is likely to seriously affect the police in relations with the "naive idealism" of civil society. This process is, of course, a step into an adult, existential world and the problems that the police come to face as a result of their professional orientation are ones that all humans will almost certainly face at some time in their lives. But for the police these are more continually present and are far less easily avoided.

This is a transitional feeling, one more of doubt and confusion than of certainty, and one which probably reduces in intensity but to which one must remain always aware even if it is not continually uppermost in one's mind. For this is freedom and its exercise is always conditioned by its possible withdrawal.

Surprisingly, perhaps, this is a stage of moral development which, while undesirable in some aspects at least, is not one many seek, even were it possible to retreat from. Rather one hopes that this new and threatening freedom will not intrude too often.

THE WORLD OF EXISTENTIAL ACTION

One of the most striking forms that psychological stabilization takes in a de facto world of change is the assertion of "self-evidence", that is that actions are seen one-by-one, as if the historical, political, and moral dimensions of change were not of real or actual relevance. It is as if the action-precipitating act speaks for itself and self-evidently commands a given response, or series of responses. In part this is true; once action is engaged, analysis is suspended and training, character and experience become paramount, yet, there is always an "I" watching "me" awareness, at the periphery of consciousness at least, of the historical, political and moral meanings of it all[11].

Two things strike one forcibly about police processes; these are that they are administrative in manner, and of assumed self-evidence in style. When they act, police take on a role that is quite remarkable in its removal of personal character; there is focussed cohesiveness, understated yet determined, that transcends, transforms and subordinates individual personality into a distinct collective identity. This effect is surely related to the process of occupational ideology and personal legitimation we have been attempting to describe here. The nature of police behaviour in a crisis would seem to be one which calls forth in the individual, and hence in the force, an inner character that for the moment lives in a world of the morality of action. The rest after all is "only" thought.

LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION INTEGRITY

Leadership must be seen in essentially moral terms. It is apparent that leaders bear much of the moral brunt for the force as a whole and in fact embody its moral authority as the other side of the coin of command. So the exercise of leadership consists of maintaining the integrity of the institution both externally and internally. In our case of police homicide, for example, the massive debriefing can be seen as a way of establishing the moral integrity of the force's actions before doubt and rumour might erode morale and a sense of organizational legitimacy.

But the provision of moral integrity in some ways conflicts with the risks that have to be taken in the policing of an uncertain and manifold future and it is likely that rather than commit the full integrity of the force, in many cases some smaller groups or even a single individual is made to bear moral responsibility. The moral protection that can be offered realistically in any particular case may be limited although the demand for it and the wish to extend it are likely to be unlimited. But life is a big boy's game and this is a central problem.

One response is to make police work secret and the public often seem to acquiesce in this, for secrecy permits pragmatic behaviour without public loss of a native idealism by removing from knowledge things that, if known, might be disturbing. Unfortunately it, too, removes at the same time some of the useful tension between the exercise of professional decisions and public reactions in whose name and on whose judgement the process depends for its moral vitality.

Moreover, many instruments of public involvement are, of course, in place to challenge that secrecy: police commissions and public meetings; representations from elected and appointed officials; representations from groups and individuals; the processes of discipline internally, both formal and informal as in lack of promotion or loss of reputation; the processes of praise and criticism in the press; support and lack of it from the public

collectively and individually; processes of prosecution; and the policies and appointment of senior officers and, of course, word of mouth transmitted through family and other personal contacts.

All these give texture to the social context of policing. If these are to be understood and managed as a coherent whole, they are not to be seen just as various aspects of the task of policing, for in the final analysis, policing is about melding these forces into a coherent working consensus. The maintenance of this coherency of consensus in the face of change is the task of all -- a consultative process of mutual and constructive criticism that is at the heart of society-making. This is the basis of a search for the continuing revitalization of our society. Finding the terms and the social structures for such consultation is the task of all committed to a civil and good society.

Almost by definition, police play a general legitimating role while they in turn, in a pluralistic society, are dependent upon a very broad range of people and organizations for their own legitimation; it must, of course, be recognized that certain groups, such as the courts and the media, do play a particularly significant role.

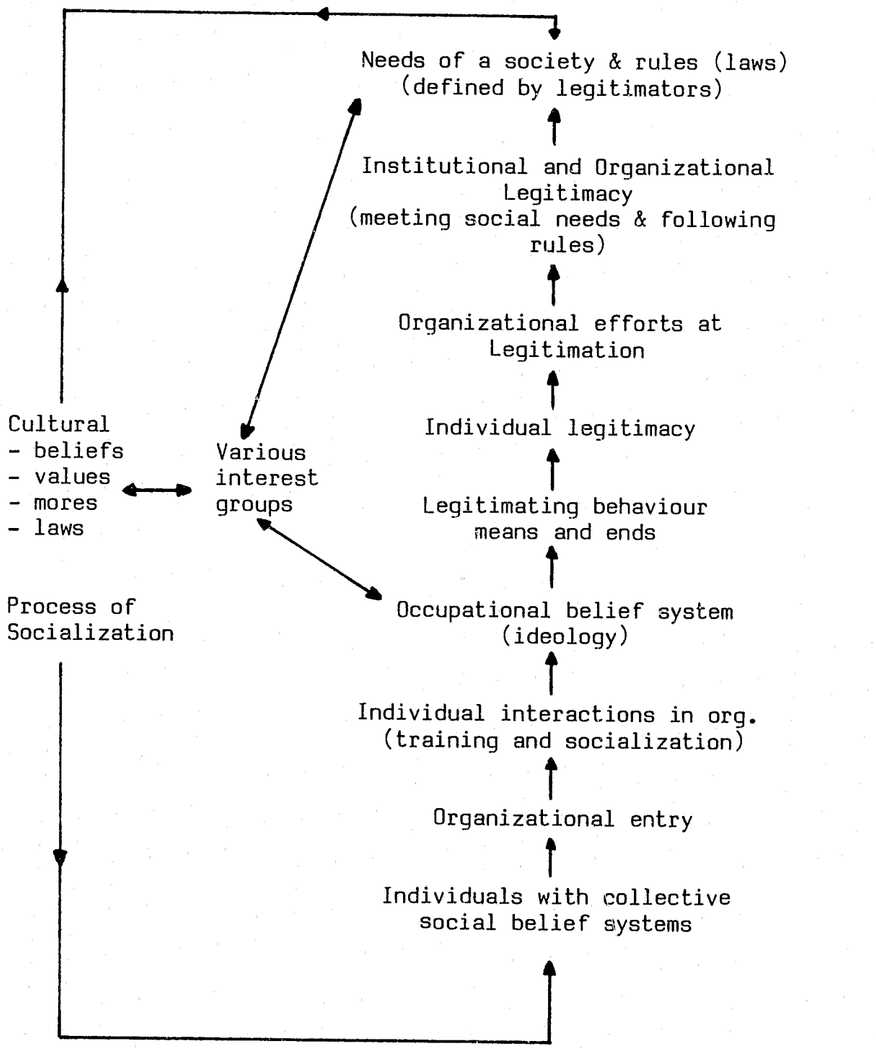
A MANAGERIAL MODEL OF LEGITIMATION

To clarify the processes of legitimation as they affect managers we have developed a model, Figure 1, and enlarged on it in Figures 2 and 3. As indicated in Figure 1, the predominant beliefs and values of a society serve as inputs to the model in two places: firstly, instrumentally, in determining the collective needs of that society; and secondly, as fundamental inputs into the socialization of the men and women who become police officers. Various institutions have developed, providing the major ongoing needs of society, such as the need for order and protection, and these organizations achieve legitimacy to the extent that they are able to fulfill that institutional role in society. The process of legitimation involves interaction with relevant interest groups (almost every person and every group in the police case), both involving the passive approval by influential interest groups and usually the more active support of one or more of a number of technical legitimators, such as the court system.

