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THE ORGANISATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS OF
POLICING IN AN AGE OF COMPLEXITY

by

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July 1988

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SUMMARY

Policing is an activity of great complexity in an age of complexity. Little is known of the organisational models used by police management. Little is also known of the basis upon which police managers make organisational decisions. This study examines the known literature which provides a background knowledge to the police activity and brings to bear management developments to this little understood organisation. Surveys of police officers in management and operational positions were undertaken to provide a data base for understanding the expectations of police officers. Members of the public were also surveyed to discern their expectations and contrasts have been drawn up between the two sets of expectations.

The study finds that the expectations of police managers differ in some regards to those of operational officers. The expectations of members of the public differ to those of the police. The police have professionally based technical expectations whilst the public have service quality expectations. This leads police managers to apply management models which are at variance to those which will meet 'customer' satisfaction.

The study also finds that police management use relatively simple two dimensional models of police organisation which do not account for environmental complexity. It is proposed that a three dimensional model should be applied with account taken of variety.

The study proposes a model of organisational complexity based on the BEER viable system model together with a societal model which balances the basic social constructs of GOALS, STRUCTURE, CULTURE and TECHNOLOGY. The application of this model is made in the form of two case studies to illustrate its flexibility and usefulness in improving the effectiveness of the police organisation.

It is suggested in the study that without a management model which takes account of the environment outside the organisation the police will loose their 'market position' and be forced into a position of either increased repression or declining role. Understanding the internal and external police environment is the key to improving effectiveness and better communication.

KEY WORDS: POLICE, ORGANISATION, COMPLEXITY, ENVIRONMENT,
EFFECTIVENESS.

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CHAPTER 1

THE ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS OF POLICING
IN AN AGE OF COMPLEXITYIntroduction

The survival of policing with the consent of the population in Britain depends on the effectiveness with which policing, as an activity, continues to meet the security needs of the people. This study is about the organizational effectiveness of policing in an age of great complexity when the nature of the police organisation and how it is managed are topics of increasing interest to police professionals and members of the public.

The question is being asked with increasing regularity; are the police becoming less effective? The proportion of total crime detected, property recovered and persons responsible for crime convicted show a decline. Crime reported and recorded increases annually. The number of calls for service increase and there appear to be serious signs that the relationship between, and trust by the public of the police, is deteriorating.

The seriousness of these factors cannot be underestimated by police managers who are being urged by government to increase their productivity within existing resource levels. If policing is to become more efficient in their use of resources and maintain the support of their public; management must look closely at their methods of program management and the measurement of effectiveness. Indeed, the very organizational structure must be scrutinized.

In recognising the challenges facing the police today. the Commandant of the National Police Staff College recently wrote, when describing the objectives of the Senior Command Course for police officers being trained for the top posts within the police service: -

"It recognises that the duties and responsibilities of senior officers have to be performed in a rapidly changing social and political climate which demands responsive policies and policing styles. Flexibility and adaptability of mind are, therefore, crucial qualities which the training process aims to encourage and foster. Equally, it will encourage a constructive non-conformity of mind, which is prepared to scrutinize critically the traditional organisational procedures and behavioural norms of the Service." (1)

Today policing is big business with fifty two forces for all of Britain. The smallest of the forces is about a thousand strong; including police and civilian support staff. The largest force, the London Metropolitan Police has over forty one thousand employees -- police and civilian support.

In 1988/89 the cost of police forces in England and Wales will exceed £3.8 billion. Indeed, each police officer's annual costs are now averaged at £25,000 or £54 per head of the population.

The police officer of today is quite different to the old 'Dixon of Dock Green' image of a middle aged solid man. Rather, the officer is likely to be under thirty five years of age and have less than twelve years police service. He will probably arrive at a call in a car (in fact, there is a one in five chance that he will be a she), and use his personal radio to check suspect persons and vehicles. The incident will be recorded on computer which will have an inter-face with the National Police Computer containing all details of stolen vehicles and persons with criminal convictions. If a person is arrested he will become a record on a computer system which will feed into court.

The Police Officer will also be the subject of a number of computer records. His personal data, family and accommodation data will be computer recorded. Finance and administrative information concerning the Officer will be computer processed. The Officer's career development is likely to be subject to computer analysis and his despatch to an incident, or his investigation of a major crime will be subject to a computer-based management system.

The Police Force to which our hypothetical Police Officer belongs will be one of only fifty two for all of Britain, including Northern Ireland. The smallest of these organisations is about a thousand strong. Since the 1960's, the Home Secretary has had legal powers to force Police Forces into amalgamation, 'in the interests of efficiency'. Since that date the number of Police Forces has reduced from one hundred and seventeen in England and Wales to forty-two. The Chief Inspector of Constabulary declared in his Report for 1969, 'Benefits in the shape of improved efficiency, greater flexibility and increased resources are widely acknowledged by those involved, including many who were firmly opposed to the amalgamation proposals'.⁽¹⁾

Thus, large organisational size responsible for policing large geographical areas, massive staffing changes and technological changes have had enormous impact on policing. At the same time, the emphasis upon the Police task has altered significantly since the 1970's.

The modern Police Forces were established in Britain in 1829 to prevent and detect crime and maintain the Queen's Peace. The emphasis has concentrated on the crime prerogative. In the Report of The Royal Commission on the Police of 1964, the duties of the Police were listed as :-

"First, the Police have a duty to maintain law and order and to protect persons and property.

Secondly, they have a duty to prevent crime.

Thirdly, they are responsible for the detection of criminals and in the course of interrogating suspected persons, they have a part to play in the early stages of the judicial process, acting under judicial restraint.

Fourthly, the Police in England and Wales (but not in Scotland) have the responsibility of deciding whether or not to prosecute persons suspected of criminal offences.

Fifthly, in England and Wales (but not in Scotland) the Police themselves conduct many prosecutions for the less serious offences.

Sixthly, the Police have the duty of controlling road traffic and advising Local Authorities on traffic questions.

Seventhly, the Police carry out certain duties on behalf of Government Departments - for example, they conduct inquiries into applications made by persons who wish to be granted British nationality.

Eighthly, they have by long tradition a duty to befriend anyone who needs their help, and they may at any time be called upon to cope with minor or major emergencies." (2)

The task emphasis outlined in the Royal Commission, and very much part of Police operational culture, is the 'War against Crime'. Yet, workload surveys point out that less than one third of Police activity is directed against crime, a far greater proportion of Police time is directed towards the provision of a social service!

Throughout the 1970's, the Police have become more and more involved in public order control. Political marches, soccer matches and animal rights demonstrations have put the Police into opposition with a wide range of Protest Groups. Then the spectre of unemployment and the alienation of young and black led to the urban street disorder of 1981. The Enquiry and Report of Lord Scarman focused attention on the dictomy between law enforcement and peace keeping. (3)

There are likely to be conflicting results between these two perceptions of the Police task and Scarman proposed that, ultimately, peace keeping was the more vital function and that the enforcement of the law - the detention of suspects - should, on occasions, be a secondary consideration.

This thinking flies in the face of much traditional Police thinking; in particular, the crime-driven Police prerogative. This issue relates predominantly to the operational task emphasis of the Police. Further influences on Police task can be seen in the greater emphasis placed on team policing. Public disorder and the adoption of unit beat policing (the employment of unit teams to police a distinct area) has moved policing in fifteen years from the independent Officer to an emphasis upon the unit team.

Yet, Police management still focuses on the individual and the local. In two recent studies of Police management (Plumridge 1982 and Males 1982) both found that managers emphasised the here and now and put little effort into the medium or long term. (4)

What we have examined to date are the ways in which policing has changed in the period since The Royal Commission of 1964. However, if we look at the organisational model of policing, we see little evidence of structural change since 1829! In the model of 'The New Police' of 1829 was created a para-military organisation, hierarchic in form with responsibility. The Police Force is divided into functional divisions. The Army Platoon, Company, Battalion and Division is mirror imaged in the Police Unit, Sub-Division, Division and Force. Command responsibilities and rank structure are again similar. However, whereas an army's task is relatively straightforward - against an identifiable enemy (normally!) the police interact continually with a society of law upholders and law breakers and the dividing line is frequently blurred.

The structure of the police organisation is vitally important. What is the role of police management in the control of this organisation? This study seeks to examine the organisational structure of the police; how effective is it? In the dynamics of the organisation, how well does the 'adaptive connectivity' (Beer 1985) work? Indeed, as Beer pointed out :-

".... if the structure is dysfunctional, then no amount of financial wizardry, of insightful man-management, of business technique, will save the day. Increasingly, it seems to me. the organisational structures we have inherited do not work." (5)

It will become clear in this study that considerable changes have taken place in the perception of police task taken by members of the police organisation and these are not necessarily shared by those in the political sphere and the wider environment. If there are perceptual differences as to the objectives of the police organisation, then how can the police force be measured within terms of its efficiency and its effectiveness?

The Home Office, pursuing national Governmental policy, is urging better value for money. In order to achieve this, the issues of effectiveness and efficiency have become crucial, but by what criteria are these concepts to be judged? If police management criteria of the task is different to the criteria of the providers of finance, then it is unlikely that their reference areas and their understanding of success will be shared.

In one of the few organisational studies of British policing Sanderson has illustrated how modern British police forces are large and complex entities with organisational characteristics, structures and processes rooted in their nineteenth century origins (6). In developing his theme of poor organisational communication, he brings to the fore the interaction of three core features of police organisation. In the first place police forces are seen to be rational bureaucratic organisations. Secondly, the mode of management adopted owes much to the military tradition. Thirdly, the emergent development of policing is that of a process of professionalisation of the organisation "to which the professionalisation of the individual is subverted" (7)

Whilst the existence of the three characteristics of bureaucratic rationalisation, military model and organisational professionalism have been described previously, Sanderson suggests that their dynamic interactions have led to the situation where communication activity is corrupted. These issues will be developed in this study.

Clearly, as Beer points out, " If the structure is dysfunctional" This study was conceived from an appreciation that the application of computer technology to policing was presenting the organisational structure of policing with problems of adaptation. The original intent was to focus upon the impact of new technology on police management with the hypothesis that there was a mismatch between police and public expectations. However, as will become clear as the study progresses the whole subject of police organisation is little understood outside the police service. There is relatively little analytic research upon which to base this study. This has led the study to focus upon a more widely based focus rather than the narrow issue of technology.

In this study we have taken a systemic look at the way in which the police organisation relates to the environment within which it has to function. From this approach the study maps out strategic police management problems at a time of rapid technological change which are impacting on an organisational structure which must be understood by managers if they are to maintain valuable assets (for example, a dominant market position and public support). We will propose a model of the police organisation which presents a strategic opportunity for management to cope with the variety and complexity of environmental demands and amplify their own organisations capacity to provide a sufficient supply.

Policing must adopt more adaptive structures to meet new demands. In discussing the dysfunctions of the organisational structure police management is given wider strategic options and structure can be brought more into line with the task. Communications are essential to control and the application of computer technology can be better directed with an organisational structure that is directed to a commonly accepted task perception. This is what efficiency and effectiveness is really about.

MISSING

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Police Organisation

Organisation is the bringing together of the various parts of a system in order to co-ordinate their activities and make them one. One test of an organisation is to see how well the various parts work together. This is a test of the internal efficiency of an organisation. The role of management is to monitor the way in which the parts are working and take action to set a direction and then ensure the organisation works in that direction.

There are many definitions of Police organisations; are we looking at the National Police Service, the service in Northern Ireland, Scotland or England and Wales, a Police Force, a Police Division/Sub-division or an individual Police Officer (Chart one and two - Police organisation). Indeed each level of recursion shares the same ingredients and is subject to the pressures outlined in the Introduction.



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In this study, we are examining the Police organisation mainly at the level of the Police Force and its recursion at Division/Sub-Division. Yet, much of what will be said applies equally up the organisational tree:



Chart Two : Simplified Headquarters Structure of a typical County Force (Bunyard 1979).

The level of management focused upon is that of Superintendent and Chief Superintendent (Chart four - Rank Structure). There are two thousand Police officers in these two ranks in the National Police Service.

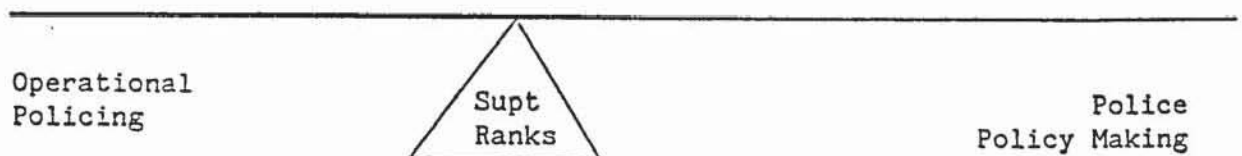


Chart Three : Pivotal position held by superintending ranks within the Police organisation.

In classical organisational terms, the superintending ranks hold Divisional responsibility. Police Divisional structure is a functional classification. The Divisions are of two types :-

- a. The geographical Police Division, sub-divided into Sub-divisions. Responsibility lies with these units for all policing. They comprise approximately seventy percent of total Police Force manpower. They are supported by :-
- b. The support Divisions/Departments, Traffic, Criminal Investigation and various Administration/Personnel groups. Whilst there are about thirty percent of the Police staff in these groups (the majority being Traffic and CID), a large number of the civilian staff work with these groups - mainly in an administrative capacity. The support staff ratio is approximately one civilian to three Police Officers.

In 1972, a Police Advisory Board Report on rank and structure for the Police recommended that a Chief Superintendent's command should have approximately 350 Officers and Superintendent 120-150.⁽⁸⁾ Clearly, the Police Division/Sub-division is a most complex people system dealing with people based problems.

Where does the Police manager come from then? All Police Officers join the Police service as Constables and advance from there. Promotion to Inspector is by examination and interview selection. Thereafter, interview, selection and promotion is the sole prerogative of the Chief Constable. For the ranks above Chief Superintendent, interview and selection is by the predominantly politically composed Police Committee for the Police Force area.

Promotion is primarily based on the ability of the Officer to do his present job rather than potential for the next. Management training is a relatively new concept to the Police Service; the emphasis is upon functional skills training with little attention being given to an analysis of the theory of management.

The majority of Police management training is 'in-house' and undertaken by the National Police Staff College. Many Police Managers never attend the Police Staff College and, consequently, receive no formal training commensurate with their management responsibilities! Direct entry into Police management has never seriously been contemplated, despite the per capita cost of over £25,000 per annum of a Police Officer. A Police Division of 450 Officers consumes at least eleven million pounds each year in Police manpower costs, plus buildings, vehicles and other equipment - yet Police management receives little financial or resource planning training.

It should be said, however, that there is a Police professional ethos. This professionalism is, however, mainly directed towards the technique of Police operations rather than towards Police management. The concentration is upon arrest and detection figures today and tomorrow. The emphasis is not upon resource provision and allocation next month, year, next five years. In fact, few, if any, Police forces realistically forecast spending any further forward than eighteen months (this being Home Office capital projects submission requirements).

New Technology

Into this organisational and management situation has come new information handling techniques. New technologies have entered policing previously; the motor car, the radio and forensic science. All of these new technologies have had many effects. The most obvious, in all three cases, was the creation of new Departments to administer and functionally direct, eg. Traffic Department, Communications and Scenes of Crime. Each technology has been applied as an adjunct to the 'Primary' purposes of policing, defined in 1964 and discussed earlier in this Chapter.

What is so new and distinctive about the new information handling technologies based on computer systems is that they are part of a computerisation of society, of which Valery Giscard d'Estange - the then President of the French Republic said :-

"The applications of the computer have developed to such an extent that the economic and social organisation of our society and the way of life may well be transformed as a result. Our society, therefore, should be in a position to both foster this development and to control it so that it can be made to service the course of democracy and human growth". (9)

If changes take place in the way in which society and organisations process information then it is to be expected that changes will also take place in the way in which society is structured. Primarily, as we will examine in greater detail in this study, if we change our information processing techniques, not only will this impact upon structure but it will also change goals and culture. In a simple model we can see any social grouping as comprising :

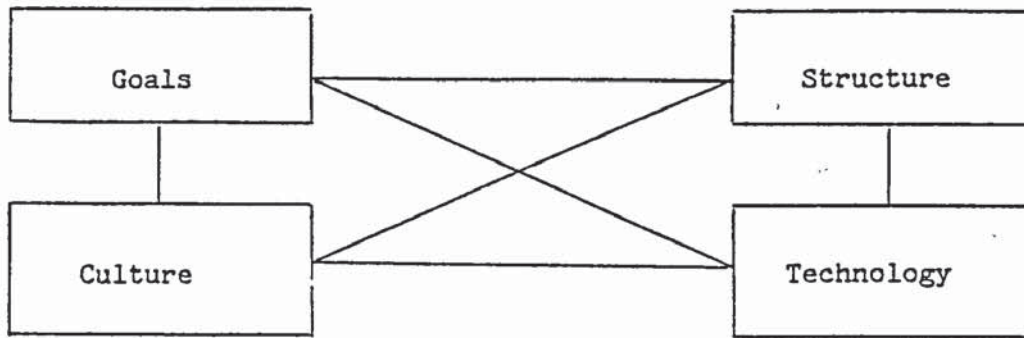


Fig. 1.1. Societal Model in Balance.

Change. in any one part of this model is not an abstract construct, but rather a reality impacting on the social whole; an 'organisation' being a part of this 'whole'. As Manning states :

"Technology' cannot in fact be considered in the abstract, because all technology is used by various personnel who bring meaning and understanding to technology and because it is always employed within the context of on-going social organisation or social structure which constrains its use to socially sanctioned purposes." (10)

Computer technology handles the information that is the life-blood of policing. Police organisation is an information processing system based on classical management principles - functionally based working to an hierarchic form. However, the organisational model has not fundamentally altered since its inception in 1829. It was then based on the model of Wellington's Peninsular Army, one of the first joint Commissioners of Police, Sir Richard Main, having served with the Quarter-Master General of Wellington. However, Police size and complexity was considerably smaller and 'simpler' pre 1964 (excepting the Metropolitan Police).

The theory of Police information handling is that it is rational, policy is set by Chief Officers on the basis of environmental surveys conducted by staff Officers and on the basis of economic resource availability. This Policy is then sent down-the-line to Divisional management for directions to be given to front-line staff who will then implement it. As a result of this implementation and feedback, Divisional management make an assessment which is fed back to the policy makers who then adjust their policy and add-in any staff intelligence available and so the cycle continues.

To date, most Police computer systems mirror the organisational model theorised above. The computer is generally centrally located at Police Headquarters and structured down-line. Processing and information requirements are based on a centrally determined assessment of 'Force' need. These computers are intended to 'Control' the Police 'operation'. It is on the basis of control and operations that the arrangements for computer systems are based.