All individuals in a society are influenced to a large extent by processes of socialization, collective cultural belief and value systems, and these include beliefs about and attitudes toward various institutions and organizations. To a greater or lesser extent, people entering an organization go through a socialization process, further develop an occupational belief system related to their roles and the roles of their organization in society. Professionals go through a more general socialization process developing a set of beliefs related to their particular activity rather than to the operation of a particular organization.

FIGURE 1

A MODEL OF INDIVIDUAL, ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIAL LEGITIMATION



When professional or occupational beliefs are collective and highly integrated they form a system which influences all work and much social behaviour. In such cases, belief systems satisfy the requirements which define an occupational ideology.

These ideologies guide the actions of individuals by defining what that person may legitimately do, and to the extent that belief systems are collective and homogenous, people will attempt to attain legitimacy in a similar fashion. However, to the extent that idiosyncratic elements form a significant part of such systems of belief, people will attempt to attain legitimacy in a variety of ways.

Managers are, to a large extent, technical legitimators for the behaviour of people on their staff and by conditioning, control or education they can guide and change behaviour, although the extent of that influence may depend upon the nature of the accepted occupational ideology of legitimate behaviour.

While acting as legitimators for the behaviour of their staff, managers also make decisions, influencing actions which determine the extent to which the organization performs its function for society and in this way they help to determine the extent of the organization's legitimacy relative to criteria determined primarily by relevant interest groups.

While it is important to recognize the role of police managers in molding police action, it is also important to recognize the potentially significant role of police ideology. Police work is largely discretionary in nature, police officers quickly learn the mutually protective code of silence and police supervisors, even if their actions were not largely controlled by the same code and ideology, have little impact upon police action in any given situation. In consequence it seems apparent that not only technical but also ideological training and perspectives have major significance for the behaviour of individual police officers as they interact with the public.

SOME PRECEPTS OF LEGITIMATION

It seems reasonable here to outline some of the things our perspective implies and some it does not imply:

1. It does <u>not</u> mean a policy of permanent compromise or accommodation any more than it means unthinking denial.

2. Short term accommodation is <u>not</u> always the route to longer term legitimacy; there <u>may</u> be some trade-offs between short-run and long-run decisions.

3. It does not mean exclusive attention to the means of legitimation at the expense of ignoring the end result of legitimacy for society and the force.

4. It does mean seeing incidents as related and exemplary.

5. It does mean reaching out to the multiple views of the situation as a key to the maintenance of legitimate authority.

6. It does mean a constant testing and recreating of consensus as to law and order in a society.

7. It does mean that one cannot take the police or managerial ideology, though it is presumptively "official" as a necessarily valid expression of social or organizational consensus.

8. It does mean good policing transcends technique and efficiency and rests ultimately upon the reputation of a force or individual for judgement in protecting the integrity of the force and community.

9. It calls for a recognition that within this frame of reference the most important challenge is that to the reputation or the acceptability of policing. With this recognition comes the central problem for the police which is to resolve these internal and external problems, one at a time, over a wide range of issues and in a way that minimizes that accumulation of problems of contested legitimacy imported into the force.

10. The most sensitive problems facing policing are those that we feel lie at the heart of this work: bringing policing into a more comfortable relationship with the myriads of "communities of interest" who have a real interest in the direction of policing in their communities.

The idea that police legitimacy can be maintained solely in a positive balance of criticism is probably false for there is another and perhaps more vocal rhetoric in which meaning is less obviously partisan. Acts still speak for themselves however many spokesmen they may have. It would for this reason be quite foolish to associate long-term legitimacy with short-term rhetorical acts to shore it up, for one must attend to the pence of legitimacy, in the single individual acts, for the pounds of rhetoric to take care of themselves. There is, perhaps, a rhetoric of the deed beyond the conscious understanding of even those involved. Things happen and depending upon some internal compass we do distinguish governance from oppression, mere technical innocence from

FIGURE 2

ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY: THE CASE OF THE POLICE

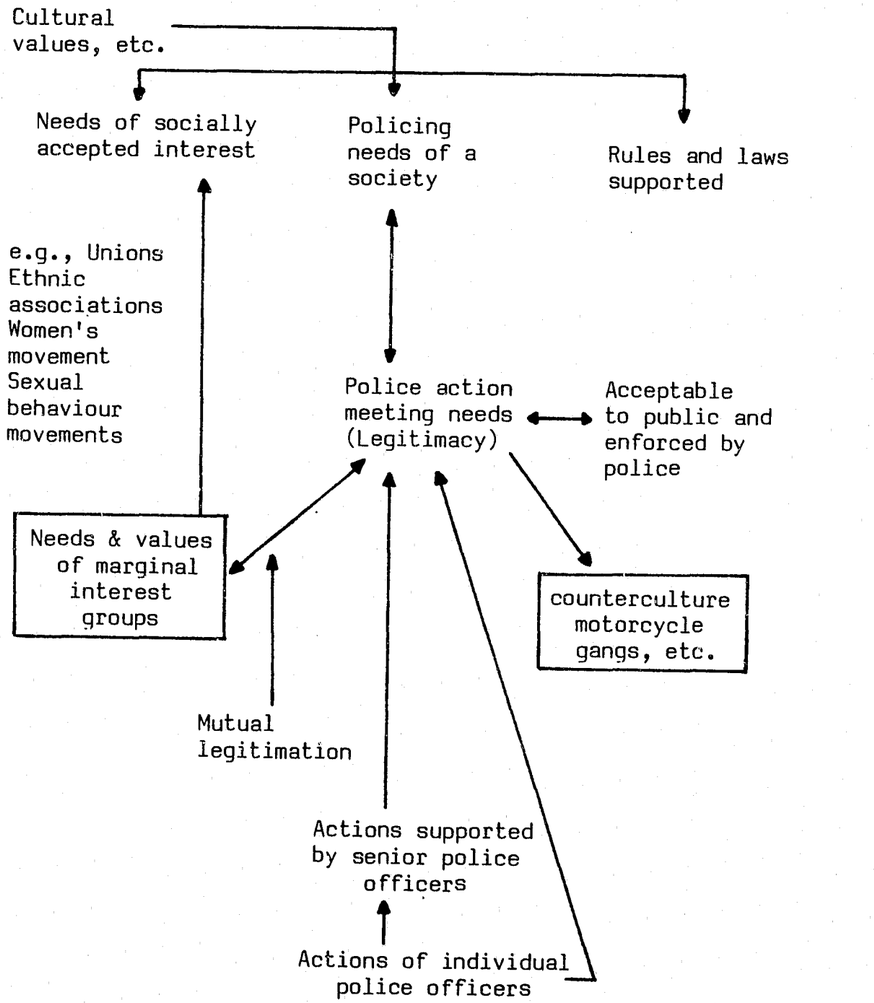
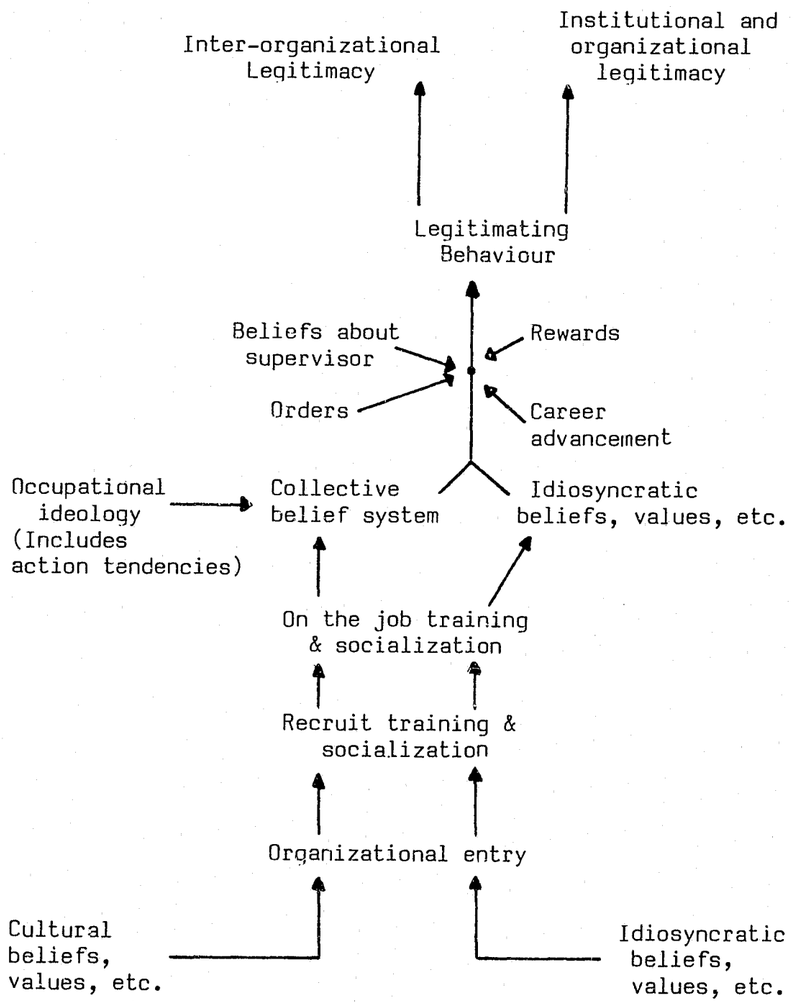


FIGURE 3

INDIVIDUAL LEGITIMACY IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL SETTING



the true and clear mind. Beyond society there is the direct experience of life and nature.

In drawing our discussion to a close let us focus upon its major principles: firstly, policing is a way of looking at a world which is set up by society so it can be sensitive to problems of social order. It is useful to society but it is only one way of looking at things. Secondly, society has set up another way of looking at things so as to challenge that of the police and so as to provide some check upon excess. Thirdly, each of these examines a whole range of social settings from their particular perspective in which the battle over reality and legitimacy is a battle over institutionalizing particular ways of looking at the world.

Now let us say a concluding word about responsibility and change. The responsibility for the legitimacy of police acts rests with every police officer from the chief to the rookie, and what is at stake is more than an individual career, it is the police role in society and justice in that society. Deviations from this standard do not only betray an individual, or even the force, they betray society as a whole.

It follows from our analysis that making a society consists of firstly bringing together the relationship between the police and the myriad interest groups in terms of a broad consensus for our time and society.

A second strand must consist of finding ways of reviewing police action and the police from an administrative rather than punitive point of reference, so that it is possible to include more public reassurance as to methods, of sufficient general importance as to give rise to public concern but of insufficient specific severity as to give rise to individual discipline.

Thirdly and finally it consists of a continued sensitivity to the dysfunctions of what we have called institutionalized ideologies of the police and of their critics, especially in areas of great sensitivity. The values of an institutionally sustained collective view is inherent in the nature of the task but it must be contained so that it overlaps in its most important themes with an external consensus.

Twisting these three threads into a single strand from which we can weave a network of social integration is clearly a counsel of perfection. But this goal for both senior and operating officers is implied by the development of our arguments. Concerns with efficiency and technique are, of course, valid but they become empty in the absence of a satisfactory achievement of this socially integrative function. Divisive social pressures place enormous challenges on the police in their day-to-day interactions and on their relationships with major and peripheral institutions

in society. But it is, so far at least, more a crisis of the spirit than of fundamental social structure; the challenge is to maintain and revivify the institutions of our society by breathing into them anew a continuing spirit of moral purpose. Under pressure the problem is one of not surrendering hope and confidence. The police may not be society's only defense against anarchy, but they are crucial to the kind of civilization we have in our country. It is, of course, a great challenge and a great burden, but provided we do not lose our nerve, it can become a service of far greater consequence than everyday public law and order.

William Butler Yeats wrote that:

> "Things fall apart; the center cannot hold,
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world"[12].

Well, we all have much to lose personally if the great and central institutions of our society cannot hold; they can if they will.

REFERENCES

1. Gamson, W.A. Power and Discontent. Georgetown, Ont.: 1968.

2. Edelman, M. The Symbolic Uses of Politics. Urban, Il.: University of Illinois Press, 1970.

3. Hastorf, A. and Cantril, H. They Saw a Game. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Vol. 49, 1954.

4. Dearborn, D.C. and Simon, H.A. Selective Perception. Sociometry, Vol. 21, 1958.

5. Boulding, K.E., quoted in E.M. Epstein and D. Votaw (Eds.), Legitimacy, Rationality and Responsibility: The Search for New Directions in Business and Society. Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear, 1978.

6. Festinger, L. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957.

7. Lewin, K. Field Theory in Social Science. New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1951.

8. James, W. The Varieties of Religious Experience. New York, NY: Times Mirror, 1958 (originally published 1902).

9. Neiderhoffer, A. Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1969.

10. Weber, M. Politics as a Vocation, in H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (Eds. and Trans.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1946.

11. Mead, G.H. Mind, Self and Society. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

12. Yeats, W.B., the lines quoted are taken from The Second Coming, copyright The Macmillan Co. 1924, renewed B.G. Yeats, 1952.

APPENDIX 1
CHAPTER III

MILES. A. PROTTER
(With supervision by John B. Dowling)

A RESEARCH ASSISTANT LOOKS AT THE FIELD RESEARCH PROCESS

Introduction

In the summer of 1980, several professors from the Queen's School of Business were awarded a contract by the Canadian Police College to do a study on the legitimation of police activities and the relationship of police with the community. I was hired by John Dowling, one member of the research team, to be his assistant for the summer and fall. My tasks were varied, and they ranged from fetching coffee to interviewing people in the streets of Hamilton with a tape recorder. It was a very rewarding job, and I learned more in that summer about how organizations work than in four years of university.

This paper is the result of an independent study in my fourth year of the undergraduate programme at the Queen's School of Business. My adviser was John Dowling, who wanted me to write a paper modelling the research process while in the field the previous summer. It was to be on research from the research assistant's point of view, something that does not presently exist in the literature on research methodology. The role of the "hired hands" in the research process has most definitely been ignored, and the last part of this paper will speak to that issue.

This paper is divided into three parts, with the first reviewing the literature for insight into the split between the qualitative and quantitative schools of research methodology. This exercise is important, because our study used qualitative methods almost exclusively. These two schools form two very distinct camps, with a third, peripheral group trying hard to bring them both together. The qualitative and quantitative schools of methodology have fundamentally opposing views on the definition of what is reality, and from this springs all the differences that arise between them. As will be shown, there is no need for a division between the two camps as qualitative judgements are ubiquitous.