The arguments for computer systems generally state that the Police organisation must use computers to both increase its data acquisition and handling capacity. Through this, more accurate assessment of demand can be made and Police resources allocated thereby increasing efficiency and effectiveness.

Why is it then, one would be forgiven for asking, that Police detection rates decline and recorded crime increase despite computer development?

It may be that what is being addressed is only the symptoms of problems rather than the problem itself. Indeed, as BEER pointed out, "If the structure is dysfunctional....." It is the structure of the organisation itself that must be examined and this also means examining the philosophy of Police control mechanism.

SUMMARY

This introduction has indicated the areas this study addresses. We are concerned to develop an organisational model of policing which is sufficiently flexible to help us to understand how policing works and how it can develop. We do not claim originality of creation but rather originality of application.

The study will build a picture of police organisation by firstly laying the foundations of literature from areas which contribute to an understanding of the police; both in police and management related studies.

These initial foundations are then built upon by drawing a number of relevant factors from a selection of survey studies undertaken as part of this study and verified by contrasting the findings with a number of similar surveys also conducted since the early 1950's.

The study will then continue to build a picture of organisation by looking at the role of police management and the contribution that the BEER Model of a viable system can have in understanding the

complexity of the study area. We will then be in a position to draw together the implications of Fig.1.1. for police managers. How a manager requires an understanding of the principles of social cohesion and development to regulate organizational development; we will see how the study proposes that the principle of recursion would apply these arguments to any organization and that the societal model is of general applicability.

Our interest is in the effectiveness of policing and how police managers play a vital role in regulating and directing the police organization. We will move through a literature review to identify major strands of research which have relevance to this study. The process of the study will then take us through an examination of a range of social surveys undertaken in the 1980's, both as part of the study and others contributing to our understanding of present police organization.

We will be in a position , having completed the above to assess the organizational needs of policing if effectiveness is to increased through managerial action. We will then begin to develop an approach to the creation of an organizational model which will assist us in understanding the dynamics of the management of police programs. Having proposed a model for understanding organizational effectiveness in policing we will look at a case study application of the model, Fig 1.2.

Chapter 1	The Police Organisational Background to the Problem
Chapter 2 to Chapter 4	Data Base from Literature Review and Survey Work
Chapter 5	Examination of the Reality of Police Management
Chapter 6	Development of Model
Chapter 7	Case Study Application

Fig.1.2. The Structure and Process of the Study of Police Effectiveness and Organisation

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REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter we will begin to develop the data base from which to understand the way in which police organisational effectiveness has become viewed, both within and without the police service.

The literature reviewed falls into two main areas :

1. Police Related Studies.

This area of review is itself broken down into three areas of interest :

- a) An approach to police literature that is called, for the purposes of this study, the Historical/descriptive perspective.
- b) The Political perspective
- c) The organisational perspective (still in its early stages).

2. Management Related Studies

From a brief outline of the development of management literature the remainder of the section examines a selection of organisation theory studies; looking, in particular, at how the concepts of structure, technology, goals and individual and group activity have developed. To complete this section of the review contingency theory and the issue of uncertainty together with the systems movement are examined.

The literature review begins to build up the necessary information base upon which we will develop the model for assessing effectiveness.

Police Literature

Since the disturbance of the 1960's in the U.S.A., police related literature has grown immensely. Federal assistance was generously given to police related research throughout the 1970's and many American Universities developed police or police-related programmes. The American based Police studies helped stimulate interest in the examination of British policing. The 1970's saw increasing concern about police and public relations, such concern finding expression following a series of disorders in 1981; resulting in an Official Enquiry as to the state of Police and Public relations (1). Despite the development of interest in critically examining the police, some of which will be examined later, it is probably true, as Maurice Punch claims, that we still know little of the true nature of policing.

"Despite an outpouring of writing on the Police in the past few years, so massive as to frustrate practitioner and academic alike, very little can be said to be known as yet about the Police. Being known is of course a Term of art but basically it denotes a collection of reasonably complete factual information through a body of proven explanation. In both senses, little is known about the Police. Descriptive information.... is fragmentary (2)".

Peter Manning has commented on the problems facing the would be researcher of police work (3). Gaining access to the innermost parts of police institutions, Manning comments, presents the researcher with the need to be seen as acceptable to the Police institution. Robert Reiner echoes Manning's comments on acceptability in respect of research with the British Police system (4). The researcher,

in attempting to examine police organisations and operations, is often perceived as a threat and accordingly, in adopting a defensive posture, police departments decline co-operation. Of course, this is not surprising, most people in an institution based on status and power, are reluctant to put themselves under critical examination.

The Home Office in Britain is the main focus for officially sponsored police research. Operating through either the Home Office Research Unit (HORU) or the Scientific Research Development Branch (SRDB) approximately sixty research workers from both the physical and social science disciplines provide a support and analysis function. Some research papers from the HORU and SRDB are published and reference will be made to a number later. One of the tasks of those Official Research Groups is to vet requests for research facilities from outside (non police) researchers. By national agreement (5) all Police Forces refer requests for research facilities to the Home Office for an opinion, in an attempt to avoid duplication of effort. This central oversight of research, taken with the 'natural' reluctance of Police Forces to expose their workings, has led to criticism of the "Watchdogs of the Home Office". (6) Indeed, Punch is so critical of the Home Office control as to give it as a major reason for shifting his locus of research to Amsterdam.

It must be said at this early stage that the literature review can only paint-in a backcloth to the study. There has been little 'insider' analysis of the police organisation in Britain. Whilst some of the North American literature is applicable, there are important cultural and historical differences.

For example, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the historical evolution of British policing from the military model which was Wellington's Penninsular Army, when taken with a rational bureaucracy and emerging professional ethos, has created a very tight entity, which has resisted external scrutiny.

If we are also aware that the internal culture of policing has a profound impact on the goals and structure of the organisation; and upon the way work is done. This awareness allows us to put the following literature into a framework which can go some way towards explaining many of the gaps which later chapters develop.

This review will draw out from the relevant literature a web of information which will bring us to the heart of our subject - an understanding of organisational complexity - by exploring a variety of approaches to understanding policing.

The Main Approaches to Police Studies

The consequence of the availability of funding for Police related research whilst access controls also exist has led to two main research perspectives :-

- a. The first focuses on the historical development of the Police. Most notable of the historical/descriptive police studies are those of Charles Reith (7,8) and Thomas Critchley's now standard reference on police development (9). The historical perspective has been enlarged to include Trans-Atlantic comparisons (10,11) or even cross-cultural comparisons (12). It must be said though, that the historical/descriptive approach to the examination of policing, whilst providing a foundation of understanding, provides little more than a limited perspective of the police reality.

- b. The second major perspective is an examination of the police in the political arena. This main research perspective has developed through the 1960's, a period of challenge by the young against authority in Europe and America which gave it extra impetus. Policing was often seen as "The Iron Fist in the Velvet Glove" (13, 14). In Britain too, policing became identified with political power and control. Tony Bunyan drew attention to the socially acceptable and politically directed concentration of power in the hands of the police who operate behind a veil of apparent secrecy (15).

There is presently evidence of a developing third perspective on policing. We will examine this developing approach in more detail in Chapter IV, when we discuss a range of survey results.

This perspective is asking questions of the organisation of policing.

Manning, for example, has looked at the symbolic presentation of policing within a situational context and suggested that the police manipulate social 'reality' to find acceptable solutions to problems they define (16). In Britain, Robert Baldwin and Richard Kinsey have taken the view that policing has been centralised, rationalised and specialised in organisational form as part of a concentration of political power in the hands of relatively few Chief Police Officers(17). Central to this organisational restructuring is a manipulation of situational reality:-

"Crucial to the style of policing is the manner in which the Police perceive their relation to the public and how they define the public that is to be policed". (18)

One part of the organisational manipulation of reality, which is both seen as a cause and effect of organisational change in British policing, is the manipulation of crime figures. Robert Carr-Hill and Nick Stern, in their examination of the Police and criminal statistics cast doubt on the 'true' level of crime (19). Changes in recording rules, decriminalisation and other legal changes all work to influence crime and reporting rates of crime. Ultimately, Carr-Hill and Stern cast doubt on the crime-waves that are so often discussed by official studies. They also question the trend since the 1950's of increasing the size of Police organisations, fewer and bigger, as being in the interests

of efficiency :-

"It is common, however, to suppose that the size of an organisation will affect its efficiency. Big organisations can reap economies of scale. However, there are also disadvantages of scale. Apart from the problems of bureaucratic growth, larger Police Forces and more advanced equipment (for example, cars rather than bicycles) can put the Officer out of touch with the local population" (20)

Carr-Hill and Stern are referring to the increased distance apparent between police and public; a factor very much at the heart of attempts by students of police organisation to look behind the image of reality presented by the police themselves to the reality upon which they function. This entails the delineation or mapping out of police behaviour within and without the secrecy afforded by the organisational structure. Questions as to the power of groups within the police, the Chief Officers, Senior Officers and Police Committees (being the representatives of the community) have been raised by Mike Brogden (21, 22). Brogden contends that since 1945 the Police have organisationally attained a previously unheard of level of autonomy; free from both local control by the Police Committee and from Central Government :-

"The Chief Officers, in issuing directions, has to allow for the way in which they will be interpreted according to station, and group conventions and traditions" (23).

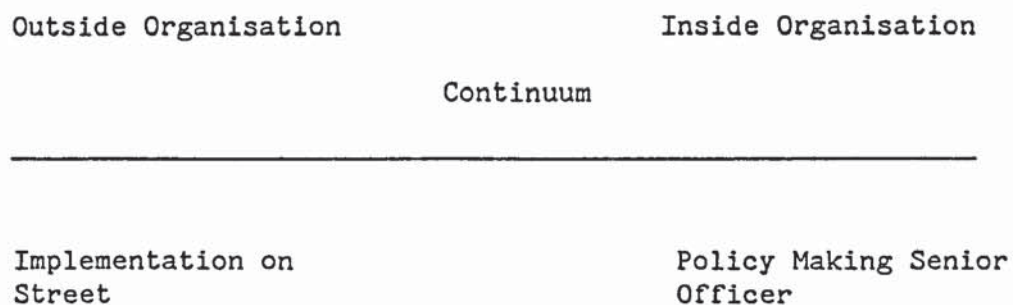
"Apart from at the general level, the imperative to maintain public order, the pressures on the Police institution rarely embody cohesive class interests.... The more divided the demands, the more the chiefs negotiate from a position of strength" (24)

Researchers who focus on the organisational aspects of policing are raising issues which logically flow from the historical/descriptive works and the political/control research. Increasingly, the issue is becoming that of power relationships within the organisation, as exhibited through organisational behaviour (policy making and decision making) and the implementation of police policy decisions in the operational context (the traditional focus).

Police Decision Making

The increased attention being paid to the policy and decision making of the police has so far concentrated on the implementation end of the decision making continuum :-

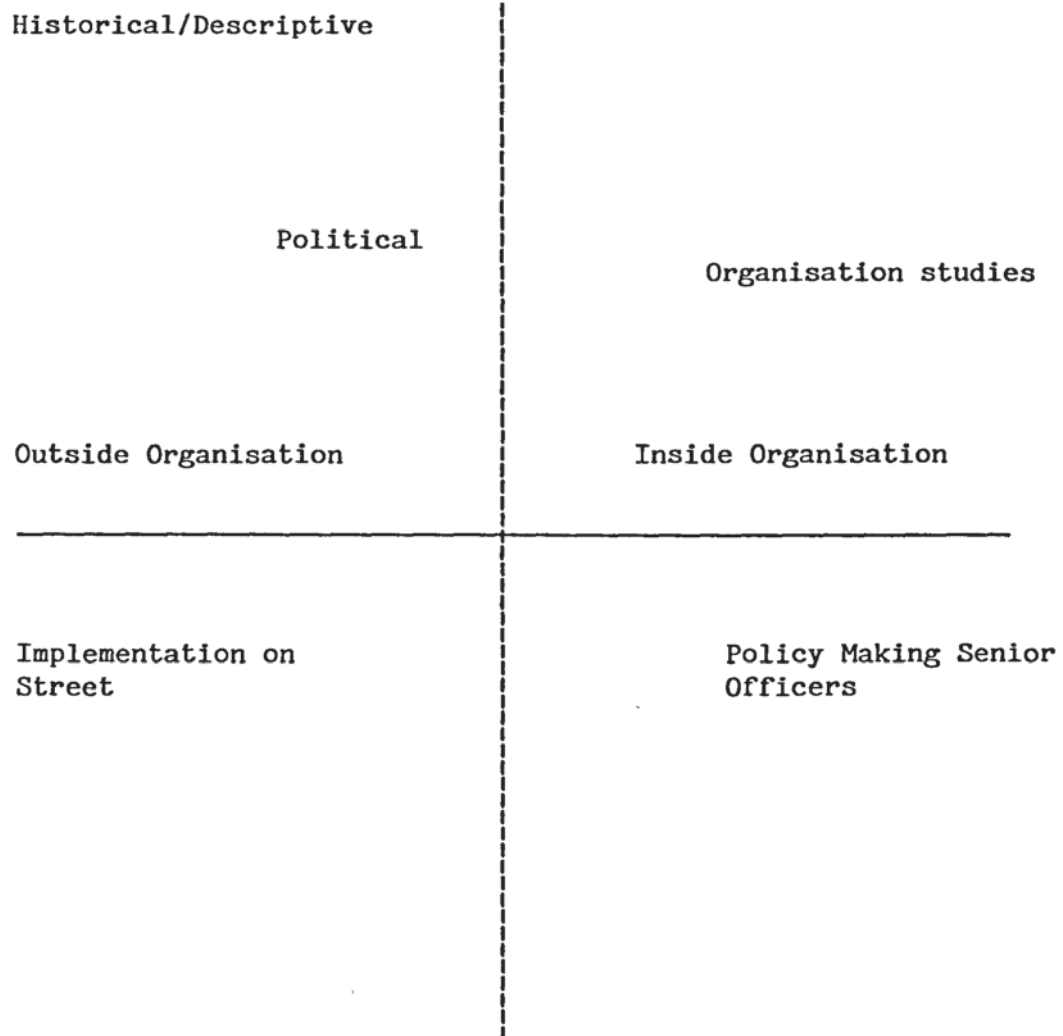
Fig.2.1.
Police Decision Making Model



From the work of Banton in 1962 (25), Cain (26) to that of Jones (27), the concern has been to explain the behaviour of the police by

Fig. 2.1.a.

Police Decision Making Model:
literature Applications



reference to the actions of street policemen. This approach will present problems to an understanding of why a policeman takes certain action and how the feedback cycle works.

As Rubenstein points out, the position and power of the individual policeman depends on his possession of information and he has little interest or benefit to be gained from giving this to people outside his immediate work group (28). When called on for a report of his actions, the policeman will have to provide a report 'acceptable' to his senior officer :-

"The structure of Police organisations is such that mistakes are viewed as intentional by senior officers, thus introducing a constant ambiguity in inter-organisational relationships, especially between officers and their supervisors. However, participants fear sanctioning, feel it is not predictable, difficult to defend against, ambiguous as to meaning and prospective significance for their relationships rather than on the behaviour labelled as rule breaking. Thus, internal lies are frequent" (29)

Consequently, the information a senior officer uses to make decisions, if internally generated and transmitted through the hierarchy, can be open to question.

Looking once again at the Police Decision Making Model, we can see how the two major perspectives in police literature, the historical/descriptive and the political, focus upon the highly visible aspects of policing; outside the organisation. This study is intended to bring into focus the continuum which connects the highly visible

street implementation with constraints (32). The internal constraints include such examples as a limited number of available operating procedures, staffing levels and capabilities (33).

Manning has indicated the importance of information in respect of external constraints:-

"Obviously, information is a necessity to the property operation of the administrative model. If the criminal event ('crime') is conceived of a signal, then it can be measured as to the strength and source". (34)

Constraints affecting the police limit their ability as individuals and as an organisation to operate in a rational manner. In the terms of Lindbolm, 'disjointed incrementalism', or 'satisficing' rather than scientific management strategies of optimization become the order of the day (35).

Police, Information and Professionalism

In his highly original examination of crime and information theory, Willmer puts forward the notion of the criminal as an emitter of signals (36). If the criminal is assumed to be rational and wishing to reduce his probability of detection and makes decisions in line with maximising this notion, and we also assume that the policeman is operating to increase the criminal's chance of detection, each can be seen as struggling for payoff. We have a zero-sum game situation; negative payoff for the police are positive payoffs for the criminal and vice versa, Willmer explains:-

"Thus the struggle between the criminal and the police is like a battle over information. In this battle criminals can be treated as though they were emitters of signals which the Police try to detect. The strength of these signals will vary depending upon the type of information emitted by the criminals as well as upon the measures taken by the public and the police. If a criminal wishes to make the task of the Police as difficult as possible, he will strive to ensure that the signals he emits are as small as he can make them. The police, on the other hand, will try to make any signals emitted as large as they can". (37)

We can also look at the connections within the police organisations, between the inside and the outside, as consisting of a process of signal emissions and reception, of various reduces and amplifiers coming into play. The communication channels through which information is passing being subject to interference, or noise, from a variety of sources. So not only is this a process of signals between this environment and the police, but also within the police system. The longer the system, from source to analysis and interpretation then the more distortion there is likely to be.

In respect of external noise distorting the information, this can arise in many ways; from the criminal as Willmer suggests in the zero-sum game situation. In addition, police operational tactics may prevent the citizen coming into contact and transmitting information, for example, the use of cars rather than foot patrol, thereby distancing the police officer as receiver from the transmissions of the public.

Sandra Jones and Michael Levi suggest that the police are increasing the distance between themselves and their public, not just through the technology of policing (cars etc.) but also through adopting a 'professional image' (38). This is the development of a trend initially identified by Cain in 1973 when she stated:-

"The Police College at Bramshill has strengthened its grip on professional training. This means that autonomous professional standards are being developed which will be another source of role definition for Senior Officers oriented to career advancement" (39)

Whilst Cain saw professionalism only within the senior ranks of the police, Jones and Levi find strong evidence amongst street policemen, constables and sergeants; a desire to let 'the experts get on with the job' (40). Consequent upon this attitude is a different perceptual model of policing; Police officers see themselves and judge themselves by professional criteria whereas members of the public assess police competence according to personalised qualities of attitude and appearance. What is strongly re-enforced is the capacity for noise distortion to the information signal generated in the police system environment. Thus external factors can work to prevent access to information and distort signals received and transmitted into the police communication/information system.