Insight into this dispute is useful for modelling one's own approach to research methodology, as will be done in the second part below. The model called the Convergence Process, will be supported by examples from the actual field research in the police department of a major industrial city in Canada. The model will address the theoretical problems raised in the first part, and the examples will be brought to bear in the discussion.

Part three models the team approach to field research. As will be discussed, there are roles within the team that complement each other, and individuals tend to move towards certain roles, depending on personality traits. These are functional roles, however, and they cannot be mapped one-to-one on to individuals. One can serve in more than one role in field research. The aforementioned perspective of the research assistant will also be included in this section.

RESOLVING THE SPLIT BETWEEN QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGIES

The Theoretical Framework

The split between the quantitative and qualitative schools stems from their ontological views of the world. Those in the quantitative school who pose a rational, empirical ontology are assuming that there is an absolute reality, and the only problem is how to actually go about measuring it. This idea is based on certain assumptions that are made about the world, and, given that these are true, quantitative methodologists can happily go about their business. They use a technical methodology which is considered valid from a scientific point of view if they adhere to scientific principles. The beauty of empirical methods is that one can make inferences from collected data, if one has confidence in the underlying assumptions and if the data is "random". Confidence is the important issue here, as will be discussed later.

The qualitative group possesses a different view of reality; a phenomenological ontology. Members of this school are not sure if a stable reality actually exists. Instead, reality changes as one puts on different coloured glasses, and things appear real because reality is constructed by society for us[1]. Qualitative methodologists will, in effect, construct a reality as the research progresses, with each step in the process providing feedback for the creation, validation, or rejection of concepts and hypotheses. There is no reality, only interpretation and contextual understanding[2]. The interpretive methodology of qualitative research kills the 'myth of science' - there are no hard and fast rules, there is no absolute reality - and hence, it tends to lose validity in the eyes of most because of its lack of empiricism. They do not assume that things are known, rather they ask: what is knowable? There is no need for random data or significant sample sizes; the qualitative methodologists say, "What's wrong with a sample size of one?[3]

Critiques of the Two Methods

The quantitative method is criticized as falling down because of the assumptions upon which it is based. The technical method uses a preconceived instrument, such as a survey questionnaire, to collect data in the field. Given that the sample is sufficiently

random, the scientist can rest assured that his data is reliable and valid, and that his experiment is replicable, if need be. There are several flaws in this process, however, and the first can best be illustrated by pointing to the field of economics[4]. Although it is unfair and facile to take 'cheap shots' at economists as so many do, the illustration is a useful one. Economists have been using theory based on assumptions which might not always be true. For example, the principle that men behave rationally, and that household behaviour can always be characterized by the maximization of a utility function, is one of the unshakable foundations for modern economics. Men are not always rational, however, and, as any father knows, households are not comprised of individuals with identical utility functions. Thus, the entire concept of 'maximizing social welfare' can be discarded because of the impossibility of aggregating millions of utility functions, each of which is unique[5].

A second flaw is that the predeveloped instruments of the technical method might be inappropriate for the specific research situation[6]. One must impose a framework which is often binding, as it cannot be altered once the research has begun. By this point, a lot of bulky and irrelevant data will have been generated by a technique that does not capture the information one is seeking[7]. Salancik offers the criticism that such methods,

> "play back an investigator's fantasies ... the power of the questions to create their own answer is great."[8]

Van Maanen cites Gresham's Law, in which the programmed research drives out the unprogrammed data that would be very often more desirable to possess[2]. Dalton, a pioneering practitioner of qualitative research, discusses quantification as being an end in itself, and that often in the designing of research processes, much non-quantifiable data must be discarded, not being amenable to transcription on to a computer card or questionnaire. He mentions the historical preference for ideas over numbers in the academic world, quoting mathemeticians Bertrand Russell and K. Godel[9]. Dalton further states that the explicitness of quantitative methods possesses severely diminishing returns in terms of the effort required to achieve it.

Light complained that quantitative methods (questionnaires) could only catch the surface of the data of evaluations of employee training programmes in a large company, and not the 'deep structure' of the programme, nor how well it was working. Questionnaires determined attitudes of employees, but could not produce data on the development of the employee training programme[5].

Lastly, Zelditch[10] found that quantitative analysis was useful only for determining frequency distribution, while for any other type of information, enumerative methods were inadequate

and/or inefficient. Incidents and histories, as well as data on institutionalized norms and structures were best found using interviewing or observing techniques.

Qualitative methods come under fire mostly because they are perceived as lacking the support of hard data and therefore as being invalid. Webb cites several threats to validity in qualitative research[11]. The guineau pig effect is the result of people's awareness that they are being tested, and their desire to be 'good' subjects. Role selection occurs when the interview "elicits a specialized selection from among the many 'true' selves or proper behaviours that are available in a respondent". Interviewer effects such as his/her character and nature, age, sex, religion, education and social class, all affect the respondent's answers. The dross rate explains that a large part of an interviewer's response is irrelevant to the topic, and is thus 'low-grade ore'.

Orne describes the extent to which 'demand characteristics' result from perceived situational effects; thus the researcher often receives a version of what he has projected. While Orne was pointing out the impact of demand characteristics on quantitative research, they clearly play an equally important part in qualitative methods. The experimental setting, the researcher himself, informant effects, and presentational data, all contribute. Questions often have the power to create their own answers[12].

Resolution of the Conflict

The dispute over whether qualitative or quantitative methods should be used can be easily resolved when one realizes that all research fundamentally involves the use of qualitative judgement, while only some is amenable to quantification. This fact becomes apparent if one separates the inferences made from formal comparative methods, and the validation of the elementary data. There is no either/or choice to be made between the two methods: quantitative methodology permits a comparison of two populations, but it does not speak to the issue of the validity of the individual datum. In this sense, all research is qualitative, because when it is reduced to the single observation, one must use judgement and interpretation. No matter how that observation was obtained, whether by survey, questionnaire, interview or experiment, the researcher must make the decision as to its validity based on personal judgement and evaluation.

This fact that qualitative methods are ubiquitous can be seen when one examines the principle of multiple operationism[11]. Webb speaks of the use of multiple methods to explain the existence of multiple phenomena, and to ensure validity through the process of triangulation. Two methods, whose variances are not correlated and thus whose combined variance is low, are brought to bear on one point, and similarity of results enhances the validity of the

data obtained. Jick's theory of convergent methodology is similar[13]. Triangulation within methods yields greater internal validity (using several comparison groups when interviewing) and triangulation between methods enhances external validity (for example, using both documents and interviews to verify a fact).

Multiple operationism alone does not address the fundamental issue at hand, however. Many observations obtained from many sources, none of which one would solely rely on, do not constitute a base for validity. If one has little confidence in the individual measures themselves, then it is obvious that using many of them will accomplish nothing. One must qualitatively evaluate each method's appropriateness to the situation at hand, as no amount of diversification of methods to eliminate unsystematic error will be useful.

Thus, all research is inherently qualitative, and the issue becomes one of confidence in the particular method. The qualitative man rests his confidence on his intuition, his "gut feeling" as to the validity of the elementary datum. The quantitative researcher, if his data is sufficiently random, having met the rigid statistical tests for significance, tends to ignore the individual observation. If he does not, then he is no longer a pure technologist. The issue then becomes an intellectual, rather than a philosophical one; which data is believed to be valid to the individual researcher.

Neither multiple operationism, nor random, statistically significant data are sufficient for validation. As Mintzberg asked, "Is it better to have less valid data that is statistically significant?"[3]. This does not preclude their use, however, primarily in the comparison of populations and the determination of frequency distributions[10]. Jick stresses that the notion of "holistic triangulation", from the use of multiple qualitative methods, leads to the contextual portrayal of the system under study. To correctly understand the facts, one must understand the context, which only personal interpretation is capable of recreating[13].

THE FIELD RESEARCH MODEL

Introduction

In the summer of 1980, a study concerned with the legitimation of police activities was performed on the police force of a large, industrial urban centre in Ontario. The study was different from any other in two ways. Firstly, this was not ordinary bureaucracy being examined, as the police have special problems of legitimation in their relations with the public. Being a paramilitary type of operation, there exist suspicions, fears, and

codes of behaviour within the force that one does not find elsewhere.

Secondly, the study itself had a somewhat irregular genesis. Members of the School of Business at Queen's University had been involved for some years in performing studies on police methods and management techniques for the Canadian Police College in Ottawa. In 1980, the idea for a political study was submitted to the College, concerning the legitimation of the police within society.The College's Manager of Research was enthusiastic about the idea and by the end of the summer, the Chief's executive assistant was aware of the nature of the new study and seemed highly approving. Thus, the process of gaining entry involved, in part, the prior approval and co-operation of a subordinate executive assistant. This is quite unlike the Johnson model, where the funding agency, or other authority, has to be coerced with a "cover" story[13].

Theoretical Framework of the Model

The model will be called the Convergence Process, where the research takes the form of a process of argument. In involves converging the research from a general, contextual view to a specific, content-orientation perspective. This model arises out of what Johnson called the Researcher's Paradox[14]. The researcher's proposal to the funding agency must make sense and have a coherent focus and direction. On the other hand, many field researchers have noted that their problems, interests and questions emerge during the course of the research, not before. Many researchers promised what had to be promised just so that they could gain entry into the research setting, suggesting a sacrifice of ethics.

The Convergence Model proposes ways to deal with this problem, and also the problem of validation. Before the model itself is discussed, it would be useful to review the literature for support of such an approach to field research.

Van Maanen states that the primary value of qualitative research is a description of social processes, rather than of social structures[2]. This is good, because the police study was concerned primarily with the legitimation process going on inside and outside of the department. It was not concerned with a static, "snapshot" description of the social structure of the police and their environment. Qualitative research allows the researcher to have a contextual understanding of a certain observed type of social behaviour. It does this by revealing the context through the specific facts with feedback so that one can more fully understand the general context. One theorizes in advance of the facts, one then ventures out into the field looking for the specific. Once the necessary data has been collected, the researcher can then go back and better understand the nature of the theoretical context.

It is apparent that the facts are more comprehensible when one has devised some sort of context through which they can be examined.

Glaser and Strauss' "Grounded Theory", which consists of being open to what the site has to tell the researcher, applies to the Convergence Model[14]. They recommend a policy of slowly evolving a coherent theoretical framework, rather than imposing one right from the start. This strategy creates tension with the constant need for clarity and focus which the researcher must always keep in mind. This is called the constant comparative method, where the continuous feedback process either reinforces or rejects the hypotheses which were formed to give contextual understanding to the data, and in addition, this method generates new hypotheses as the research moves along. The comparative method fits in well with the general-to-specific-to-general process of the research model.

Pettigrew's longitudinal-processual model involves the study of "social dramas" that occur in the life of an organization, which are compared to the routines of the organization's operations[15]. These routines give a contextual backdrop for the study of critical incidents (another term for social dramas) that occur in the life of the organization, out of which a better understanding of its crisis management methods can be had. The social dramas have a symbolic importance in the study of the organization; as the study moves from the general to the specific using both internal and external data, the initial incidents become the focus of study within the context of a theoretical background. The incidents feed back into the general description, lending better understanding of the organizational culture, or context.

The Model

The Convergence Process Model has three stages: the pre-study, the study of the specific context, and the study of the specific content, in the form of critical incidents. Both internal and external data were examined in this process of moving from the general to the specific, from the widespread, scene-setting context to the specific content. The latter fed back into the former, giving greater contextual understanding into the nature of policing.

Each of the four members of the research team was involved in different aspects of the study, the sum of which represented inter-researcher validation, according to the degree of congruence of the results found by each researcher. One member of the research team called this process, "doing hypothesis discovery in testing", or hypothesis discovery and testing while in the field.

Validation was provided by this model in several ways. The use of multiple methods by the research team, where each one complemented the other, lead to the triangulation process of valida-

tion specified by Jick, and by Webb[11 13]. The multiple methods followed Zelditch's framework[10]; analysis of street interviews were used to reveal frequency distribution on the attitudes of the public; participant observation turned up information on specific incidents[15] that occurred (police actions during a strike in the city, and during a holiday weekend gathering of motorcycle gangs); and formal interviews with officers and significant outsiders uncovered the institutionalized norms and statuses, and attitudes and perceptions that existed within the department.

Interpretive validation was provided by the model by, first, specifying a pre-study period where the literature was searched to build a theoretical framework for the concepts being examined in the study. Secondly, the model allowed for inter-observer comparison, an informal process of validation that the members of the research team went through during the hypothesis discovery and testing process in the field. The individual movement of each researcher from the general to the specific provided, when their efforts were collectively summed together, an opportunity for cross-validation.

Client validation was sought by, simply, asking the police if a certain event or fact was indeed true. Every day, the research team's contact in the department was asked to confirm or deny facts put to him by the researchers. A second type of client validation was provided by the examination of documents and critical incident reports. A third type was the use of follow-up interviews and subsequent discussions to clarify any uncertain or unclear points.

Supporting Examples from the Police Study

The pre-study segment of the model had two parts. The first was the construction of an initial story to solve the problem of the Researcher's Paradox mentioned earlier. It was necessary to convince the officials of the funding agency of the need for the study (which was not difficult - they were apparently delighted that someone wished to study the processes of police legitimation) and to give them some idea of what approach the study was to take. Note that this conception of a "cover" story is somewhat wider than Johnson's version mentioned earlier. It is important not to tie oneself to an hypothesis that might become irrelevant during the course of the study. The "cover" story, which states the research intentions in very general terms, allows the research to be defocussed so as to allow the continuing process of hypothesis discovery and testing to be as flexible as possible.

The second aspect of the pre-study period was to have the research assistant complete a review of police literature, which was primarily a survey of the major writers, and of criminology and penology, sociology and psychology abstracts for basic concepts and orienting frameworks. This provided a general context

rom which the specific was examined later on in the summer. A eview of reports in the local newspaper about the police department was also conducted. Stories concerning many of the critical incidents mentioned by the police were summarized: a police homicide, a high-speed chase involving the discharge of weapons, police clashes with motorcycle gangs, and police relations with the various ethnic communities. The degree of support given to the police by the local community was inferred from the positive, neutral or negative stances of the reports.

Internal Validation

There are several examples of convergence from a general context to specific content in the research team's methodology. The first involved internal validation: an extensive review was made of official standing orders and regulations governing police behaviour, and these were compared to reports of critical incidents - a police homicide and a high speed chase; of particular interest in the order book were guidelines relating to the use of firearms, chasing fleeing automobiles, hostage-taking incidents, riot control, and the like. The intent was to compare what a policeman was supposed to do with what he actually did, and later what he did with what was reported. The homicide report was a series of statements by all of the officers involved in the event (with the exception of those who actually shot the individual) and each policeman filled in his part of the story. The entire document was assembled carefully by the chief of operations for the department's tactical squad. The second file was a detailed account of a high speed chase that had occurred earlier that year, and included dialogue of all radio communications between cars, and between officers and the dispatcher. There were complex diagrams showing the paths and skid pattern of all the vehicles involved, and others illustrating where the shooting took place.