Once inside the police system information can be subject to noise and consequent distortion; or even destruction so far as the organisation is concerned. As Willmer states :-

"The strength of the signals emitted by the criminal is dependent to a certain extent upon the efficiency of the Police Force in collecting and acting on information.... Attempts are being made in Great Britain to combine intelligence information with more conventional data in order to increase the value of the information that is received and to minimise the chances that a valuable piece of information will be lost." (41)

Willmer's attempt to apply information theory to crime control is a valuable attempt to bring to police and Home Office attention the need for analysis of both police and criminals information systems. As Simon has suggested, much of the action of organisational actors is subject to 'bounded rationality'; to the constraints imposed by perceptual models formed by each participant (42). Churchman makes the valuable point that "Information theory is a safe science, as it deals with the transmission of messages and not their meaningfulness to the user". (43) Theory has little use without operationalisation which gives meaning. It is in the application of meaning to information that much of the internal generated noise can arise. Too much information can create an overload situation as both Churchman and Acoff have made so plain (44, 45). The filters which organisational participants build-in to the system of information transmission serve both constructive and destructive purposes.

Cain suggested that one of the constructive purposes of filtering information at the street level is to protect both the operational and senior officer :-

"Senior officers could not supervise directly. They were dependent for information on a formalised system of upward communication." (46)

Cain goes on to suggest that because of changes in police operational policy, officers are increasingly sharing their perceptual models of the police world thereby narrowing the vertical communication gap.

This view is not shared by Manning who comments :-

"Police organisation can best be described as asymmetrical communication systems. Messages in the form of written order, memos, procedural dicta, general orders, and so on flow down from staff to line. Very little communication flows up the line; it is retained by lower participants primarily as a means of self-protection". (47)

Manning is very much in agreement with Rubenstein, whose work was referred to earlier, who termed this withholding of information, "Private Information". The difficulty for the police organisation managers in these circumstances is to ensure that their command channel capacity is adequate whilst retaining the capacity to audit - to check what is really happening. For example, one of the simplest forms of auditing the activities of the line officers is for staff officers to walk the beat on occasions. This type of activity allows the policy makers to test their intelligence gathering systems against experiences. Clearly, in all organisations actors will take care not to expose themselves unnecessarily to risk, knowledge is clearly a tool in the power politics of street policing and also within the police organisation.

Other ways in which information is filtered within the police organisation has been the subject of two recent studies. In the first place, as a HORU study by Heal and Eckblom has shown, police radio controllers are concerned with 'clearing the books' and do not take the trouble to obtain full details concerning calls for

service. (48) The result of this strategy is that the operational officer despatched can have a mental model of quite a different kind to that of the caller; The radio controller filtering certain elements and amplifying others. This is supported by the findings of both Jones and Levi who identified the professional and personalised expectations of police and public, and of Hulbert in a recent study of Police Control Room Staff. (49) It is certainly the case that radio controllers do not simply transcribe information passed in by a witness; there is a considerable amount of selective extraction of information. One of the causes of information distortion identified by Hulbert is the absence of an adequate 'schema' which a radio controller could quickly and effectively employ. The absence of such a schema raises the question as to the effectiveness of one. The radio controller is presently able to employ considerable flexibility in resource allocation, just how good the police response would be if such flexibility were constrained raised the crucial issue of management responsibility and the process by which policy is transferred into action. In his study of the role of the police middle management, Plumridge has used the analytic techniques of repertory grid to identify the relationships between the tasks (elements) which make up their role and the characteristics (constructs) which they use to distinguish between them. Thus, part of the perceptual world of part of police middle management is mapped. (50) Plumridge indicates how little attention police management pay to building and maintaining information networks. As a task, police management considered that this activity could be delegated which

certainly acts as a reinforcement to lower level information selection (the controllers), whilst recognising that this requires teamwork, i.e. information only has meaning if shared. The whole of Plumridge's work suggests that police middle management are very concerned with the immediate and rely on their police colleagues and put aside planning activities and improvement; or even the development of information systems rooted in the environment. This reflects the internal and external pressures to produce results, or appear productive, now!

Thus, the question is posed as to what information system does police management want? Churchman comments :-

"We can see now that the systems approach to management information systems implies an extremely important and yet difficult problem : what kind of model of the user should be stored in the system, and what should be the reliability of the model with respect to the facts?" (51)

It is vital to an understanding of the police use of information that there are a number of assumptions implicit as to the larger world within which they are operating. If, as is arguably the police case, the organisational objective of policing, above any other, is to provide a protective service for society, then police management require information to assist towards meeting this end. It will be clear from this study so far that little is really known about the Weltanschauung (picture of the world) of police managers. Simon

pointed out that the failure of many American data banks and management information systems is partly the result of a failure to work out how the information is to be used, by whom, why, where and when? (52) The whole purpose of this study is to examine the processes of the police organisation, from its actions in the environment to decision making at management level, with a concentration on the latter. If the police mission is seen as being to provide a protective service to a community within set boundaries (country/county/town) then, in Simon's terms, we need to identify who within the organisational framework requires information (verbal and non verbal), where and when. This, of course, does not just mean police actors but also the outsiders; the customers or potential customers of this service who need information upon which to base their demands. It is also useful, in such circumstances, for organisational managers to understand how their goals are related to their culture and that their structure is similarly in a state of interaction with technology; the various aspects are in a condition of dynamic interaction. This allows information management to take place and helps minimise contradictions within the various demands.

In a 1980 report on the police use of management information systems, Hough has brought into focus both the need to avoid information overload and the need for the police manager to have a clear view of his world. (53) Whilst Hough's study was primarily concerned with examining resource allocation decisions and the use of computer technology; it does underline the reliance by police management on experience and 'seats of the pants' reaction. Thus, to acquire information to service such

experience-based decision making, a shared understanding is needed between management and street officers. In practice, it is often the case that a meeting of minds between line and staff is not reached. In those circumstances actors within the organisation make decisions on the basis of expectations; organisational participants say they understand, but do they? This goes some way to explaining why decisions can be inappropriate, or simply bad. Clearly, a key issue for police management is to design organisational information systems around such meeting points.

It is difficult today to talk of information and management information systems without commenting on the application and use of computers. It is to this area that we now look to examine the literature relevant to the police field. In this way we will complete a review of relevant police related literature to the study before seeing where the models are in need of support and supplement.

Computers and Policing

The use of computer technology in policing has had contradictory effects. Initially, police computer systems were centralised and structured to reinforce a model of policing which took a top-down view of the organisation. This was reinforced by the Home Office who reported in 1969 :-

"We think that the Home Office should give the highest priority to an examination of ways in which computer technology might be applied to Police work" (54)

Whilst official government support encouraged the application of computer systems to police functions, little has been written to explain what the systems are and what impact they are having. The Home Office published a series of guidelines for Forces considering the implementation of command and control systems (55) or other operational Computer systems. (56) One of the earliest reviews of the police use of computers was undertaken by the HORU in 1980 (57). This review focused upon the use of computers as a management information tool. Hough identified :-

"A number of factors leading to the underuse of Police MIS (Management Information Systems), not least of which has been a mismatch between the capabilities of MIS and existing management styles in the Police. The report has suggested that changes in management style are a pre-condition for fuller exploitation of MIS. (58)

Hough went on in his review, to outline a number of conditions which he felt would minimise 'user-resistance, irrelevance of management information and poor data quality.' These conditions were :-

- i. MIS will be used most by Police Forces with decentralised decision making processes.
- ii. MIS will flourish the more that Police Forces make clear distinctions between decision processes concerned with the distribution of resources between areas and those concerned with the use of resources within areas.
- iii. MIS will flourish in Forces in which the primary MIS users are such as middle and low level administrators and supervisors.

- iv. MIS will receive greatest use when primary users exercise greatest control over the content and capabilities of the systems.
- v. MIS will receive greatest use when the purposes for which data are collected are formally stated.
- vi. User-resistance will be the least in Forces where users (or their subordinates) have greatest physical control over their MIS. (59)

The common denominator throughout the recommendations of Hough is a need to change the management style of the police organisation from a centralised base to a devolved management/decision making system led by those using information. In 1984 the Home Office SRDB produced a 'State of the Art Review of Police Management Information Systems' (60) Whilst this Review suggested that the Police neither led nor lagged behind industry and commerce in the application and use of MIS, there was a real need to recognise the importance of giving attention to user requirements. In addition, the Review identified a need for additional management training in relation to the use of MIS. (61) The importance of a lead being given from the top was stated thus :-

"In Forces where it was well known that the Chief Constable strongly supported the use of management information, usage tended to be high. In Forces where the Chief Constable's support was apparently half-hearted, a lower level of use was evident." (62)

Similarly, in a 1984 Review of MIS in industrial and commercial fields by a leading Management Consultancy, the observation was such that :-

"It is a platitude to say that success is determined by the attitude of the Chief Executive but platitudes are generally true. The success of MIS in providing support to management must increase as the management level of its application rises". (63)

It is clear from what has been said that insofar as the police organisation is concerned, the use of computers and particularly management information, depends to a great extent on the support of Chief Officers. Further, to get the best from such systems user needs and access are of key importance and to achieve this, changes in the style of police management are needed.

This is the situation insofar as MIS are concerned; what of the interactive use of computer systems; the precursors to 'Expert Systems' :-

"No Police demand has emerged for sophisticated 'interactive' programmes to answer "What if?" questions about resource allocation, and even if such demand had emerged, it is unlikely that MIS data would have been sufficiently accurate to the needs of the programmes". (64)

In terms of computerised MIS, Hough's comments re-enforce those of Barnett who evaluated the successfulness of computerised MIS in five continental countries. Barnett found that even where well-presented information was regularly given to police administration, the effect on planning was small. (65) She concluded that it would be many years before computerised MIS was regularly used; again it is a question of changing management style and this is an evolutionary rather than revolutionary process.

In the United States, some work has been published describing the use of mathematical modelling techniques for resource deployment (65) but it has also been suggested that these techniques have had very limited application. (67) Indeed, Colton's review of police computer use in 1971 and 1976 (68, 69) in United States Police Departments finds evidence of widespread computer use, but in routine and structural areas, such as records management, personnel etc; Colton's descriptive work, replicated in respect of England and Wales by Bond (70) in 1980 suggests the need for a closer examination of such computer use in the way proposed in this study.

Clearly, the history of the police relationship with computer technology, is one of the technology failing to match managerial expectations and the literature brings out the lessons for police management. Hough in his most recent study of the subject states :-

"... the Grail of technology is typically introduced into an organisational milieu characterised by cause, conservatism and ignorance... combined by the rejection of the technology" (71)

Hough goes on to point out that the assumptions underlying attempts to introduce computer technology to policing assumes an 'administration model' (72) of policing and ignores the lack of clear task differentiation which impacts on the concepts of productivity and efficiency. The more that members of an organisation simultaneously pursue multiple objectives, which are sometimes conflicting, severe problems of quantification arise. We know that only a small proportion

of Police work is directed towards law enforcement. (73) At the end of the day, present computer applications are about quantitative issues whereas much of policing is about qualitative issues - the maintenance of authority and the exercise of power. (74) As Hough, Youell and others have pointed out, what is required is a change in management style and also an examination of, and decision in respect of what parts of the police operation computers can best serve a need. Police management must be reflective; their needs must be espoused before the appropriate computer systems are developed.

Summary of Police Related Literature

In this review of police related literature it is clear that the focus of study has moved over the past two decades away from the historical and descriptive to the analytic. It is not surprising to note the attention given to the power and force issues; the police being so closely involved with social control and the inevitable political issues.

Common factors which emerge from the selection of literature include issues of control and accountability; both from within and without the police organisation. There is also the question of how technology impacts on information handling, the structuring of the organisation and how goals are achieved. As Manning powerfully draws to our attention, these factors are all part of the organisational culture and a change in any part has an impact on the others :-

"... it is argued that the social control of police work is always to some extent a function of external constraints, but that in Anglo-American societies it is remarkably controlled by the discretionary action of the individual officer and the associated organisational reality in which he is located. (75)

Having seen the limits to police related literature in specifically management related areas, we will continue with this review by examining areas of management literature. This will then provide us with a basis upon which to build a model of police organisational control and the role of technology.

MANAGEMENT LITERATURE

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Underpinning the police related literature are management, sociological and political theoretical models. In this section we shall examine the development of management theory and we should remember, whilst reviewing this development, that police organisational understanding is only recently taking account of this theoretical base to develop its own series of organisational models.

The analyses completed of police management point to the similarities rather than differences between police and 'other' management. From a brief review of this literature we will see how this study's model fits within a continuum of theoretical understanding.

Frederick Taylor (76) and Gulick and Urwick (77) sought to provide, not so much a theory of management as a group of principles based on commonsense to guide managerial action along a 'scientific path'. This scientific management brought together organisational structure, behaviour and technology and treated these within the organisational whole. The essential ingredients for the organisations' activities were seen to be the need to: plan ahead, write down policies and define tasks, specialise and delegate, be decisive and limit spans of control to about six people. These principles depend ultimately on a unity of command in order to preserve hierarchy of authority based on rank. As organisations kept growing and complexity increased, so these principles of centralisation of authority and control and departmentalism of performance became more necessary.

Much of the descriptive and historical literature of the police reviewed earlier assumes this model of police organisation. (78) Indeed, even the most recent research of Plumridge and Males (79) and Punch on organisational control (80) suggest a model of police organisation that is essentially 'classical', but with important gaps. Both Plumridge and Males' works suggest an absence of forward planning on the part of police organisations. (81) Punch also suggests that much of police policy is not written down; more specifically that policy making tends to be secret (82) and, as James has pointed out (83), policy worked to; practical policing, is different to the professional imagery of managerial policing.

It was claimed by proponents of scientific management that it worked well in tight and inflexible organisations, but during the 1930's, research began to indicate how changing production techniques put inflexible organisations under strain. Labour was recognised as an important part of the organisation and to orient the organising process just for efficiency could bring about strain, tension and cause an organisation to break. The Human Relations School was born out of the process of according the human being an important place in the organisation. The quality, as well as the quantity of work, was recognised as being of importance in making an organisation tick.

The work of sociologists of the police have tended to emphasise a human relations perspective of police organisation. Banton and Cain in Britain and Manning in the United States have emphasised the actions of the policeman; both as an individual despite the organisation and as one of a number within the organisation.

The line of thought, which emphasises that if attention is paid to a worker his productivity increases, is based on insights into individual and group behaviour. This has provided the starting point for more recent work in organisational theory and management development. It is also the point at which police related literature is just recently beginning to develop.

Organisation Theory

Later work in organisation theory begins to separate various aspects; the structure, technology and behaviour in respect of the decision making process, and examines these variables in relation to both the organisation and the environment.

What then is meant by the term organisation :-

"The system, then to which we give the name 'organisation' is a system composed of the activities of human beings. What makes these activities a system is that the efforts of different persons are here co-ordinated. For this reason their significant aspects are not personal. They are determined by the system either as to manner, or degree, or time. Most of the efforts in co-operative systems are easily seen to be impersonal. For example, a clerk writing on a Report Form for a Corporation is obviously doing something at a place, on a Form, and about a subject that clearly never could engage his strictly personal interest. Hence, when we say that we are concerned with a system of co-ordinated human efforts, we mean that although persons are agents of the action, the action is not personal in the aspect important for the study of co-operative systems" (84)

Taking the interest of the Human Relations School further, Barnard sees the organisation as consisting of a collection of individuals, a co-operative system. This concern with the activity of individuals was taken up by Simon in 1945 when he stated :-

"Decisions are not made by 'organisations' but by human beings behaving as members of organisations. There is no logical necessity that a member of an organisation shall make decisions in terms of values which are organisationally limited. Nevertheless, in example after example, we can find individuals behaving as though the institutions to which they belong were 'economic men' always calculating the 'institutional utility' in terms of both service and conservation goals, in each decision" (85)

Simon goes on to point out that individuals within the organisation do tend to make decisions in the collective interest. (86)

Clearly, the organisation man pursues goals organisationally shared.

Barnard and Simon, together with Cyert and March (87), view the organisation as a collection of individuals concerned with solving problems and making decisions. In so doing, the individual acts as an economic man making calculations limited only by his own 'bounded rationality' due to an inability to possess all information. Organisation man consequently, in Simon's terms, is goal-seeking but satisficing due to his inability to optimise. The perspective of Simon sees limits to the individual's ability to take information from the environment, the information which is potentially available can often not be obtained or the individual is not able to process it. Of course, how can any individual cope with the enormous variety that exists. Each individual or collection/organisation must optimise through a process of reduction, filtering and calculating so that complexity becomes manageable. This is Simon's view of 'bounded rationality'; it is the limits imposed by complexity and the need to achieve a position of what we shall see later is requisite variety.

In police research this is the point that both Plumridge and Males make in their respective examination of police management. (88)

The primary concern of police managers were found to be a concern to look inward, not out at the environment. In addition, managers are concerned with the time and how little time or effort is put into planning for the future.

The works of Barnard, Simon, Cyert and March are based on rules of organisation induced from theories of individual behaviour. On the other hand, other theories have looked at the classical principles of organisation; span of control, departmentalism etc. and tried to assess the relationship between these variables. It will be recalled from Chapter 1 that we are considering a societal model which contains the constructs of goals, culture, structure and technology as underpinning social organisation.

Joan Woodward was one of the first to examine the relationship between technology (the mode of production), structure and the economic success of organisations. (89) Woodward came to the conclusion that a relationship does exist between technology and structure, and that the organisation which best fits structure to technology is economically most successful. There is implicit in Woodward's work an assumption akin to the classical rationality of Taylor's one best way to do everything; that is, that there is an organisational rationality and that the structure follows the technology. Woodward does not consider the influence of the environment and only considers the organisation as a whole, thus pre-supposing the absence of disunity or internal conflict within the organisation, factors we have seen previously in the work of Manning and Cain. For Woodward the function of management is to ensure that organisational structure facilitates the technology. We see such a view reflected in recent police management work. Butler (90), in arguing the case for rational management through Policing by Objectives, starts from the basis that if the management process is right - if objectives are rationally set, then

the operational aspects will follow. This approach has had its critics. Roche (91) and Waddington (92) have both argued that the irrationalities of the police output; reliant on the demands generated through social interactions contain a built in limitation to the rational planning method. We have here a re-statement of the points made in the discussion on computers and the police earlier. What is being discussed in these studies is the linkages between structure, technology (as in terms of process) and goals. The issues relating to culture are assumed within the question conflict and unity as it relates to organisational action.

The work of Woodward stimulated challenge and The Aston Group contended that her two samples in 1954/55 and 1962/64 were not consistent. They also looked anew at the relationship between structure and technology and construed more categories of technology. However, the Group concentrated on operations technology, or how the production process was shaped.(93, 94) The Group proposed five elements upon which an organisation could be rated and a profile developed :-

1. Structure : i) The number of specialists.
 ii) The degree of role specialisation.
2. Standardisation : The way in which procedures and roles are standardised.
3. Formalisation : The extent to which rules, procedures, instructions and communications are written.
4. Centralisation : To do with the locus of authority to make decisions affecting the organisation.
5. Configuration : The 'shape' of the role structure.

The Group suggest that by using their five component analysis framework, it would be possible to compare organisations on a standard base. The work of the Group is more a suggested framework rather than a refined and finished product. It is not certain whether the elements are scaleable in order to create a comparison of structural characteristics. The emphasis of the Group on workflow technology, having also identified materials and knowledge technology fails to distinguish Woodward's work. Whilst accepting the importance of operations technology to structure, The Group concluded that size is of greater importance. This is a point made by Child at a later date when he states the organisational size, "... has very significant implications for organisational design". (95)

Child also goes on to say that :-

"By and large, the technology of an organisation reflects the kind of environment in which its management has chosen to operate. Some complex technological processes may also only be available on an economic basis to organisations which have attained a given size" (96)

Child appears to be concerned with the internal environment of the organisation and not necessarily the wider market within which it is operating. At the same time, Child is clearly referring again, as with other members of The Aston Group, to operations technology. Thus, The Aston Group take the consideration of technology and structure a little further by introducing the consideration of organisational size as a determining factor. Thompson also examines organisational structure, defined as :-

"The major components of a complex organisation are determined by the design of that organisation. Invariably these major components are further segmented, or departmentalised, and connections are established within and between departments. It is this internal differentiation and patterning of relationships that we will refer to as structure" (97)

Thompson is concerned to create a theoretical framework based on bounded rationality where the environment does not disclose all of the alternatives available. He does not provide a description of the relationships between technology and structure, he is more concerned to indicate the importance of environment on organisation structure; the importance of finance, energy, personnel etc. and that there are very real differences between external environmental conditions in the geographic sense and those internal as seen in the social composition of the organisation.

The studies examined in this section are bringing into focus some of the issues relating to the control of organisation. The fact that there are relationships between organisational size and the technology used should surprise no one. The fact that these relationships exist indicates the control mechanism must also exist to ensure stability. It also begs the question as to what other components can be identified in the organisational milieu?

Where Thompson introduced the environmental elements to that of technology and structure examined by Woodward and The Aston Group, Charles Perrow brings these factors together stating the need for the organisation's goals to fit the available technology. (98) Task structures are seen to vary with the technology utilised and social structure in turn is related to technology and task structure :-

"First, technology or the work done in organisations, is considered the defining characteristic of organisations".
(99)

Thus, whilst technology is the independent variable and structure is seen as dependent, Perrow makes the point that any radical change in goals will require a change in technology and thus structure or the lack of it between them will affect the effectiveness of the organisation. Whilst Perrow indicates that technology is the independent variable with structure, goals etc. dependent, we will see as our study develops that this is not the view taken here. The construct of technology is important within the police organisation (as in any organisation) when viewed as one part of the complexity existing within the dynamic interaction of constructs e.g. structure, goals, technology and culture. Literature taken from management research provides us with the bridge into police related organisational research developed in this chapter and later in chapter four.

In respect of the police organisation, the suggestion of the writers so far would be to agree on the importance of the work process in defining the organisation's structure. Thus, the provision of a service twenty-four hours a day over a geographical area leads to a structure to facilitate this; departmentalism on a geographic basis. The size of the organisation also impacts in the number of departments and ranks. The environmental influences impact through demands and also by putting limits on the organisation's resources, particularly in terms of money (how much are we prepared to pay in Rates and Taxes?)

The theories outlined so far deal principally with the organisation as a collectivity acting in response to environmental stimuli, but what happens within the organisation's decision making framework? Lawrence and Lorsch examined types of organisation within different environmental conditions (100). They did not use technology as the independent variable but looked at uncertainty perceived by members of senior management. Uncertainty consists of the uncertainty sum of information clarity, in cause and effect relationships and in timespace of feedback. In respect of internal variables, Lawrence and Lorsch use differentiation, which is the way in which organisational members perceive their worlds differently and pull against one another and, integration which is the pulling together. They suggest a curvilinear relationship between the variables; high differentiation leads to difficult communication within the organisation and little integration, similarly low differentiation was found to indicate that organisational units were dealing with the same issues but had begun to compete. Thus, in addition to differentiation and integration as the two main variables, Lawrence and Lorsch suggest two intervening variables; communication when differentiation is high and co-ordination when differentiation is low. This model is particularly interesting when we examine our survey results in chapter IV.

Lawrence and Lorsch's study provides a useful model with which to view the internal workings of an organisation. Unfortunately, the work of the Authors is in the form of a general theory and explanations are general. The variables are used more as indicators than as theoretical definitions and whilst environmental influences are taken into account, they are difficult to analyse independently. Nevertheless, Lawrence and Lorsch provide a useful contribution to organisational theory, later developed by Koolhaas. (101)

Contingency Theory

Koolhaas builds on earlier work to emphasise Contingency Theory; the adjustment of an organisation to environmental demands as perceived by powerful individuals or groups within the organisation. In particular, Koolhaas is building on work of Hickson and others who suggest that if a sub-unit is so central to the workflow (technology) that its cessation would subsequently impede the workflow, then the sub-units power helps define the organisation. (102) Thus, in contingency theory there is no one best way to organise nor will all ways of organising be equally effective.

The task of an organisation is a key variable in that around this is built the operations and information technology. The ability of an organisation to cope with uncertainty is influenced by two main variables. In the first place, the completeness of the model used to solve problems; "The more complete the model, the more variables or influences can be taken into account". (103) Secondly, the more formalised the model used, the more routine will be organisational action. Koolhaas points to the problems that too great a level of formalism can occasion whereby those at the top attempt to plan and control all action and ignore the needs of the social organisation by routinisation. This can result in organisational dissonance :

"... in the top-down approach to information control systems the technical and social power relations coincide. The hierarchical authority structure is superimposed upon the information system. Every responsibility is clearly outlined and results in the disappearance of lower management functions

because the basic planning decisions taken at that level are now taken by the automated planning system on the basis of decision rules that have been deduced from quantitative cybernetic models; such models are orientated towards the minimisation of co-ordination costs from a technological point of view. The implementation of such a top-down designed information control system demands far reaching social changes within the organisation because the design does not take the existing (social) organisation into account, nor does it reflect societal developments outside the organisation." (104)

Thus, as Koolhaas points out, management need to remain aware of the social needs of the organisation and remain sensitive to information flows which can indicate what is happening in respect of the technological versus social contingencies. Once again, in our survey review we will find similar disparity of technology and social perception by organisational action and we will see how dysfunctional this can be.

Similar concern in respect of organisational structuring is expressed by Galbraith who takes task uncertainty as his central variable.

"The organisation design problem is one of achieving coherence among strategy, organising mode and integration of individuals. This conception defines a rich choice of alternative actions to bring about a coherence but leaves one a little confused about where to start." (105)

Galbraith hypothesised that variations in organisation form is as a result of variation in the capability of the organisation to process information about events which could not be anticipated in advance. Uncertainty is seen as the relative difference in the amount of information required and the amount possessed by the organisation.

Galbraith suggests that the hierarchic bureaucratic model of organisation can co-ordinate large numbers of independent sub-tasks but have limited capacity to remake decisions. Information processing capacity can be influenced by either increasing the organisation's processing capacity by a change in organisation form or the quantity of information required can be reduced by limiting the organisation's role. Should increased processing capacity be chosen to reduce task uncertainty, then investment in formal hierarchical information processors could take place or alternatively lateral decision processes could be developed.

The primary point to the work of Galbraith is that there is no one best way, a total opposite to Frederick Taylor's scientific management concept. Task uncertainty requires analysis of information available and present and organisational adjustment to cope. There is, in Galbraith, an implicit belief in economic rationalising on the basis of perceived ends. However, Galbraith does account, on a theoretical level, for extra and intra-environmental pressures. His work provides a useful analytic model to aid the present study's examination of an organisation established to deal with frequent task uncertainty situations and yet, formally structured on a command basis through ranked authority. In addition, police organisation is formally established on a rational model set to meet local and local information. The extent to which these apparently conflicting aspects contribute to dissonance and strain is a central theme in the study.

Koolhaas and Galbraith focus the reader's attention on the need to treat each case on its own merits; there is not one best or only way way of treating all organisational, management or technological problems or situations. We have now come a long way from the classical theorists propounding 'ideal models'. The problem with police related literature is that it is still in the 'ideal model' stage with just the beginnings of contingency recognition. What is required is an analysis of each situation within the bounds of its own circumstances, but taking into consideration the environmental conditions applying. We intend to discuss these issues in Chapter VI when we will be examining the way in which the police organisation, as with any organisation, has to meet a whole range of situations. In order to meet those needs, the organisation has to adjust to contingencies and this requires an absorption of variety and a flexibility which can only be found by a constant process of internal adjustment between the parts of the organisation, social grouping or, indeed, the individual. By this, it is meant that consideration needs to be given to both internal and external factors affecting any organisation. This leads to consideration of the systems movement and the application of cybernetic principles of control and communicating; an area with great potential for the creation of police management models.

The Systems Movement

C West Churchman points out that the 'systems approach' is "a continuing debate between various attitudes of mind with respect to society". (106)

In effect, for Churchman, as indeed for Bateson (107) systems thinking is a philosophical approach to life and the interaction of entities within society. Churchman goes on to summarise the systems approach as consisting of four principles :

1. The systems approach begins when first you see the world through the eyes of another (it is a philosophy).
2. The systems approach goes on to discovering that every world view is terribly restricted (every world view is only a component of some other system).
3. There are no experts in the systems approach (the problem of the systems approach is to learn what "everybody knows").
4. The systems approach is not a bad idea.

Systems thinking consists in essence of looking at each entity as being part of other entities, each of which interact and therefore change the 'raw state' of the entity. Thus, a group of individuals may make an organisation by following joint aims towards achieving certain goals but they do so through a series of interactions internal to the organisation and also externally interacting with other organisations or systems.

Various approaches have been taken to systems; the 'hard systems' approach of applying mathematical techniques to the solution of problems defined and the 'soft systems' approach of looking for problem situations in the people of the system and using mathematical and social techniques to rectify such situations. While Checkland looks for a 'root definition' to the problem (108), Acoff looks at the 'mess'. (109) In effect the focus is the same in attempting to make order out of perceived disorder. For example, applying the mathematical proofs of Shannon in information theory to systems, the cybernetic approach to the analysis of organisations provides a framework for the examination of control and communication problems within organisation. Stafford Beer has said :

"Today, however, control in a business is something much more than the interaction of its senior managers. It has to do with information of an extent and complexity beyond the capacities of those senior people to absorb and interpret it. Therefore, it has to do with the structure of information flows, with the method of information handling, with techniques for information reduction, and so forth".
(110)

Beer brings to bear a model of organisational structure and system based on the analogy of the human body with its capacity to absorb new information and change to meet circumstances; its adaptability. Beer suggests a recursiveness to systems consisting of the component parts : control, communication, co-ordination, intelligence and implementation. These components work together to make a new system viable and "if a viable system contains a viable system, then the organisational structure must be recursive". (111) We will look in some detail at the model Beer

proposes as it brings together much of what has been said above and offers an invaluable tool for understanding and planning organisational changes in the Police Service.

Of great importance to Beer is the principle of variety reduction. Taking Ashby's Law of Requisite Variety, that only variety absorbs variety, Beer points out that any system existing in a state of equilibrium requires regulators and amplifiers of variety in order to maintain stability. (118) Recently this interpretative principle of Beer's has been questioned. Espejo and Howard suggest that underlying Beer's work are two other laws; That of potential simplification and that of insufficient variety. (113) The argument is that Ashby's Law holds in very few cases and in particular does not hold when the changes are of a qualitative nature, the case can be simplified so that the law does not hold and then simplified in respect of disturbances so that it does hold (almost an argument for Churchman's interpretation of systems as being of deception/perception; a philosophy). Secondly, Espejo and Howard suggest that systems often do not have sufficient variety to absorb all disturbances and yet they do not automatically fail, a law of sufficient variety. What Espejo and Howard are bringing to notice is the issue that whilst Requisite Variety holds true in all cases - only variety absorbs variety - no system can fulfil Ashby's law; no system has requisite variety. Consequently, through the processes of amplification and attenuation; of controlling market demand and increasing apparent capacity to supply; in fact, by using many methods of internal and external control a system achieves sufficient variety to achieve its

goals. It is this process of adjustment control through the manipulation of the system constructs that we will be examining in detail in Chapter VI. In effect, the argument seems to be for a 'Law of Necessary Adjustment' which takes one a full circle to look again at contingency theory; that there is no way of modelling reality but that systems exist and exist quite successfully in a variety of guises. Yet, Beer offers, despite the qualifications of Espejo and Howard, a way of presenting organisations as 'organic'; being capable of self-regulation and self-adaptation (of being contingent in the true sense). For this review, Beer provides a principal model for analysis.

SUMMARY

From scientific management's 'one best way', to systems and contingency theories we have examined a range of management literature which can be used to develop our understanding of police organisation. It will be clear from a reading of this chapter that, whilst we have spoken of a historical, descriptive and political perspective, there is no 'pure' type. Each perspective is limited and the development of police literature shares much in common with the development of management theory.

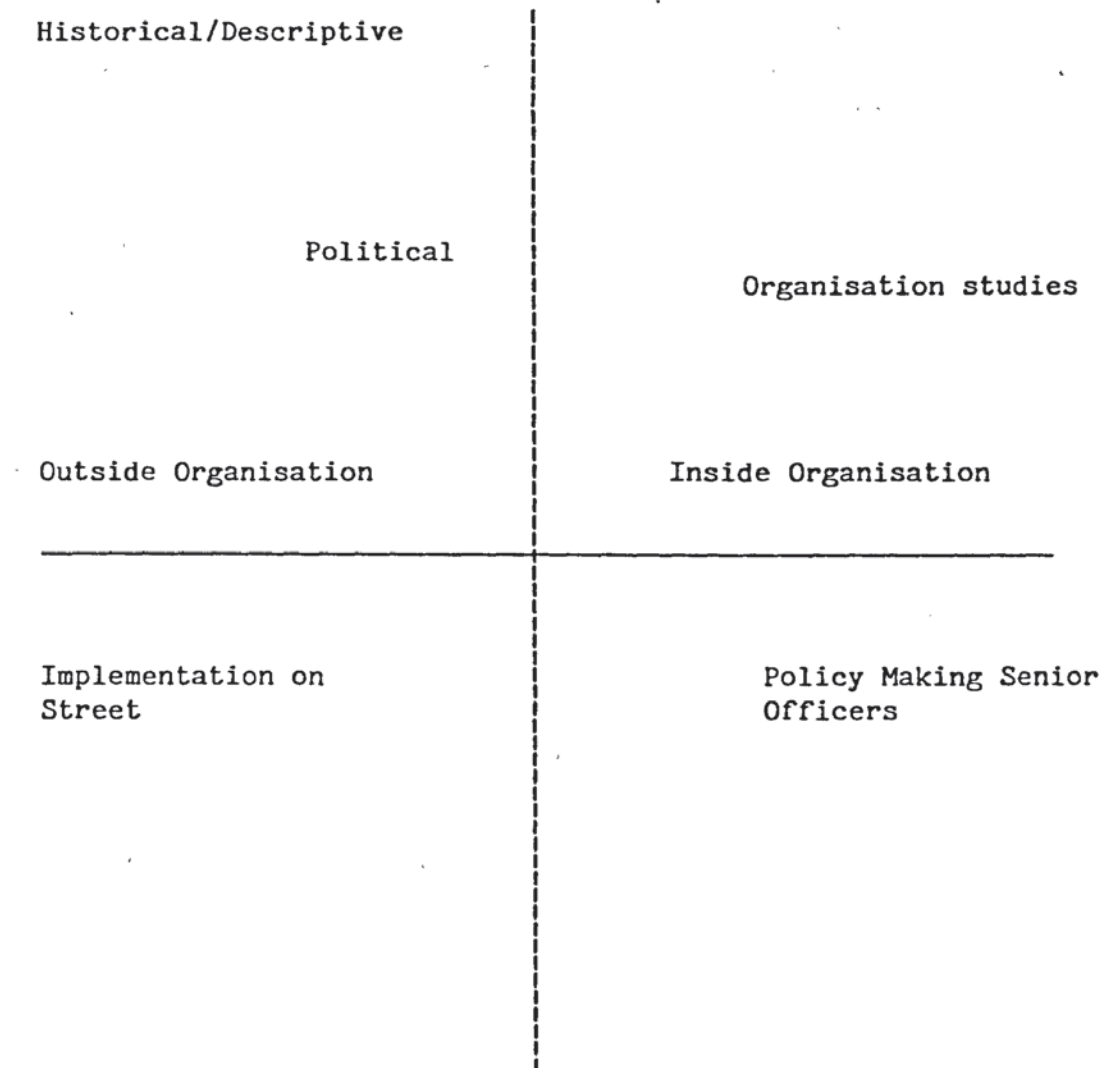
The police and management works have been selected to form a basis to our understanding of police organisation. The earlier historical/descriptive works are contemporaries with the scientific management view of organisation. As police research has moved from descriptive to analytic, the complexities of understanding have required more complex theoretical models. Thus, we see the beginnings of systems theory applied to police research.

We will see how many similarities there are between the police and other organisations (subject to review in management literature). The dynamics of organisation and attempts at modelling this is equally relevant to understanding policing as any other organisation. We will continue to develop figure 1.1 (page 14) and will bring to bear upon this building-block approach the Beer model's approach to understanding dynamic organisational interactions.

It is suggested that the police organisation appears to hold fast to the scientific management theory of one best way of management with the departmentalism and control from above through the issue of directives and written policy, together with the maintenance of records. There is, at the same time, a concern about the way in which the human element of the organisation functions and the need to develop the human resources. This is the formal organisational model to which the organisation appears to work. However, at an operational level at the division and sub-division, there is an interpretation of this written policy and structure and there is no one way in which the organisation works. There is a recursiveness in that the components of the organisation are present but frequently in varying degrees of importance.

The literature review in this chapter is an attempt to put into a decision making perspective an approach to the study of the police organisation which in terms of Fig2.1. and the amended Fig 2.1a, is an organisational study from within the organisation and is concerned to illustrate the strategic issues facing the senior police managers.