The documents were reviewed with an aim to infer official guidelines for officers when confronted with critical incidents. Personnel files, Community Relations Department files, and complaint files were all examined, and if criticism of the actions of officers in them appeared, one could generalize that they had gone beyond, formally or informally, the boundaries set by the department.

Another example of the convergence process in internal validation can be seen in the interviewing procedure. The first week in the field consisted of meetings by the two lead investigators with the top officials of the department. The Chief, Deputy Chiefs, division and department heads, commanders of the three outlying stations in the region, and other high ranking officers were all interviewed. The investigators received the "official story", what these men probably tell everyone else who asks the same questions. A general view of the department's methods and problems provided the context from which a number of specific

issues arose that only discussion with lower echelons of the force could resolve. Some of these issues included the effect of the changeover from walking the beat to patrol cars on the community, the effect of regionalization on police services, and relations with labour and ethnic interests in the city. Detectives, officers on the beat, intelligence officers, motorcycle officers, sergeants, and the head of smaller departments, such as Labour Relations were all interviewed.

External Validation

This was provided by the Convergence model in several ways. The first was the progression from mass surveying to interviewing significant others. The former was conducted by the research assistant, and it involved man-in-the-street interviews to determine public attitudes towards the police. These were conducted from the first day in the field, and initially, questions were put to passers-by in a downtown shopping mall. These people were asked if they had heard or read of several incidents that the police had recently encountered, such as the Biker's Bash (a party thrown by local motorcycle gangs in a nearby town on a holiday weekend), if they knew of the actions the police had taken during this event (100 were arrested, everyone was searched), and if they thought police actions had been justifiable. Later interviews asked questions concerning the public's knowledge or other critical incidents, such as recent bombings allegedly by organized crime, and on the public's attitudes towards regionalization, higher police budgets, and their feelings of safety on the city streets. Possibly the most interesting survey concerned people's knowledge of crime statistics - murder rates, hit and runs, and the percentage of these crimes that the police actually solve.

The data from these interviews was partially responsible for constructing the context of public opinion towards the police, from which the investigation moved to an investigator conducting interviews with significant others, those people physically outside of the police force, but who greatly influence the latter's activity. Officials of the local branch of the provincial human rights agency were interviewed to determine their feelings towards the police, especially with regard to relations with the various ethnic communities. A high level official of a local union then on strike (another critical incident) was spoken to so as to gain some added insight into the police department's Labour Relations Bureau. Prior to this meeting, the scene of the strike was visited by the lead investigator and the research assistant to see first hand what the police do. Administrators of the regional government were interviewed to obtain another perspective on the regionalization issue. All of these people provided a different viewpoint than that gleaned from the "man-in-the-street" surveys and from the police themselves. This feedback from specific officers aided in understanding the contextual framework of the environment.

There also existed a process of external validation of the department's activities. Once a notion of police activities, and their approach to the handling of critical incidents, was obtained from interviews and documents, the investigators went outside the organization to focus on specific issues. After speaking with the head of the Community Relations Department about police relations with local ethnic groups, an investigator ventured out to local leaders to discover their point of view. After discussing the effects of regionalization with top police officials, the research assistant interviewed people in outlying towns that had been incorporated into the regional government to determine their opinions, which turned out to be quite different.

The Fear of Evaluation

The important problem encountered in the research process, and one that was not easily counteracted, was the fear of evaluation by those under observation, and the constant worry by the observers of trying not to evaluate. Unlike many other studies, the issue for the Queen's research team was not one of gaining trust as much as it was the perceived feeling by the police of being evaluated that had to be prevented by the researchers. The team was being sponsored by a police organization, and the issue of trust per se was secondary. But, there were several factors that led to the fear on the part of the officers under study.

The most important reason was the existence of two different perspectives on the research being conducted, that of the police, and that of the researchers. The former are members of the system being studied - an officer is part of the police force, and the police force is part of him. He cannot remove himself from it and it is difficult to be objective. The policeman sees only the pragmatic side of the research - what will it do for him, what are the consequences of what he says, is there anyone watching him to make sure he doesn't mention a particularly sensitive issue? He is that way because being a policeman is his profession and livelihood, and there is that fear for his security should he say the wrong thing. Thus, there was a strong incentive for the officers to be hesitant about truly opening themselves up to the interviewer. Their view from the bottom was the cause of real fear that the genial researcher might in reality not be so genial, and that he might have something to say to the officer's superiors.

The researchers obviously saw a different side than the policeman. They attempted to be objective, and to a large extent impersonal, to gain an overview of the experimental setting. There were, of course, many barriers to pure objectivity, but it is possible for the researcher's biases to be overcome if the potential for them to occur is recognized in advance. Since they take this non-personal perspective, they immediately set themselves apart from the police. Not being involved in the system, and more importantly, not having a "stake" in its well-being, the

researchers could have been perceived as having the potential for causing harm to the department in the interests of science. Furthermore, there was the problem of description without evaluation, for one without the other is hardly possible. What looked like a perfectly honest description to a member of the research team might seem a partial and unfair assessment of a certain situation by an official of the department.

Another reason for the fear of evaluation might have been the fact that the research team had been sent by a College, a part of the R.C.M.P. The researchers were frequently made aware of the inter-force rivalry that existed between the regional forces in Ontario, and between the regional and provincial and federal police forces. Since the research was being conducted under the auspices of another, possibly competing, force, there might well have been some nagging feelings on the part of senior regional police officials that information was being passed back to Ottawa.

A third reason was the bureaucratization of the force itself. It became apparent that there is a very strong reliance on evaluation of job performance by senior officers in determining promotion. If one received an unsatisfactory report early in one's career, prospects looked dim for rising even as high as sergeant. Thus, with such a heavy emphasis on job assessment on one's career path, it is no surprise that many officers were either reluctant to give more than just a cursory answer, or they deliberately deceived the interviewer.

Maintaining support at the top level of management of the organization is the only way to combat their fear of evaluation. There were simply too many policeman, and too little time to have lunch or an after work drink with everyone, making the support from above very important. The team dined often with the Chief's executive assistant, and a friendly feeling developed between him and the researchers. Having this influential administrator as a supporter proved to be very useful, and it is certain that he passed the word down the ranks that the university researchers were to receive co-operation.

THE TEAM APPROACH TO FIELD WORK

The Functional Approach

There were four members in all, each one filling different roles in the research process. The functions of the research team cannot be simply mapped on a one-to-one basis to members of that team, even though individuals tended to possess relatively more of one trait than another. Personality and research styles differed widely among the four members, making them more amenable to one role. This fact of life that people are basically different can be used when building a research team, which is, fundamentally, a process of building a body of research functions. Team members

should be selected with the aim of filling the necessary functions, because research is a team function.

In the police department itself, there was an access man, an insider, who was well aware of, and supportive of, the study. He was assistant to the Chief, and his co-operation was essential if the team was to make any progress on the field.