Police Decision Making Model:
literature Applications



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THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

We have seen that whilst there have been many descriptive works on policing, little is still known about how the police work in organisational and managerial terms. To gain an understanding of police organisation it is important to look at the role police managers have to perform and the social and environmental pressure to which they are exposed :

"In the last two police conferences I attended, I have suddenly realised that the police are becoming the intellectual social critics of the 80's. The reasons are relatively straight forward; they are fed up with having always to handle the problems arising from poor urban planning, unemployment, poor political initiatives and lack of resourcing given to community development - especially under-privileged minorities. The police will no longer allow themselves to be blamed for the problems others have created. What's more, they are intellectually capable of becoming society's new social critics!" (1)

This study will build upon the research outlined in the previous chapter. The literature review, through the selective illustration of police and management work, has provided a set of foundations upon which to build. We have seen, for example, that the Males' and Plumridge's (2,3) research studies indicate a lack of managerial planning. Manning (4) expressed his concern about the organisational sub-culture of policing. Stafford Beer (5) has questioned the capability of existing organisation structures to function in the way that managers wish them to.

We are concerned to develop these insights in this study. In order to achieve this it has been necessary to employ a range of research methods :

- a) A primary approach to this study has been that of participant observation. Working in a police environment exposes one to the pressures, socialization and problems of the organisation's struggle to adapt to demands. This methodological approach has been used in a number of previous police studies.

Robert Reiner (6) examined British and American police studies before 1970, and after 1970 until 1979. He found a marked increase in the use of observation studies in the latter period. However, observation as a major source was generally allied with another method; most often the use of interview.

Participant observation, allied with historical research, had developed the concerns at the heart of this study.

This approach has, in turn, led to :

- b) An attempt to develop a model against which police information management can be examined. By having an organisational model it is possible to make comparisons with ideals and variations.

The model developed in this study will take account of the need to flexably meet organisational contingencies which arise. Whilst information is vital to any organisation, our model will show the interaction which exists between the goals an organisation pursues; the structure adopted, the way in which information is processed - the technology of the organisation and the culture which provides the binding.

As the study develops we will see how attempts to define and use this model are affected by the differing expectations and perceptions of policing which exist; both within and between organisational participants

- c) At varying periods during the course of this study a number of questionnaires have been applied :
 - i) Serving Police officers were subject to both questionnaire and interview. This was applied to officers of Constable to Superintendent rank.
 - ii) A sample of members of the public who had received a police service were also surveyed to test their perception of police service with those of the police themselves.

- iii) A further survey of members of the public was undertaken. This survey was based on random selection taken from the voters' list, but stratified to ensure that all the major residential areas were included.
- iv) Finally, during the period of this study a number of other research studies have taken place using similar techniques. Whilst the questionnaires have asked a range and variety of questions it is possible to identify and compare general trends and findings. On this basis it is possible to draw attention to a number of general attributes of policing in this country.

SUMMARY

We have laid a foundation in the literature section upon which Chapter IV will build, using a range of surveys conducted during the early to mid-1980's. The information gathered from these sources is shaped and developed on the basis of the participant observation of the writer. This approach to the study was chosen because of the difficulty that exists in obtaining detailed and insightful data on policing.

This study builds a conceptual model on the basis of the research methods outlined above. In many ways the model is crude and will only be refined over time and through replication of this study.

Crudity, however, in the sense of something needing further development, serves a useful purpose. It allows those sufficiently interested to look at policing in a slightly different dimension. The more we know of the police organisation, the more control we are able to exercise over it. The greater the degree of control that management have over their organisation, the greater effectiveness that can be achieved. This is the essence of management - the ability to regulate the organisation.

From the sources referred to in this chapter, we will now examine our study areas of interest.

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AN EXAMINATION OF SURVEY FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

In this section of the study we will examine the findings of a number of surveys. This range of surveys allows us to make an assessment of the models of police service held both within and outside the police, and compare public expectation in urban and rural areas. We will also be able to see how these fit into the model developed in Chapter VI. We will look initially at four surveys conducted over a three year time span. These include :-

- a) A survey of approximately one hundred Superintendents and Chief Superintendents in one large metropolitan provincial police force. (1)
- b) Users of the police service over a fixed period (one week) were surveyed throughout the same police force area. The expectations of these service customers were sought and contrasted with the service expectations of the service providers. (2)
- c) A survey of Constables providing the service subject to survey (b) above. (3)

This survey is used to both illustrate the view officers have of their roles and also illustrate their expectations of computer technology.

- d) A survey of the residents of a town and country area - quite different to a - c above - was undertaken to examine their concerns and expectations. (4)

We are also able to supplement and compare the results of these surveys with survey work completed in the past five years in similar circumstances.

- a) In 1982 Mervyn Jones conducted a survey of Police officers in a rural force as part of his Masters degree work at Cranfield College. Many of his findings support the model of policing developed from this study's surveys. (5)
- b) Sandra Jones and Michael Levi surveyed both an urban and rural police area in 1982, looking at both public and police models of the service. Jones' and Levi's results are very similar to this study. (6)
- c) Mike Plumridge and Stephen Males both conducted surveys of police middle management decision-making in the early 1980's. Each author examined the same issues as part of the same overall study but used slightly different survey methods. Yet both authors produced almost identical findings which reinforce the model of police management examined in this survey. (7)

- d) In 1984 Andrew Kakabadse produced a survey of police management developments needs. The issues which Kakabadse raises are central to those identified in this study from the research undertaken. (8)

From this range of complementary survey work a model of police management is developed. In the following section of the study we are able to identify the implication of this management model for policing today. We are then able to move forward and prepare management model, the essential ingredients of which have been discussed earlier, which takes account of the implications of this chapter. (see Appendix for outline of survey Methodology)

A SURVEY OF A POLICE FORCE'S SUPERINTENDENTS

The first survey, conducted by the author, was of one hundred and three Superintendents and Chief Superintendents in a large provincial metropolitan police force. Of those circulated with the questionnaire 72.8% responded. The intention of this survey was to gain an indication as to how the respondents viewed their roles. Is it crime or traffic oriented? From the responses it was clear that three distinct groupings of perception appeared. There were those who saw their role as primarily law enforcement (to preserve law and order, to prevent crime, to detect criminals), those who emphasise community relations (community relations, protect persons and property and befriend those in need of help).

Lastly, there is the control of traffic. It is interesting, but not in the least surprising to find a primary interest in law enforcement. This reinforces the observations of Scarman (9) and the dictomy which exists between the enforcement and the community needs. What is really very telling is the low rating which traffic control obtains. This indicates that whilst traffic related issues occupy a sizeable amount of police time, it is not considered a priority rating by senior police officers.

Similarly, when asked to rate their role as predominantly operational or administrative, over 70% of respondents saw themselves as predominantly operational and the remainder administrative. The survey indicated that respondents were a homogenous group, having ease of access up and considering themselves easily accessible in turn. They did consider the junior officers tended to underestimate the complexity of the respondent's job but that they understood the subordinate's job responsibilities! Yet, 80% of respondents had not performed operational duty as an Inspector for 8 years, or more (it is suggested that above Inspector, the police role is no longer operational).

When information is discussed the respondents felt that they had access to sufficient information, mainly from traditional measures - crime figures, manpower availability, etc. Such information being accessed from self-knowledge, 'phone and face to face conversation (that order). Very little use was made of computer systems. In a two year period the Computerised Management Information System was only accessed 35 times (14 of these by the same person). One

respondent made the notable observation that speech was information and written communication "simply a record". Yet, without exception all respondents considered the Management Information System to be of importance! This poses the question of perceived importance versus actual importance/use. When examining this research we must remember that it is now five years old. Many police forces have brought new computer systems into operation and the use of management information systems might be more extensive. However, see later in this chapter the work of both Males and Plumridge.

When respondents were asked to give a priority rating to application areas they would like to see computerised, a very strong preference for "operational" applications rather than administration application was displayed. This might be seen as retaining the primacy of the practical job performance on the part of police managers.

Respondents were asked finally to give their major reasons for using, or wanting to use, a computer. The top three reasons given were :-

1. To improve the patrol officer's ability to rapidly identify and apprehend criminals.
2. To improve service to the public.
3. To improve the ability of the department to investigate crime.

Managerial criteria; to monitor performance, to get better management information came very much lower in priority and the issue of 'professionalism' was hardly raised. Despite the age of this survey, it is suggested that the attitudes expressed remain fundamentally the same now.

SUMMARY

This survey emphasised the crime centred operational preferences of Senior Police Officers. Information is perceived as useful if obtained in a person to person way. Computers have a role so long as supporting the existing priorities, but at present, insofar as they serve a management information role, they are little used. This latter point is supported by the work of Hough (10) who examined the application of Management Information Systems in a number of police forces in England and Wales. The operational, crime centred emphasis of desired police computerisation is supported by the research of Colton in the United States and in Britain by Bond and Mainwaring White (13).

How far can one take findings of a limited survey such as this? What can be said is that the issues raised can be tested against other research to establish the validity of the directions given. This we shall do in the second part of this section.

THE VIEWS OF POLICE SERVICE CONSUMERS AND THE SERVICE PROVIDERS

In April 1983 a sample of 1927 users of the police service within the same police force area as the survey of police superintendents, referred to above, was carried out by the author. These 'Consumers' had all used the police service during the one week in April and were interviewed by police officers visiting their address. At the same time a further sample of the consuming public were surveyed by post, using the same general survey instruments. Questionnaires were sent to addresses and 1373 replies were received by using a Freepost address. Thus, in total, 3300 responses were received.

The survey indicated that members of the public assessed the service received on the basis of the interpersonal skills exercised by the police. Whilst police publicity has sold a quick response to calls for service as a benchmark of efficiency, this view is not necessarily held by consumers. More than half of the public callers for a police service waited until more than five minutes after the incident occurred before calling the police. Indeed, 35% only called fifteen minutes or more after the incident. Given such delays in contacting the police there seems little point in the police organisation gearing itself to a quick response in all matters, rather a need to manage the level of response, to ensure a level appropriate to the demand.

When asked what they expected the police to do on being called, 51% had no expectation of an offender being caught, rather the predominant reason was reassurance or formality. When this is taken with a response time which was most often between 10 and 30 minutes it seems clear that the police are providing a highly effective reassurance service.

Yet, more than half the respondents expected to wait for a police response in due course. Their only request was to be told approximately when an officer would call. In terms of satisfaction with the service provided 90% of the interviewed sample expressed overall satisfaction and 86% of the postal sample. Only 11% gave prompt action as the reason for satisfaction, whereas attitude was seen as of greater importance.

At the same time as this survey was being conducted a similar survey was being undertaken of the police officers who attended the calls where the public sample were interviewed.

Of the total of all incidents involved in these surveys 53% involved an allegation of crime (53.2% and 53.4% respectively). The police officers' perception of time taken to arrive at the scene of the call fell within a range of 5 to 13 minutes. Interestingly the police officers interviewed thought that in even fewer cases than the public did an expectation of a legalistic solution exist - only 29% compared to the public's 49% (an arrest; restoration of property).

SUMMARY

Despite the rather negative set of expectations police officers servicing calls achieved a very high satisfaction level on the part of the consumers, why? It is suggested the reasons lie in a combination of factors. A response rate which gives and reinforces an image of efficiency allied with good social interaction skills.

If this explanation is correct then any change in police service must take account of public expectation, or develop and mould expectations if the quality of service, as measured by consumer satisfaction, is to remain high.

This summary, as with the previous discussed above, assists us to build a picture of how the police interact with the public. Two links between the organisation and the world. One view of a management model will be constructed with these factors in mind.

A SURVEY OF A TOWN AND COUNTRY AREA

In November 1986 a postal survey of a small number of residents in a rural part of a small county police force was undertaken by the author. This survey was intended to test the expectations of police service in an entirely different environment to the previously referred to surveys. Further, this survey allows us in the second part of this section to contrast a range of internal police surveys with surveys carried out over a similar period by other researchers in the police field.

This survey was constructed and distributed in co-operation with sixth formers in a secondary school taken from the voters' list. In total 318 responses were received from a total of 800 distributed. Of the responses, 38% indicated that they had contacted the police within the past 12 months and 31% of these contacts had been in connection with crime. Of those who had been a victim of crime 44% expected the offender to be caught (compared with the 49% in the earlier survey; page 82).

On the quality index over 82% of respondents rated the police response as effective. Another indicator of quality was the response that 98% would contact the police if a victim of crime; this is from a set of respondents, 85% of whom occasionally feared being the victim of crime. Interestingly, 65% were prepared to wait for the attendance of a foot patrol to their request for assistance. The "acid test" for respondents was to be asked how good a job they considered the police to be doing. 69% of respondents believed the police to be doing a good job.

SUMMARY

The last of the surveys conducted produced no surprises. Respondents were concerned about crime in an area which suffers far less crime than the metropolitan area examined in the earlier surveys. Respondents liked to see foot patrols and, so long as they were told, were prepared to wait for a response by the police.

The level of satisfaction expressed was lower than that attained in the 1983 surveys in the city areas. This could be explained in many ways; being representative of great^{er} social awareness or a quirk of the responses received. In fact, there has been a steady decline in the levels of confidence and satisfaction with policing in surveys over the last 20 years.

THE SURVEYS COMPARED

The surveys conducted over the past 5 years, examining police attitudes, performance and public expectation produces a picture of police officers concentrating on professional and technical means. It is interesting to see how the public expect a technically efficient response but make their assessment of the service delivered on the social interactions between them.

The surveys display a marked similarity in response. A preference for seeing the police officer on foot; a willingness to wait so long as they know how long the delay will be.

On the part of the police officers surveyed we find an operational emphasis at senior management level. A belief that they are "still in touch" with the front line of policing. A desire for computer based information to aid in the craft of policing but a reticence about management information; preferring personal contact to paper.

The Officers responding to calls concentrate on speed of response, the use of vehicles and see few opportunities to exercise legal solutions (less than 30% of calls offering an opportunity to detect crime!). It is clear from all levels in the police surveyed, and with the public, the ability to communicate is vital. It is also vital that the police service continues to present a technically efficient image. Management desire is to see computers aid these objectives. Yet we can say that there appears to be a mismatch between the task the police are required to perform - a professional reassurance role and a structure which emphasises technical and speedy response. This is highly likely to cause dysfunctional tensions. We will see to what extent the survey findings discussed are supported by other research findings, from surveys conducted during the same period.

A SELECTION OF SURVEYS 1980 - 1986

Let us begin to build upon the elements raised above. In particular the following points :-

1. That the police and members of the public have differing expectations of the police service delivery.
2. That the crime imperative is shared across the police ranks.
3. The term management has for the police a meaning that is interpreted in an artisan fashion.

4. That computer technology is presently little used and frequently, where used, misused.

In 1983, Sandra Jones and Michael Levi produced an interesting examination of the police and public perception of each other. This work was based upon a series of surveys conducted in two police force areas; one a large northern, metropolitan police force and the second, a large country police force area.

Interestingly, these surveys found public contacts with the police in the metropolitan area were significantly more often for crime than in the country area. In this author's surveys, crime calls were 53% in city area and 31% in country area, supporting the finding of police/public contacts being service related is lower in city areas than country areas.

High levels of satisfaction expressed by respondents were found, "The majority of people, in both police force areas, expressed satisfaction with the way the police had handled their enquiry!" When examining why the public were satisfied, Jones and Levi found that:

"The reasons given by the public for their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the police indicate that the public image of the police is based on qualitative criteria that stress the 'personalised' image of police. Those people who had had contact with the police it was the helpfulness, courtesy, kindness and tolerance of the individual police officers which formed the basis for their judgements about 'the' police. Very few people gave more instrumental reasons based on the professional, technically efficient image of the police those attitudinal statements which reflect aspects of the operational role of the police tended to produce over-estimates by the police of the extent of the favourable attitudes held by the Public (15).

Thus, they point out the way in which it is the interpersonal skills of the officer which dictates the level of satisfaction achieved. Not, as officers were wont to believe, the technical efficiency of the service provided. In the surveys for this study, similar findings were achieved lending credence to the dicotomy.

It is not surprising to find also that police officers have an emphasis upon the detection of crime. This is part of, or fundamental to, their concern about technical efficiency.

The high level of public satisfaction in the Jones and Levi survey reinforces the findings of many police/public attitude surveys since Belson in 1974. (16) The level of satisfaction has been consistently over 80%.

In assessing priorities and expectations revealed in the Jones and Levi study, the high priority attached to crime enquiries and low priority of traffic control supports the Bond surveys. (17)

The Jones and Levi study produced findings very similar to those of Bond. Both sets of findings were based on surveys conducted in two police force areas. There are grounds for beginning to suggest a generality to the findings insofar as they reflect on police and attitudes throughout England and Wales.

The Police service themselves have become increasingly concerned about their ability to provide a service which both meets public demand and minimises cost; The issue of input and output. In 1983 two complementary research projects were undertaken looking at the role of police managers at Superintendent level. One researcher, Mike Plumridge, was senior lecturer in management at The Police Staff College at Bramshill. The second researcher, Steve Males, was a serving Chief Superintendent in the Metropolitan Police.

The two co-ordinated studies examined the roles of police managers and sought to assess the value apportioned by managers to each role. Each study was based upon research in seven police forces in England and Wales, (thus, a total of fourteen forces, or 33% of all the forces in England and Wales).

In both studies it was found that there was a concentration by managers on the 'here and now' and comparatively little attention given to future planning. The factors which managers found most pressing were those involving communication within their organisation:

- a) Assessing the performance of their command
- b) Appraising individuals annual performance
- c) Conducting disciplinary enquiries

However, Males found that relatively little time was spent by managers in :

- a) Building an effective management team
- b) Planning long term strategy
- c) Setting personal objectives
- d) Economic planning for use of resources

In skills required, the managers surveyed by Males rate relatively low the following :

- a) Using computer management information
- b) Taking risks - based on your knowledge and experience
- c) Ability to understand and work well with figures

The Plumridge survey found the following task areas to have little or no importance for the 134 managers surveyed in total :

- a) Managing and scheduling the use of his own time
- b) Keeping up-to-date with trends in society
- c) Setting personal objectives.
- d) Building and maintaining an information network

Looking at both surveys we find police managers giving little thought as to where they personally fit into the organisation and where they should be going (setting personal objectives). This is probably a result of the organisation's emphasis on dealing with the 'here and now'; the pressures to take immediate action. To build up a

management team and move towards long-term aims requires analytic skills in looking at social trends and an understanding of statistics. It is not surprising, therefore, that the managers surveyed rated these tasks low. Similarly, the low rating on the use of computerised management information.

In both Plumridge's and Males' studies it was found that whilst there was a similarity of views across the superintending ranks, regardless of role, e.g. Divisional Commander, Deputy Divisional Commander, or Sub-Divisional Commander, there were variations between the different forces surveyed :

"We have had sufficient evidence to demonstrate that broad, standardised approaches which attempt to impose one form of structure and a common set of values and approaches upon all police forces is inevitably doomed to failure. Different forces serve different clientele, are managed by different people, are made up of different people, and face different problems. In summary, we must help each organisation to become a self-monitoring, flexible and adaptable learning unit - a formidable task! (18)

Plumridge is supported by Males, who also points out similarities of task and skill identities amongst those surveyed but with inter-force variety. Males goes on to draw attention to :

"The interest in day to day operational policing built up over years of experience causes most middle managers to retain control and interest in that area rather than in pure 'management' functions. (19)

One could summarise both Plumridge and Males' surveys as producing evidence of a management ethos geared to coping. That is, management emotionally contracted to operational "here and now". Comparatively little attention was given to questions of regulation or future needs.

The last survey to be included in this section is that of Andrew Kakabadse in 1984. This was a survey of police management development based on how middle managers view themselves, their job, the qualities required and the training necessary. Kakabadse states as an explanation of the importance of such an analysis :

"During the last two decades, the police service has experienced an extraordinary rate of change. Police organisations, although fewer in number, are now individually far larger in size. Extra resources which have been made available in terms of manpower and equipment, new technologies being adopted (computer, advanced radar mechanisms, specially adapted planes and helicopters) and the rapid changes in our society (unemployment, supposed acceleration of violence and organised crime, increasing sensitivity to minority groups) have made the police function a more complex one. As a result, senior officers are faced with great responsibilities and challenge. Hence, it is vital that attention should be given to the recruitment, training and management development policies of police officers. (20)

Kakabadse found that many managers had moved jobs, within the police organisation, between 5-10 times, "I've got used to it (sarcastic comment); every nine months and I'm off to somewhere else - Superintendent" (21) Officers reaching middle and senior management within the police service were in late 30's and early 40's, and 81% did not have a degree or professional qualification. In all of these examples police managers display a different profile to industry where fewer moves, earlier promotion and professional qualifications are the norm. In looking at the fundamental approaches to work Kakabadse comments "Fundamentally, middle-ranking officers can be seen as practical and down to earth, logical and decisive." (23) However, as a group Kakabadse found that police managers live in "quite an insular world despite the broad range of services they offer and problems they are expected to handle." (23)

They only relate to managers in other public service organisations; very seldom meeting with managers from the private sector.

Kakabadse concluded his survey by summarising the management development needs of the police as being :

- i) For individuals in officer rank position to achieve high standards of performance, it is of paramount importance that they develop effective people skills.
- ii) Career planning is necessary in order to provide for a balanced but broad range of work experience.
- iii) Linked to career planning is identification of the skills required to perform effectively as a senior officer.
- iv) Assessment centres should be considered as an integral part of the career planning process. (24)

These suggestions are all geared towards providing a better selected and trained police management. This survey, as with the others outlined, was concerned to identify characteristics of police management and point out the implications to the provision of a police service. It would be useful to bring together these surveys and discuss what they tell us about the police.

THE SURVEYS DISCUSSED

The first interesting point to note about these surveys is that they have all taken place in the past six to seven years. There has been a heightening of interest in the way in which the police service is being run. As discussed earlier in the literature review we are moving from the historical/descriptive studies to the analytic. None of these studies have been concerned to make political points; rather the issue has been about control through management.

We really have two groups of studies; the first being those which looked at the service provided, to whom and with what degree of customer and worker satisfaction (Bond, Jones M, Jones S and Levi).

Secondly, we have the studies which have looked at the way in which the police service is managed, studies of attitudes, skills and tasks (Bond, Jones A, Levi, Plumridge, Males and Kakabadse).

What we find is a service which is available to all and providing a range of services which has no clear definition - from crime related to service provision. When a 'customer' calls for service he is looking for a personal service and makes an assessment of quality on the basis of how well his expectations are met through inter-personal contacts. The police officer, whilst recognising the importance of inter-personal contacts, is a practitioner of technical skills and uses an increasingly sophisticated range of technological aids.

Meanwhile, police management, being drawn from the practitioners and still very much wanting to remain in touch with his artisan origins, is provided little management training and normally has no professional or academic management training. His tasks and skills are primarily directed towards meeting the needs of today, he is a coper. Little use is made of statistical analysis, computer based information systems or the examination of future trends.

The Manager, and the constable - service provider, are part of an insular work grouping which does not share its experiences nor draws from outside its own public sector world. Yet, there is evident interest in this police world from within and without. What are the

lessons to be drawn from these studies and how should the police develop? We have then differing perceptions of the police. In the next chapter we will discuss the implications of those perceptions for the control of policing.

We have now found that at least two models of the police organisation exist :

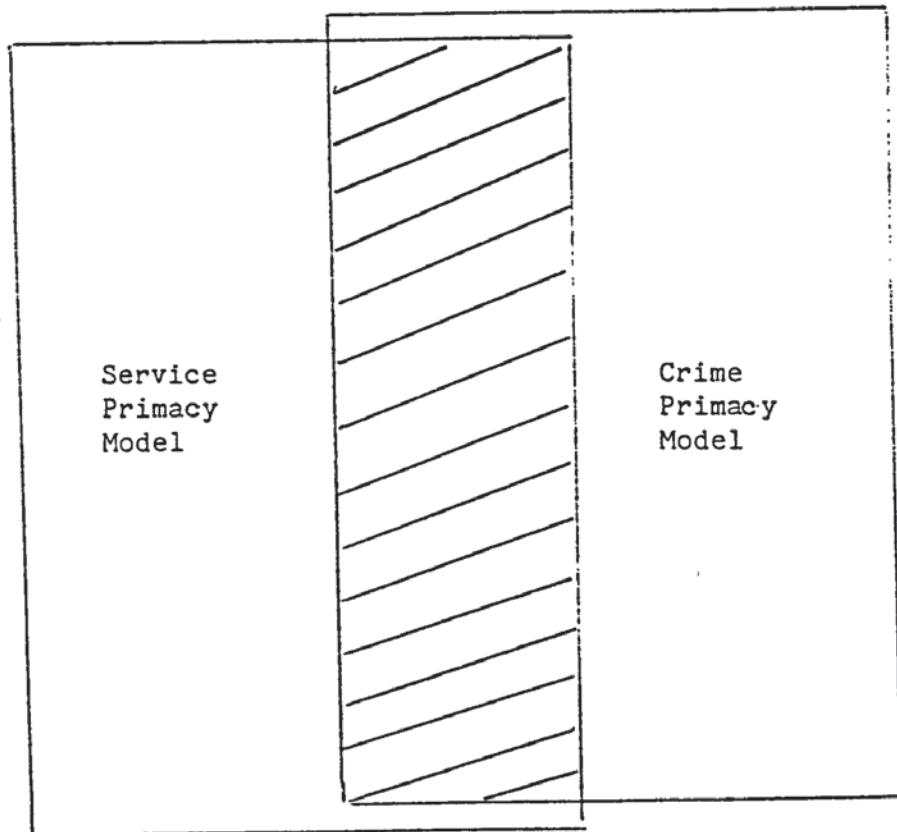


Fig.4.1. Police and Public organisational primacy models.

In Fig.4.1. the two organisational models are depicted as black boxes. The one model is a service primacy model and the second a crime primacy model. The first model is based upon public expectation; the second on police expectation. The central, overlap, area depicts the common agreement in terms of perception.

Of course, we know from our surveys that the area of agreement can differ between urban and rural areas where there are differences in crime-related calls for service.

It will be recalled that earlier in this section four questions were posed; let us summarise the findings of this section now:

1. That the police and members of the public have differing expectations of the police service delivery:

It is quite clear from our findings in this section that there are different sets and emphases placed upon the role of the police. We have the professional and technical emphasis of the police practitioners and the social skills emphasis/quality of service emphasis of the consumer. Yet, we find that despite a difference of emphasis a very high level of customer satisfaction exists. That differences in the expectations do exist is not a great surprise; practitioners versus customer expectations could be expected to exist in many service industry occupations. What is of importance is that management responsible for the effective provision of the service should be aware of this situation.

2. That the crime imperative is shared across the police ranks;

Here we can say that there is a general crime imperative shared across the police ranks. It is not always the case that consumers share the same view of police priorities as those held by the police themselves. Once again the lesson for management must be to be aware of the situation and the possible implications.

3. The term management has for the police a meaning that is interpreted in an artisan fashion;

Yes, we can see this from the survey findings. How, we might ask will this allow management to control and allocate resources? The answer lies in the response to the previous two issues immediately above, the crime imperative and differing expectations. Many of the implications of these findings bear directly on the thrust of this study; the ability of management to make their organizations more effective.

4. That computer technology is presently little used and frequently, where used, misused.

That computer technology is little used can be said in the sense that many of the findings indicate that use is seen as a low priority in management terms. Further, though there has been considerable development in computer applications to policing, the implications of the findings that management prefer face to face contact to paper and 'front-end' systems to allocation and performance monitoring systems suggests considerable area for development. The question is raised as to regulatory capacity of management within their organisations.

Indicated in fig, 4.1. are two models of the primacy of policing. It may never be possible or desirable that the services and crime primacy model should fit together in total. Having an area of overlap is obviously vital to the viability of policing as an activity if the support of the public is important and it could be argued that the differing perceptions allow for flexibility and adjustment. In one force area or under one set of managers the emphasis may be towards one model; under a different set of circumstances the balance may be different.

What is important is that managers, responsible for the regulation of their organisation, should understand the dynamics of their organisational model and control its development if they are to maintain and improve the level of its organisational effectiveness.

The surveys have indicated how our model proposed in chapter one (Fig.1. p.14) is frequently in a state of unnecessary tension. With differing perceptions of the goals of the organisation and how the technology (or the method of work) should be applied. These issues are central to how the organisational culture fits with environmental culture. We have some interesting indication of organisational tension and, it is suggested, good cause to believe the Beer's comments on the dysfunctional nature of organisational structure apply to the police.

We will examine the implication of these findings on police organisation and management in the remainder of this study. We will seek to develop a way of looking at the police organisation which will allow management to take account of the differing perceptions and still retain control and ensure continued viability and minimise dysfunction.

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CHAPTER V

IMAGE AND REALITY : A QUESTION OF DIRECTION

The Role of Police Management

Recently a Senior Police Officer in the Metropolitan Police wrote:-

"Our Chief role therefore should perhaps be to symbolise, like the courts and prisons, old-fashioned standards, a pillar of rectitude symbolising simple qualities of "strength" and "fairness" - incompatible and imperturbable!
(1)

Hilton was making an important distinction between what is and what appears to be. In the case of policing in England and Wales the working of the organisation is often hidden behind an image of what, on the one hand the press and other media want to make and secondly the image which the organisation is putting forward. At the present time all Police Forces have press or public relations departments to present the Force to the world. Clearly, such a group of police and civilian support staff will attempt to put forward a favourable image; this can, at times, cloud understanding.

The implication of this example relating to the 'presentation of self' is that in order to manage the police organisation successfully at a time of public interest, it is necessary to understand what is happening, as Hilton states :-

"It may well be that our traditional symbolic role is no longer needed by our sophisticated twentieth century society, but if all our efforts still do not produce a measurable improvement in crime figures, I do wonder whether a reversion to a simpler, tougher image may be the only escape route left to us?" (2)

In this study we have unravelled a number of threads. We have looked at the way in which policing is organised, hierarchically with a geographic operation by officers responsible for all policing in a defined area. This organisational structure is a top-down policy creating/directing form struggling to meet demands which require a flexible response and allows little time to seek decisions from above.

Technology in the form of communications and computers are making information available at a speed and in such volumes that without a clear definition of role and clearly identified goals management overload is a real problem.

We also see that police related literature is moving its focus of attention from the descriptive to the analytic through the use of survey methods. At the same time management literature provides us with a selection of tools and models to develop police management models. We have examined these factors which allow the police to tackle the complexity of the police organisation and control their symbolic role within society but it is necessary to understand why this is important.

The Implication of the Research Findings for Police Management

One of the significant findings of this research study is that police management does not appear to share an understanding with either front-line police officers or members of the public. Let us look at some examples of this. The speed of response to calls for

service is one such example. Senior police management are still publicly stating that a quick response to a call is important to apprehend criminals. At the same time the British Crime Survey tells us that the chance of a patrolling officer apprehending a criminal in the course of committing a crime is extremely unlikely. (3) We also know from Sandra Jones' and Bond's surveys that the police take a technicians view of providing a service whilst the public are expecting a qualitative service; how understanding the officer is. In most cases, the actual speed of response is unimportant.

Within the vocabulary of policing the issue of quality of service is, as known in industrial terms, relatively unknown. (4) The satisfaction of the public is generally measured in quantitative terms by management; how many crimes detected. Yet, surveys have also shown in recent years that the public do not get as worked up about burglary as they do about parking issues or litter or minor damage. (5) Is it any surprise to see a steady decrease in the expression of satisfaction by the public with police service as those 'minor' matters grow, almost ignored by the police who concentrate on 'major' crime related issues!

The second factor which we see from this study is that police management, having a crime-centred approach to policing, bid for more police resources to tackle what is believed to be rising crime. In the first place both Carr-Hill and Stern and the British Crime Survey cast doubt on the issue of crime waves. Changes in Home Office crime recording rules impacts on the volume of crime

recorded. Similarly, how much crime is actually reported by the public. The British Crime Survey suggests whole areas of virtually unreported crime (sexual assaults for example.) Those areas of crime, reported almost in total, is that subject to insurance claim!

The Home Office appear to be concerned that increasing police numbers seems to generate more recorded crime rather than a decrease in crime. Certainly, the "iceberg finding" of the British Crime Survey reports this view.

Yet, if we look closely, for example, at the recording of criminal damage offences, one of the issues which causes concern to the public, the limit of £20 value of damage which leads to the offence being recorded was set in 1976; today the value would be over £100.

This, in itself, indicates something of the reservation with which we must treat crime statistics.

It is not surprising, therefore, that whilst the public call for more police on the beat they are reluctant to fund through taxes and rates large increases. Until police management focuses on the concerns felt by the public and direct resources towards the quality issues, the gap between expectations and reality will remain wide.

We can also see how the factors mentioned above will develop problems of image. There is no retreat possible for the police. The media will demand more information and satellite transmission, allied with

electronic newsgathering facilities, will bring the 'reality of front-end policing' into the homes of the public. How then is police management going to handle image issues? There are going to be major problems of credibility when police response and the quality of response is shown to not fulfil the image presentation.

The first three implications outlined above present a range of challenges to the management organisation which continues to grow in size. Some additional police officers and large numbers of additional civilian support staff make the smallest force at 1500 people and a £30 million budget, a complex organisation. We know from the surveys of police management by Plumridge, Males and Kakabadse that managers are struggling to cope with today's demands. There are major training needs if management is to be equipped for future needs.

This issue has clear implications for the organisation's capacity to meet the demands being made upon it (for this purpose all forces are treated as part of the whole organisation of policing). Policing will always 'cope' with demands, it is not politically or socially acceptable for the police service to not 'cope'. However, the police are unlikely to reach their potentiality which will continue to remain latent. On this level the political and financial issue of effectiveness and efficiency will continue to be largely a matter of appearance.

Clearly, if the police organisation is not likely to achieve its potentiality then the use of communication and control systems for information management will suboptimise. We are unlikely to see

computer systems being used creatively to anticipate patterns of demand or to make decisions in an 'intelligent' manner. Rather, the 'filing drawer' applications will continue in an organisationally peripheral way.

Of course, aren't these issues all a matter of degree? Is it ever possible, or desirable to achieve the full potential of the police? Rather, it may be that we are always talking of to what extent can we improve the capacity of the police organisation 'around the margins'. Potentiality or the achievement of that which an organisation is capable of in the very best circumstance, is a moving target - improve performance and 'potential' moves!

If, as we suggest in this study, goals impact on the structure, culture and technology of organisations, the existence of two perceptions as to the organisational goals implies two views, at least, as to proper structure, technology and culture. If management are responsible for the effectiveness of their organisation they must be, at the very least, aware of these factors. The world of management is full of complexity and the way in which such complexity can be tackled is where we now move to in this study.

A STRATEGY FOR MANAGEMENT DESIGN

Let us begin this section by recalling a statement of Stafford Beer quoted in the Introduction :

".....if the structure is dysfunctional, then no amount of financial wizardry, of insightful man-management, of business technique, will save the day. Increasingly, it seems to me, the organisational structures we have inherited do not work."
(6)

Yet, whilst the structure of police organisation may be dysfunctional it continues to function, it is viable; how is this? The answer lies in the very issue of viability itself. An organisation consists of many parts associating themselves (to a greater or lesser extent) with the purpose or multiple purposes of the organisation. The collection of goal seeking activists achieve a level of performance which is dictated by a number of factors. Not least amongst the factors is the clarity with which the organisation has identified its goals and is structured and services its purpose. To achieve a level of performance which maintains the organisation's viability requires managerial regulation.

It is the submission of this study that this can only be achieved by understanding the dynamics of police organisation and managers sharing a model of organisational behaviour which is geared towards :

- a) Recognising the aspirations of the public
- b) Identifying the differing perceptions of public, operational police and police managers.
- c) Structuring the police organisation to facilitate (a) and (b) above.
- d) Managing the symbolic presentation of the police to reinforce (c).

These factors do not call for the police organisation to be torn down and rebuilt. Rather, what is demanded is the development of a shared understanding on the part of police management. We shall look at each issue in turn :

Recognising the Aspirations of the Public

The discussion earlier in chapter IV of the survey results concentrated on the expectations of members of the public calling for a police service. Surveys of service users agree with the surveys conducted of the public generally (7). The public want a quality service provided by a uniformed officer. Whilst the expectations of the public accept police women, the main expectation is still of a male officer. The public do not mind waiting for a police response so long as they are told when the officer will call. There is a desire to see police officers on foot patrol rather than in a car.

Whilst crime is important to the victim, the majority of the public are not victims of crime but perceive themselves to be victims of nuisance, illegal parking, graffiti, damage, litter etc. These issues do not fit into the crime centred mind frame of most police officers. Nor, it must be said, do the press or television focus on such 'mundane' issues. The big crime or the nasty sexual offence is more likely to be the focus of media attention which reinforces management concentration on crime where they answer questions posed by the press. Yet, this might be a one good reason for a steady erosion in public support of the police which has been noticeable since Belson's early survey in 1975 to Jones and Bond in 1983/4.

Of course, the picture painted above is not so straightforward. The population is made up of young/old, white/black, male/female; all of whom see the police differently. Although the majority see the police favourably the young tend to be less enthusiastic and more dissatisfied with contacts. (8) There is evidence that those of higher social status have a higher opinion of the police. (9) Ethnic minorities are more critical. (10) Clearly, those with friends or relatives in the police are more favourably disposed to them. (11) The British Crime Survey results agreed on most of these points. Approval increased with age; it was highest in rural areas and lowest in inner cities.