Now, the various functions of the team itself will be examined. The first role is that of the Scientist, who acts as a foil for the suspicions of the social actors. Initially, the police had no idea as to the nature of the research, and the constant fear of evaluation pervaded every contact made with the researchers. The presence of a scientist, performing visible, systematic research (such as attitude surveys, other questionnaired, interviews) allayed the suspicions of the members of the social system under study. Under the "shield of the symbol of science", the Scientist almost immediately gains the trust, and more importantly, diverts away any attention that initially might have been focused on the research team.

The second role is that of the Stabilizer. He should be very familiar with the social actors and hopefully have had past dealings with them. He is someone the police could trust - conservative, speaks their language, knows their problems; in short, the Stabilizer can relate to the participants of the social system on their own terms. Preferably, he should be a former member of the organization under study (or one similar to it) as well as an academic. This way, his function of defusing any possible conflicts between the researchers and those being studied will be made even easier, and the opportunity to obtain more "inside information" becomes greater.

The third function is that of the Investigator, who serves in mainly an investigative role. More than that, the Investigator performs a stimulation of the field setting for his research. Salancik's model of field stimulation explains this function well[8]. One must interact with the organization to stimulate it to act, allowing one to infer its nature from its responses. The field researcher, by carefully assessing the impact of his stimulation, will determine the character of the response. This is called contrived observation, as opposed to passive recording; one must interact with an organization in order to study it. The data collected are outcroppings of some underlying process, and from the former the organizational process can be inferred.

The advantages of this method are many. It allows freedom in manipulating the condition of a response, and hence, from this, one can infer the conditions for organizational behaviour. This method is theoretically rigorous, as it reveals the structure and routines within an organization, and relations of one organization with another. One can see the extent to which organizations can

researchers could have been perceived as having the potential for causing harm to the department in the interests of science. Furthermore, there was the problem of description without evaluation, for one without the other is hardly possible. What looked like a perfectly honest description to a member of the research team might seem a partial and unfair assessment of a certain situation by an official of the department.

Another reason for the fear of evaluation might have been the fact that the research team had been sent by a College, a part of the R.C.M.P. The researchers were frequently made aware of the inter-force rivalry that existed between the regional forces in Ontario, and between the regional and provincial and federal police forces. Since the research was being conducted under the auspices of another, possibly competing, force, there might well have been some nagging feelings on the part of senior regional police officials that information was being passed back to Ottawa.

A third reason was the bureaucratization of the force itself. It became apparent that there is a very strong reliance on evaluation of job performance by senior officers in determining promotion. If one received an unsatisfactory report early in one's career, prospects looked dim for rising even as high as sergeant. Thus, with such a heavy emphasis on job assessment on one's career path, it is no surprise that many officers were either reluctant to give more than just a cursory answer, or they deliberately deceived the interviewer.

Maintaining support at the top level of management of the organization is the only way to combat their fear of evaluation. There were simply too many policeman, and too little time to have lunch or an after work drink with everyone, making the support from above very important. The team dined often with the Chief's executive assistant, and a friendly feeling developed between him and the researchers. Having this influential administrator as a supporter proved to be very useful, and it is certain that he passed the word down the ranks that the university researchers were to receive co-operation.

THE TEAM APPROACH TO FIELD WORK

The Functional Approach

There were four members in all, each one filling different roles in the research process. The functions of the research team cannot be simply mapped on a one-to-one basis to members of that team, even though individuals tended to possess relatively more of one trait than another. Personality and research styles differed widely among the four members, making them more amenable to one role. This fact of life that people are basically different can be used when building a research team, which is, fundamentally, a process of building a body of research functions. Team members

should be selected with the aim of filling the necessary functions, because research is a team function.

In the police department itself, there was an access man, an insider, who was well aware of, and supportive of, the study. He was assistant to the Chief, and his co-operation was essential if the team was to make any progress on the field.

Now, the various functions of the team itself will be examined. The first role is that of the Scientist, who acts as a foil for the suspicions of the social actors. Initially, the police had no idea as to the nature of the research, and the constant fear of evaluation pervaded every contact made with the researchers. The presence of a scientist, performing visible, systematic research (such as attitude surveys, other questionnaired, interviews) allayed the suspicions of the members of the social system under study. Under the "shield of the symbol of science", the Scientist almost immediately gains the trust, and more importantly, diverts away any attention that initially might have been focused on the research team.

The second role is that of the Stabilizer. He should be very familiar with the social actors and hopefully have had past dealings with them. He is someone the police could trust - conservative, speaks their language, knows their problems; in short, the Stabilizer can relate to the participants of the social system on their own terms. Preferably, he should be a former member of the organization under study (or one similar to it) as well as an academic. This way, his function of defusing any possible conflicts between the researchers and those being studied will be made even easier, and the opportunity to obtain more "inside information" becomes greater.

The third function is that of the Investigator, who serves in mainly an investigative role. More than that, the Investigator performs a stimulation of the field setting for his research. Salancik's model of field stimulation explains this function well[8]. One must interact with the organization to stimulate it to act, allowing one to infer its nature from its responses. The field researcher, by carefully assessing the impact of his stimulation, will determine the character of the response. This is called contrived observation, as opposed to passive recording; one must interact with an organization in order to study it. The data collected are outcroppings of some underlying process, and from the former the organizational process can be inferred.

The advantages of this method are many. It allows freedom in manipulating the condition of a response, and hence, from this, one can infer the conditions for organizational behaviour. This method is theoretically rigorous, as it reveals the structure and routines within an organization, and relations of one organization with another. One can see the extent to which organizations can

transform external stimuli into events for which they are designed to respond (ie., the managing of critical incidents). Lastly, invariances of responses suggest what is routine behaviour for an organization.

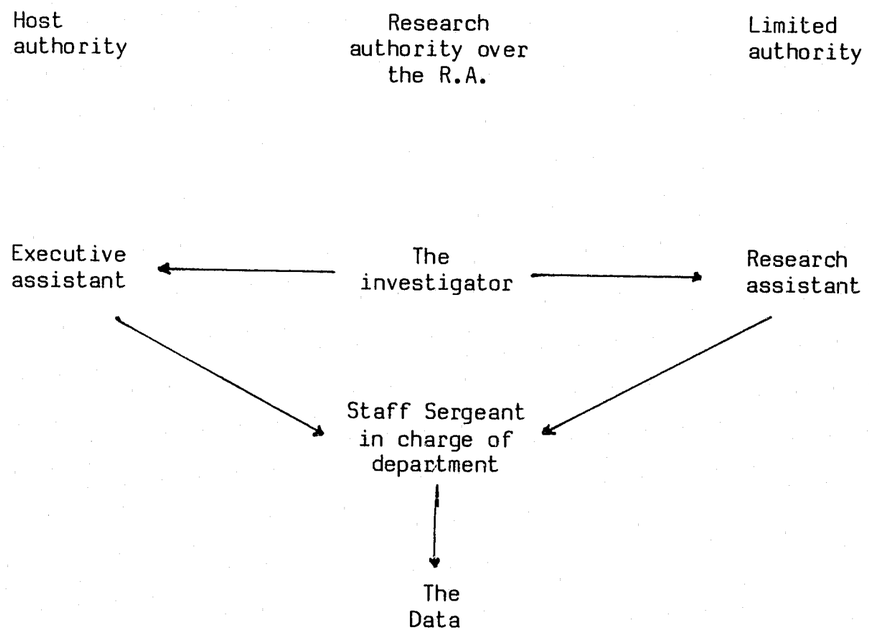
The last function is that of the research assistant who has several purposes on the research team. The first is to perform many research functions; in this study, the R.A. did a survey of the literature, interviews, man-in-the-street surveys, examined documents, files and reports and transcribed tapes.