Yet despite the general satisfaction expressed one more recent work states :-

"Finally, on a broader point there appears to be a strong divergence of priorities between the police who emphasise... dealing with serious crime, and the public, who expect a far wider range of services. (12)

Identifying the Differing Perceptions of Public, Operational Police and Police Managers

For the management of any organisation it is vital to know what the consumers of a service want, the level of service expected, and the level of satisfaction with the service provided. There is evidence enough on all three grounds that management must start reviewing the service delivered.

For the police service, the public are part of their environment. It is possible to make a distinction between the embedded and the total environment. (13) The police organisation is embedded in that part of the environment which produces or stimulates it into action. The action might be simply a presence or it could be physical action; the defining characteristic, however, is being physically there. On the other hand, as part of the total environment the police are represented by their symbolic representation. This presence in the total environment has been termed the 'enacted environment' by Manning:

"The capacity of the organisation to produce its own coding system by which received messages are encoded and then decoded is enormous. As a result, the organisation has important independent symbolic and symbolising capacities. The organisation is a system of signs by which other signs are encoded and stored, hence to be decoded. It is, in effect, a crude semi-logical system. Thus, the term enacted environment is a reflexive concept; it refers to what is 'seen' in the external world, but also to the structure by which such seeing is made possible. (14)

The 'environment' is a people system consisting of perceptions which interact and create expectations. Within the embedded environment people are using the police and we know from our survey data that expectations of public and police have points of variance. Similarly, we have also seen that police management share many of the traits of operational police officers; a crime centred approach and a desire to be an artisan. Little management action is directed towards environmental analysis and planning.

To achieve performance improvements within the embedded environment an appreciation by management of this perceptual differentiation is important. This will also impact upon the total environment

because of the organisations enactment within it; the signals transmitted and encoded will be in common language. This has implication for the other two factors.

Structuring the Police Organisation to Facilitate the First Two Factors

"It is impossible to separate and measure the organisation and the environment because the perceptions, understandings, beliefs, myths, and enactments of members as much constitutes the environment as it is or reaction to some unchanging object 'out there'. It is as rational to argue that organisations create a sense of the environment to which organisational members react to and adjust to over time, as to argue that the environment, working through the proximal influence of technology, creates and sustains the organisation." (15)

In this study we point to the need to identify and understand this concept in order to ensure that the police organisation is structured to facilitate the transmission and reception of messages and actions; in view of the interaction between organisation and environment.

Clearly, within the environment there is order and form; each part is a part of the environmental equilibrium; in cybernetic terms there is adequate variety absorbtion. Yet, change is constantly taking place. For example, people are born and die; groupings come together and divide, organisation(s) have to adjust constantly.

Within all groupings; within all organisations there is a division of task or functions. All groupings similarly have leadership, as Max Webber pointed out in his seminal work on bureaucracy this can take many forms, but a hierarchy of one type or another will form naturally

or be created. The purpose of leadership is to give direction and be seen; even if only within the organisation! Management incorporates qualities of leadership, but has the primary role of regulation :

Well, management is - if you will - the profession of regulation, and therefore of effective 'organisation' of which cybernetics is the science. (16)

Leadership must, therefore, if the organisation is to survive, ensure that the capacity of the organisation to absorb variety meets at least the minimal law of insufficient variety (it is submitted that there is a level of variety insufficiency below which no viable organisation can fall and still survive). Now given the complexity of any organisation many actions must be automatic; the comparison that Stafford Beer draws with the human body is apt. We do not 'think' about breathing - this is the autonomic part of the body. Similarly, in the police organisation many activities are autonomic. Yet, what is autonomic behaviour at one level may well not be at another; differences will exist between the patrol section and the Research and Development Department.

In view of the constant change taking place within the environment the viable organisation will continue to change. Behaviour and visible organisation actions will adapt. What

is considered and directed today may become part of the autonomic tomorrow. Yet, each part of the organisation must have capacity to change. It is upon this basis that both contingency theory and Beer's viable system is based.

For the contingency theorists there is no one best way; task uncertainty requires analysis of information and an organisational capacity to cope. Thus, for Galbraith, to survive an organisation must be flexible and to be flexible in organisational terms the organisation must process information in all directions; horizontally, diagonally as well as vertically. Indeed, a two dimensional concept is inadequate; we must look at organisational viability in three dimensions. (17)

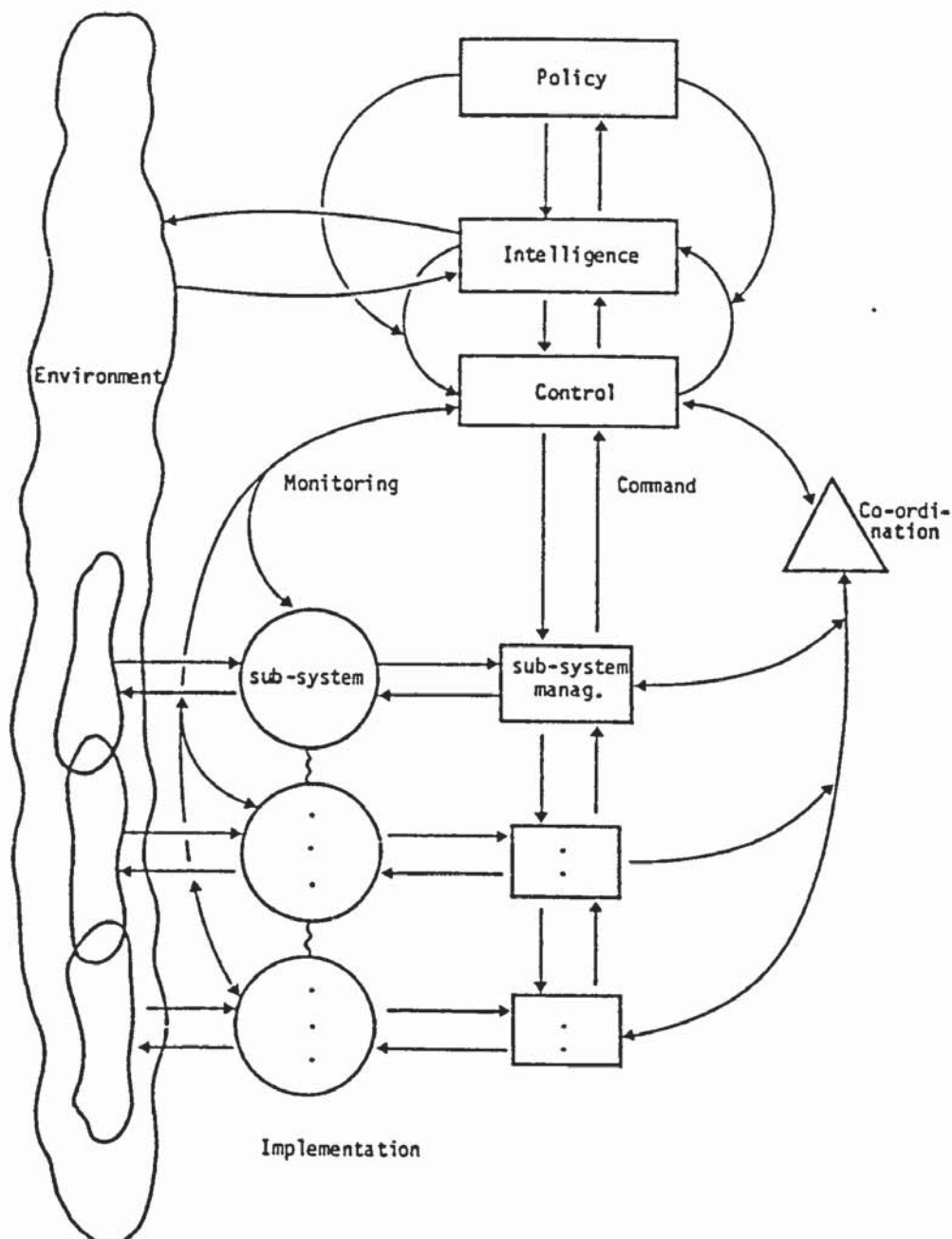
This principle is important to the police organisation for the reasons given by Koolhaas, the more complete the model used then the more variables or influences which can be handled. This then means that more organisational action can be routinized leaving greater organisational capacity to handle new situations. (18)

For the police organisation to achieve this state, control and communication problems must be overcome. Let us remember what Beer said of this:

"..... control as a business is something much more than the interactions of its senior managers. It has to do with information of an extent and complexity beyond the capacities of those senior people to absorb and interpret it. Therefore, it has to do with the structure of information flows, with the method of information handling, with techniques of information reduction, and so forth."
(19)

So it is that the comparison of the police organisation with the human body can be made. The body adjusts itself constantly - taking account of the information signals being received; taking autonomic action in some cases, passing the signal from the receivers to the brain and then taking action in other cases. Insofar as the organisation is concerned Beer proposes a model to facilitate this comparison:

Figure 5.1 Organization Structure of Viable Systems



The functions of Beer's viable system move from system one, which is the implementation - part of which will be autonomic - through co-ordination to control. Another way of looking at these functions is:

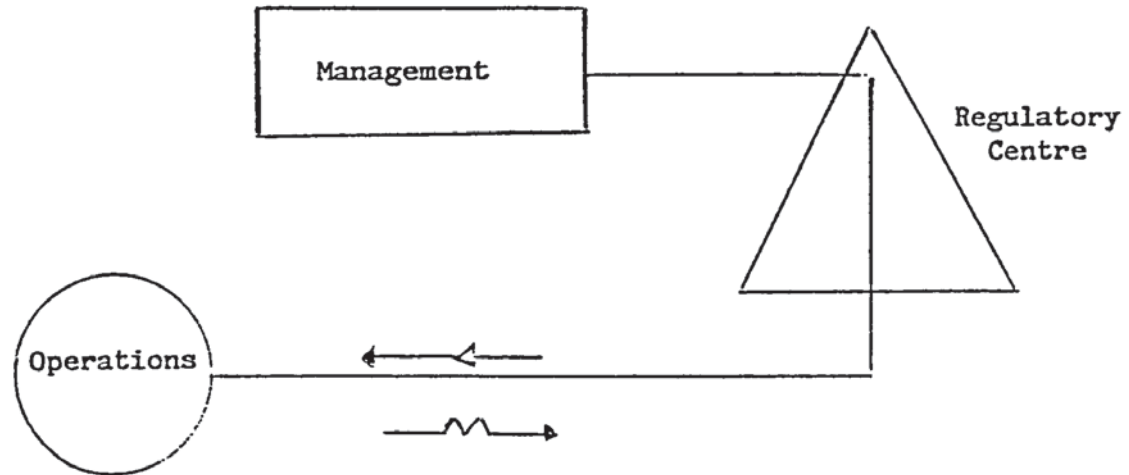




Fig. 5-2 Management Control Function

What we are looking at is the part of the working of any organisation that is often visible. The doing; the regulation of this and the management. Now, what is important in Fig.5.2. is not simply the three systems but the fact that at System One (the Operations) a great amount of information will be received and transmitted to other parts of the total viable system. Clearly, such information will come from the embedded and from the total environment.

It should not be a surprise to realise that the system must have the means to reduce the information received to manageable proportions, to

attenuate (diagrammatically shown ). Similarly, when decisions about activity have been made these have to be transmitted to the operations systems, e.g. a decision to provide a police patrol in a locality has to be amplified () into a patrol pattern.

The balance between the information transmitted through the system must be maintained to prevent either overload or instability. In cybernetics this is a question of homeostasis; where the whole system "strikes the balance"; its internal environment is stable despite an unpredictable external environment.

We have spoken many times in this study about the complexity of policing. Indeed, the literature examined, from the historical and descriptive, through the political to the descriptive pays ample tribute to the capacity of policing to cope with such complexity. In other words policing has to cope with variety :

"Variety is a measure of complexity, because it counts the number of possible states of a system." (20)

Now clearly if our organisation is to maintain homeostasis, an internal equilibrium, and cope with variety encountered in its external environment, the variety absorbed must result in a capacity to absorb it - The Law of Requisite Variety (only variety can absorb variety). There are difficulties with this statement. From experience we all have found that some demands upon our systems, personal or organisational, are too complicated or too many. We do not necessarily find that either we, or our organisation, fails. It is here that we must recall from our

literature review Espejo and Howards' explanation of how the system copes; through potential simplification and insufficient variety. It is really a case of necessary adjustment to break down into manageable proportions the received information in both qualitative and quantitative terms. Of course, what is really at issue is the organisation's capacity to improve its performance. When the organisational system finds that it cannot cope with demand, it will limit the Demand to its current supply capacity and its performance will reflect this condition. The more it can handle information; the greater its capacity to cope with variety the more effective it will become. Let us look at an example taken from Beer as to how requisite variety works :

"The police force exercises two main functions. One is to protect the citizen from law-breakers, and the other is to prevent the citizen from breaking the law himself.

Since no individual citizen can do more than one of these things at a time, one policeman could undertake to safeguard him and also to thwart his misdemeanours. They would sleep and eat at the same time!

This arrangement would provide Requisite Variety, but it is not practicable. However, as soon as you give one policeman two citizens to watch, one of them may commit a robbery or get mugged whilst the other is under observation. Hence crime, given or received.

It turns out that in fact Britain has about five hundred citizens for every policeman. It follows that to do their job the police need to amplify their ordinary human capacity by 500 times.....

To this end, the police amplify their variety - with guns, certainly, but more routinely by using fast cars and radio. Computers and systems of informers are best regarded, perhaps, as attenuators of incoming variety; they reduce the number of possible states of suspicion by eliminating , suspects." (21)

It is important to realise that as well as amplifying police variety it is possible to attenuate public variety; the use of restrictive law. However, in a democracy there is a limit to the number of preventative laws acceptable. So we see how the requisite variety of one organisation is linked to that of the environment (which is another way of saying other organisations) which itself requires requisite variety.

Having looked at systems one, two and three (Operation, Regulation and Management) we should look at the Intelligence and Policy Systems to complete our examination of the viable system. Beer makes the observation that, "The notion of hierarchy cannot be altogether escaped in discussing the viable system. (22) The existence of systems four and five provides the capacity for the organisation to provide self-awareness (system four) and a capacity to think (system five).

System four, or the intelligence function is active in making sense of the information received by the viable system. In the macro police organisations it would consist of the Research and Development function; Assimilating information transmitted from the operations system; checking this against the environment, looking at new legislation in the light of existing situations. The policy system would make decisions on the basis of information received, including the self-awareness of system four.

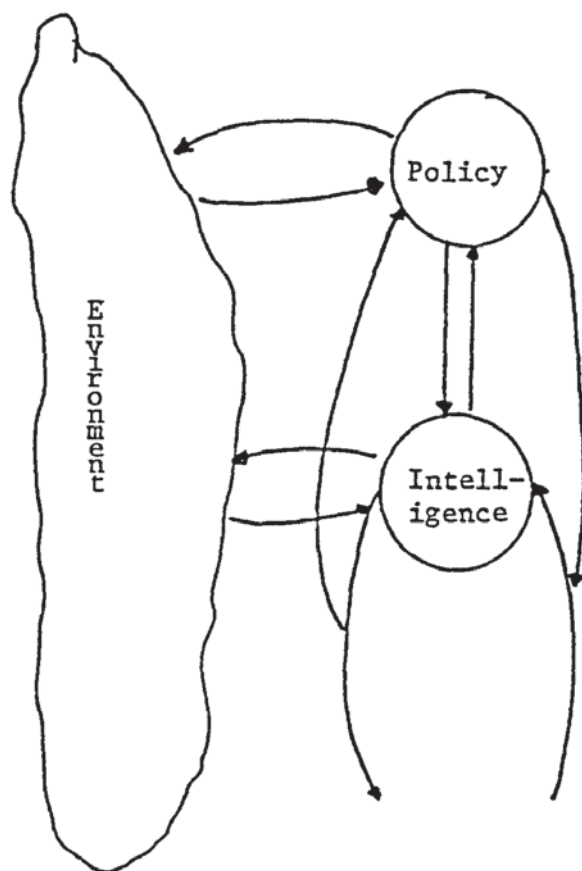


Fig.5.3. Higher Functions showing links and Environmental connections.

It might easily be said by any reader that the model discussed is a self-evident description of how a police force functions. Some might also say that it is a little too structured in that it divides the police force too structurely, e.g. operations, supervision, management, research and development and chief officers! However, to see the Beer model in this way would be to miss the really valuable qualities of it. These are its three dimensional applications through the principle of recursion.

We will develop this model in the next chapter to take account of its use in the implementation of police programs to attain an effective organisation. Clearly, the development of programs will impact on the goals of the organisation and its structure, technology, culture and these factors are important to management. The Beer model is valuable and useful in analysing the police organisation because we can find the existence of the five system functions at all levels within the police organisations - the principle of recursion. From the national police service to the police patrol section of the sub-division we can use the model to understand how the system remains viable or how its effectiveness can be increased (the model will be further developed in chapter VI).

Information flows through channels controlled by filters (attenuators) and amplifiers. In a three dimensional world there are horizontal, vertical and diagonal axis through which information flows, an organisation is in a state of continuous adjustment as a part of an environment subject to continuous change.

One important result of having a model, such as that of the viable system, is that it allows police management to place themselves within a system and make sense of statements such as Hough writing about the impact of information technology on police management.

"Police Management had enjoyed a honeymoon period with information technology. The relationship is beginning to sour, as the technology fails to live up to its promises.... the lack of success implies some form of mismatch between the capabilities of the technology and the nature of police and administration." (23)

The mismatch which Hough is referring to can be explained by using the viable system model to explain that police management have a two-dimensional view of their organisation. This results in the use of information technology to service perceived, and not actual lines of communication. The organisation functions three dimensionally, computerised systems are mainly servicing vertical lines of communication and not taking account of the multi-dimensional information flows.

In other words, if computer systems are to meet the needs of the police service, account must be taken of the structural reality. That recursion places an information handling requirement at the level of the individual as well as that of the manager. Further, because of the way in which organisations self-adapt to developing situations, information system also need flexibility. Change is as likely to be bottom led as top led!

Managing the Symbolic Presentation of the Police to Reinforce
the Third Factor

The reader will recall that this section of the study began with some observations of Jennifer Hilton about the importance of the symbolic function of policing in society, the importance of symbolism, according to Hilton, rises above the actual role:

"The point I am making is that there is a need for ordered procedures in any society which are supported by a framework of symbols that have an important function." (24)

The management of this symbolic presentation is clearly vital if policing is to maintain its role within society. We can see this function as an extension of the variety absorbing capacity of the organisation. How else can a police force, with a ratio of one policeman to five hundred people hope to both ensure public confidence and tackle huge volumes of data and demand.