The second role was to provide validity to the Investigator's research activities. The Asch experiments of the Fifties showed that alone, one has little chance of standing up to the opposing consensus of a number of others[16]. The R. A., merely by being physically present, provided the Investigator with support in certain situations involving risk. By running interference for the Investigator, the R. A. desensitizes sensitive issues. For example, when the team required documents that might be considered confidential or risky for outsiders to see, the R. A. was sent and a strategic decision by the police ("Should we let these guys see this hot stuff?") became a technical decision ("MY boss upstairs wants to see these files, and the Superintendent says it's OK"). By diffusing a potentially negative reaction in this way, the R. A. depersonalizes and desensitizes risky situations. This function is a supportive one: similar to blocking in football or the pick in basketball. See Figure 1 for an illustration.

The R. A.'s third function was one of absorbing frustration, a type of support role. In research literature, there are several steps in methodology that are still unconsidered. Acting in the role of confidant to the other members of the team, the R.A. allows them to work out the antagonisms that result from research frustrations. This is a simple dialogue function, providing a human side to research. This aspect of the private and social facets of team research are very important in the day-to-day process. Most works on methodology give the impression that investigators are super-human, never stopping to eat, drink or sleep, nor to socialize with their fellow researchers. This function is important in the research process, however, as it provides an informal way of "letting off steam", and for exchanging ideas.

The team as a whole operated in a somewhat similar way to an army unit in combat. There is always the point man, who at varying times was any one of Scientist, Stabilizer, Investigator, or, surprisingly often, the Research Assistant. The point man leads the "wedge formation" of the research team, bearing the brunt of any risky ventures that members of the team are undertaking. If the going becomes too difficult for the point man to handle, one or more of the others step forward to offer support. This team approach of the point man running interference for the other members can be construed as being an unobtrusive, or covert measure.

FIGURE 1



By depriving sensitive matters of their sensitivity, the point allows the team to gain access to material which might otherwise be available. In a similar vein to the R. A.'s role, the point man reduces the strategic "no" decisions of the top officials of the organization under study to technical decisions, left to the discretion of lower level officials.

CONCLUSION

At the time, especially from the research assistant's point of view, the field research process seemed to be following a rather haphazard path. No stone was to be left unturned, every document had to be examined, every policeman was to be interviewed. It was a grinding routine, and it seemed as if mountains of data were being collected without any formal, organized approach. As this paper testifies, however, the chosen research method had a coherent and well-organized strategy, and performed some useful functions.

The first was that the methodology allowed the team to gain understanding of a social system by doing field research within the organization. In this way, a contextual understanding of the data was obtained. Facts without context are useless, as is context without facts; the convergence approach allowed for the simultaneous discovery of both. By being immersed in the organizational culture, the information gathered from interviews, documents and outside sources could be better understood, and given this data, the police culture itself became more comprehensible. Thus, empirical validity was achieved because the team gained understanding of data collected on the organization in its own context.

A second function of the research process, tied in closely with the first, is that it allowed for the development of theory along the way. This study was not undertaken just to test someone's abstract theory on police legitimation. The process was not designed to provide a statistically rigorous screen through which hypotheses were passed, and then rejected or not rejected. The methodology was intended to generate hypotheses for the purpose of building a theory on police activities and organization. For this, it worked very well; the team approach allowed for discussion between the members of new theories that were continually arising out of the study and the convergence process provided continuous feedback to the research team. Thus, theory was developed in the organizational context as the study progressed, instead of before hand from the outside, allowing for a much more flexible approach to research than would otherwise be possible.

The police project was in essence a case study. Although Miles has pointed out that the case study method is empirically suspect[7], there has been a resurgence of opinion in favour of this methodology. Yin acknowledges the problems, but "his reply is to

reaffirm the role of the case study as a systematic research tool"[17]. He believes that this method of qualitative research can be used because it is valid empirically.

As has likely been noticed, exclusively qualitative methods were used in the police study. As there was little formal hypothesis testing, quantitative methods were not appropriate. The latter do not capture the subleties of the organization's culture; they are only able to measure attitudes and make formal comparisons between populations. Some quantitative comparisons were made on the mass interview data but that is the furthest extent of their use in the police study. Only qualitative methods were capable of capturing the relevant and often subtly disguised information required for hypothesis development and contextual understanding.

Much has been written on research methodology, but many issues discussed in this paper receive little or no treatment in the literature. The current dispute between qualitative and quantitative schools has missed the fundamental issue that all research is inherently qualitative. The team approach to field research, and the role of research assistants, have both been virtually ignored. The process of hypothesis generation while in the field has received a cursory glance only in forward looking work done by qualitative researchers. This paper is partly an exhortation for sociological, managerial, and political researchers to discard many of the old ways, and look towards developing an intuitive approach to field research.

REFERENCES

1. Berger, P.L. and Luckman, T. The Social Construction of Reality. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1967.

2. Van Maanen Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

3. Mintzberg, H., D. Raisinghani and A. Theoret, The Structure of Unstructured Decision-Making. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 21, 1976.

4. Priore Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

5. Samuelson, P.A., Social Indifference Curves. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 60, 1956.

6. Light, D. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

7. Miles Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

8. Salancik Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

9. Dalton, M., Preconceptions and Methods in Men Who Manage, in P.E. Hammond, (Ed.), Sociologists at Work. New York, NY: Basic Books, 1964.

10. Zelditch, M., Some Methodological Problems of Field Studies. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67.

11. Webb, E. et al. Unobtrusive Measures. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1966.

12. Orne, M.T. On the Social Psychology of the Psychological Experiment: With Particular Reference to Demand Characteristics and Their Implications. American Psychologist, Vol. 17, 1962.

13. Jick, T. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

14. Johnson, J.M. Doing Field Research. New York, NY: The Free Press, 1975.

15. Pettigrew Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

16. Asch, S.E. Effectis of Group Pressure upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgement, in H. Guetzkow (Ed.), Groups, Leadership and Men. Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Press, 1951.

17. Yin, R. The Case Study Crisis: Some Answers. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 26, 1981.

REFERENCES

1. Berger, P.L. and Luckman, T. The Social Construction of Reality. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1967.

2. Van Maanen Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

3. Mintzberg, H., D. Raisinghani and A. Theoret, The Structure of Unstructured Decision-Making. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 21, 1976.

4. Priore Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

5. Samuelson, P.A., Social Indifference Curves. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 60, 1956.

6. Light, D. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

7. Miles Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

8. Salancik Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

9. Dalton, M., Preconceptions and Methods in Men Who Manage, in P.E. Hammond, (Ed.), Sociologists at Work. New York, NY: Basic Books, 1964.

10. Zelditch, M., Some Methodological Problems of Field Studies. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 67.

11. Webb, E. et al. Unobtrusive Measures. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1966.

12. Orne, M.T. On the Social Psychology of the Psychological Experiment: With Particular Reference to Demand Characteristics and Their Implications. American Psychologist, Vol. 17, 1962.

13. Jick, T. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

14. Johnson, J.M. Doing Field Research. New York, NY: The Free Press, 1975.

15. Pettigrew Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 25, 1980.

16. Asch, S.E. Effectis of Group Pressure upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgement, in H. Guetzkow (Ed.), Groups, Leadership and Men. Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Press, 1951.

17. Yin, R. The Case Study Crisis: Some Answers. Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 26, 1981.

END