Indeed, from the very appearance of the police - helmet and uniform to the popular media portrayal, the police institution is larger than life:

"The capacity of the organisation to produce its own coding system by which received messages are encoded and then decoded is enormous. As a result, the organisation has important independent symbolic and symbolising capacities. The organisation is a system of signs by which other signs are encoded and stored, hence to be decoded. It is, in effect, a crude semiological system. Thus, the term enacted environment is a reflexive concept; it refers to what is 'seen' in the external world, but also to the structure by which such seeing is made possible.... Police organisations are differentiated semiotic systems based on information and encoding processes. In other words, it is impossible to separate

and measure the organisation and the environment because the perceptions, understandings, beliefs, myths, and enactments of members as much constitutes the environment as it is a reaction to some unchanging object 'out there'. It is as rational to argue that organisations create a sense of the environment to which organisational members react to and adjust to overtime, as to argue that the environment, working through the proximal influence of technology, creates and sustained the organisation." (25)

So it is, as Beer's model of the viable system illustrates, the viable organisation is a part of its environment. The information handling processes are what allows the organisation to adjust to needs generated both within and without. In applying Beer's five function level model through the processes of recursion we are able to see, albeit in simple form, the linkages which either aid or hinder the performance of the organisational system. The role of management within such a system is to raise the level of consciousness within the organisation and thereby increase the level of performance. In so doing the variety absorbing capacity of the organisation is increased and the symbolic presence of the police raised.

Technology, as both the way in which the police organisation performs its task and information technology - particularly computer assisted - is dependent upon the capacity of the organisational model to maintain its stability through its variety absorbing mechanisms:

"Technology has come to be identified with police professionalism and progress, not only by the police but also by the public... there are good reasons for thinking that public acceptance of them is functional in legitimating and sustaining police authority and demystification might seem irresponsible." (26)

To achieve the integration of information technology within an organisation reaching for its potential, requires the maintenance of stability within a process of change.

Summary

In this chapter we have looked in more detail at the complexity that police management have to cope with. We have looked at the question of image presentation which links with the perceptions and expectations of the police practitioners and their public. Hilton has reminded us that if we fail to meet the effectiveness expectations of the public all that might well be left is the manipulation of the image of reality.

It is quite clear that the development of a favourable image and an awareness of the perception of the organisation of which one is a manager by those looking in are requirements necessary for those responsible for the regulation and control of that organisation. With such awareness management can begin to design their organisation to meet these needs. We have discussed the need to structure the police organisation to facilitate such perceptions and outlined a model through which the police organisation can be understood. This model will now be developed in more detail and then, in the final chapter of this study, we look at the application of the lessons of the study in a case study approach.

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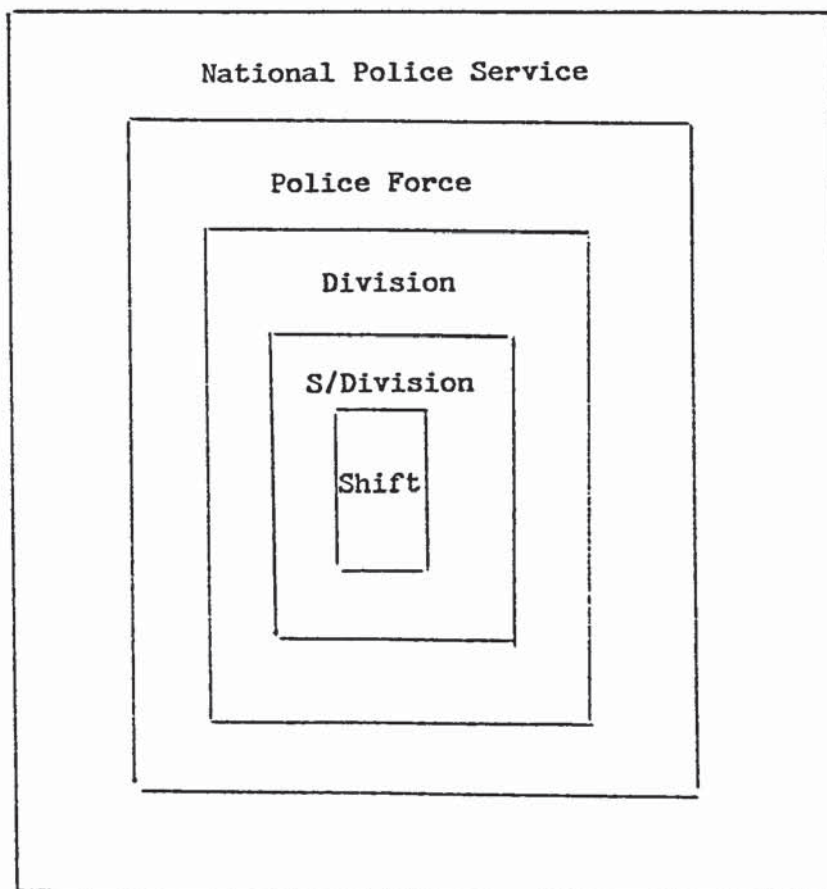
THE PLACE FOR AN ORGANISATIONAL
MODEL IN POLICE MANAGEMENT

It will be clear to the reader that we have developed a picture of police organisation with which managers are performing a series of balancing acts. The basic purpose of management is to regulate activity with the intention of making his organisation effective. The police manager will be balancing his available resources against demands generated both inside and without the police organisation. He will constantly be using models to aid his understanding. In this section we will examine the types of models used by managers now and then we will propose an alternative model which we believe will increase his understanding of how the police organisation works. In improving his organisational understanding he will be a more effective manager and raise his organisation's performance.

The Inadequacies of Present Organisational Understanding

We will recall from Chapter I, in discussing the hierarchic nature of the police organisation (Chart 1 and 2) that policing consists of units, varying from shift, through sub-division and division to police force. Each part of the police whole works in much the same way as another; there is a true recursive nature to the organisation.

Fig. 6.1. Recursive Model of British Police Organisation



There are, of course, many other supporting parts to the simple model detailed here (as charts 1 and 2 indicate), but the essence of our simple model is accurate; in fact it is a series of building blocks. We have also learnt from our literature and survey chapters that policing shares a general work culture. This is to say that police managers have sets of expectations and view their job in certain ways. Similarly we have seen in chapters II and IV that the police view is often not the public view. Two examples, we have seen that police practitioners view quality of service as primarily being measured in numbers; offences detected, persons arrested etc. On

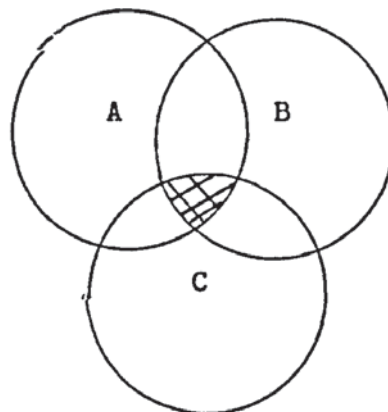
the other hand, we find that members of the public look to other issues as primary quality indices; attitude of officers, sensitivity.

We have also seen how part of the police culture is to concentrate on crime rather than the public 'hygiene' issues, such as traffic congestion, litter and vandalism. Yet, as we are now aware in many cases the views of the police are at variance with those of the public.

As we have stated above, the role of managers in any organisation is to regulate and give direction to the performances of an organisation. If the purpose of that organisation is the provision of a service, then the expectation of the customers are important guidelines for managers to take into account if they wish to remain viable; to retain support and use.

From our study we can see that there are at least three sets of expectations at play in police organisation:

Fig.6.2. Expectations of Policing



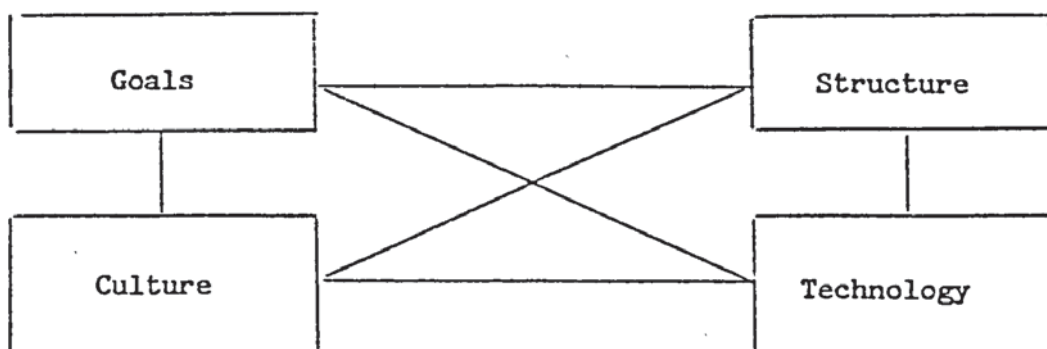
A = Management)
 B = Operations) Police
 C = Public

This figure illustrates the varying sets of expectations which exist. It is likely that each set of expectations overlaps with another, and all those sets interlock at one point at least. What we fail to illustrate in a straightforward two-dimensional model is the depth and state of constant adjustment each set of expectations is subject to.

If we now overlap Fig. 6.1. and Fig. 6.2. we will begin to appreciate something of the complexity of our existing real model of policing.

It is at this stage that existing models of police management tend to run out of steam. We are left with two-dimensional hierarchic models. Frequently, the differing sets of expectations/perceptions are not taken into account. In such circumstances the capacity of management to have any major impact on the design and direction of the police organisation is limited.

If we recall at this stage Fig.1.1. we will remember that it was proposed that four interlocking concepts can be seen in all societal groupings, derived from society itself :-



The two-dimensional models tend to simplify by concentrating on one or two of the concepts, or attempts are made to identify dependent and independent variables. (1) Of course, all living organisms need to make constant adjustments and studies seeking to 'freeze' the action miss the dynamic nature of such creations. To take advantage of the insights available to management we must construct models of greater richness and depth.

No apology is made for the fact that what has been said above applies generally and not just to the police organisation. Let us recall the observation of Kakabadse about police managers living in "quite an insular world despite the broad range of services they offer and problems they are expected to handle". (2) Whilst there are peculiarities to the police the essential principles of our developing model could be applied generally.

Before we move on to develop a new model of police organisation it is worth considering the consequences of remaining with the existing inadequate models. Any model is a simplification of reality created to aid our understanding. The constructs involved in model building will vary with the level of understanding of both the model maker and the model user. Indeed, the model itself will usually involve a whole range of assumptions and, most important of all, we create and use models constantly.

The more sophisticated the model we use in any particular situation the greater our level of understanding. This will then allow us to exploit

the situation the model relates to. Conversely, the less we understand, the less a model aids understanding, the less we will be able to take from the particular situation. In the case of policing, many models are simple because of the shared culture (of which more below), which minimises the need to bring to the surface assumptions taken for granted. However, the evidence of this study indicates quite serious differences of expectation between police officers at management and operational level and between the police, as a whole, and the public.

If the Police do not effectively produce the service wanted or expected by the public then they will either lose public support or face competition in the provision of service; or both. We have seen evidence of both in fact. There is evident a greater questioning of police standards and our surveys indicate variation in public satisfaction. (3) We have also seen the massive growth in private security companies since the 1960's.

With government pressure demanding increased efficiency and public demands for greater effectiveness, police managers must use all the means at their disposal to achieve this. The better the understanding of the organisation; and this involves understanding organisational information systems, will provide a major aid to increasing organisational effectiveness. A good organisational model is the prerequisite.

Having outlined the inadequacies of existing models of police organisation, what remains in this study is to bring together a basic model of the police system to aid management to get the most from their system.

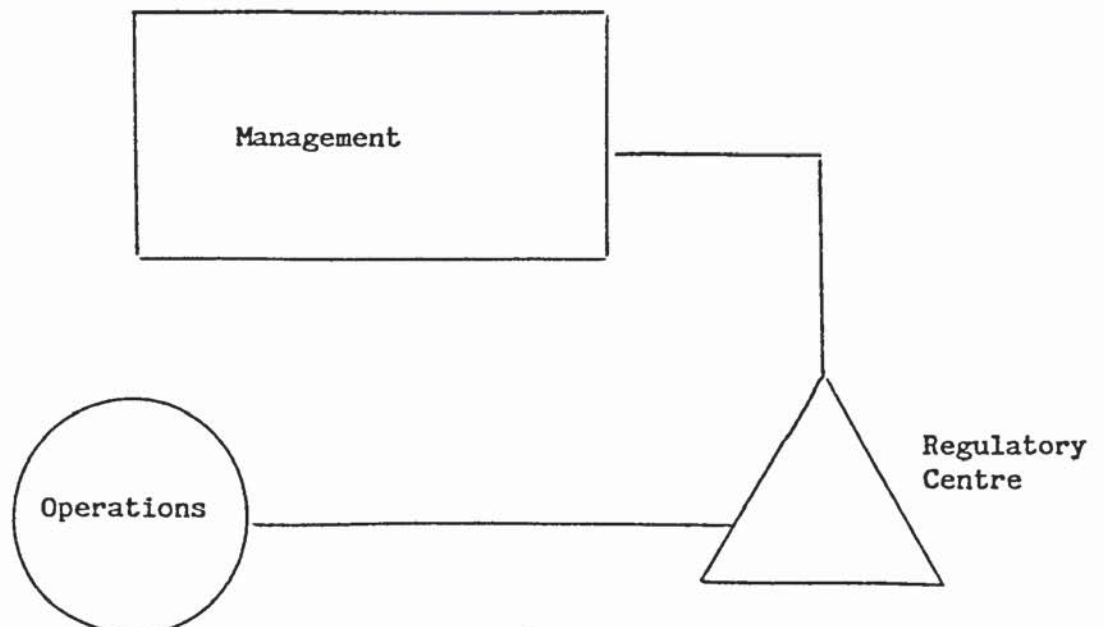
A Contingency Model of the Police System

Let us begin this section by being as clear as to our aim. We are discussing the police system - this is quite simply that activity we know and understand as being part of policing;

....It means that both the nature and the purpose of a System are recognised by an observer within his perception of WHAT THE SYSTEM DOES. (4)

Thus, we accept as the boundaries of one system the view of the observer. If two observers differ as to detail it will not affect the substance of this section.

Management as an activity is to be found at all levels of recursion, but the organisational role of management can be better illustrated by recalling Fig. 5.2. :



Managerial activity is linked with both the regulation of activity and activity itself. Whilst we will recall from Fig.5.1., the management box illustrated above is itself part of a linking to higher levels of management activity. In essence, the section of Fig.5.1. shown in Fig.5.2. is concerned with the internal control of the organisation; controlling and regulating the doing. The higher levels of management in Fig.5.1; system four (the intelligence function) and system five (the policy function) monitor the external behaviour of the system.

Any organisation, not least the police, has to respond to demands generated both within and without its own system. It seems that often the very idea of system boundaries are simply artificial creations to aid the simple explanation of enormous complexity! In describing the creation of human existence an enormous step forward was taken with the discovery of the double helix containing D.N.A. In organisational constructs our model proposes the existence of a "double-helix" which brings together the viable system model (V.S.M.) of BEER(Fig.5.1) with our societal model of Fig.1.1.

The theory explains to us that without the law of requisite variety - that only variety can absorb variety - we cannot have stability within an organisation. The notion of recursion then tells us that whilst we can identify five systems working together to make a V.S.M., all five systems are to be found in all parts of the system.

In our police organisation therefore we will find in each police officer all the attributes of the V.S.M. So. in terms of Fig.6.1. we will be able to overlay this simple model with the theory Of course, we can also view the organisation in more conventional ways; this operational system being operational police activity, regulation by first line supervisors and system management at sub-divisional level. Viewed in this way it will be readily apparent that organisational actors always perform in more than one system. For example, Superintendents perform a system three role constantly, will contribute to system four and five regularly and, on occasions be called upon to work in the operational field of system one. So we see the principle of recursion working again.

Stafford BEER emphasises the vital fulcrum which exists at system three:

	5.	(Policy)
	4.	(Intelligence)
(3	3)	(Control/Mgr)
2		(Regulation)
1		(Operations)

System three bridges the roles of assessing the "Outside - and - then" whilst controlling the "inside - and - now". (5) For this reason system three usually thinks it is running the whole system. In many cases we see clear parallels within the police organisation in the position and role of the superintending ranks. (See chart three)

In terms of this model we must recognise that information variety is controlled by reduction (attenuation) to a level which can be managed. Resultant action by the organisation will need amplifying into action. Our organisational systems' performance will be dictated by the capacity of the system to adequately match the variety received. There are information loops between systems within the V.S.M. and from systems to the environment (See again Fig.5.1.)

Once this process of information handling is appreciated the role of computer technology can be better understood. Computers can assist in the management of variety by attenuation. It may also be possible to develop "intelligent" computer systems which would then allow our model to amplify its capacity. For example, we are now seeing the experimental development of video systems which can record a motor vehicle exceeding the speed limit; the registered number is digitized, fed through computer to ascertain vehicle ownership and summonses are printed and posted. Such an intelligent system attenuates complexity and amplifies resultant action.

What is clearly necessary is an understanding of the dynamics of interaction. In this way we would be able to tackle some of the criticisms that HOUGH made of police management information systems. (6)

If we are to develop the use of computer systems within the police model, we will need to better match information flows within the system.

In their discussion of the application of program management to increase organisational effectiveness, Davis, Demp and Espejo have described how the five functions which Beer gives to us can be used to elaborate objectives which are set by different levels within any system structure:

..

"System objectives have provided the basis for defining the system and for identifying its environment. They also provide the basis for understanding structure. At the most aggregate level any system's objectives can usually be stated in very general terms - profitability or growth for private bodies, welfare or security of populations for national government, provision of food, or health care for a development system. It is as these objectives are elaborated into their more detailed implications that the wealth of environmental dimensions becomes apparent. These objectives are elaborated in stages, and at each new stage new dimensions in the environment become apparent. The stagewise elaboration of objectives provides the logic for system structure.(7)

For example, in the case of the police system, at a national level the government sets objectives for the police to achieve. In the first chapter of this study we discussed the general objectives set in 1964. Each police force sets its own system objectives in taking into account the national set of objectives, the resources that it has at its disposal and the professional assessment of likely success felt possible. This study argues that one part of this equation must be the expectations of the public. Within each force, divisions and sub-divisions set their objectives, once again taking the same criteria into account. Within each sub-division each patrol section will set its objectives as will each officer have his own set. At each level the strategic as against the tactical level of objective setting will move as we come down the system, Fig.6.3.

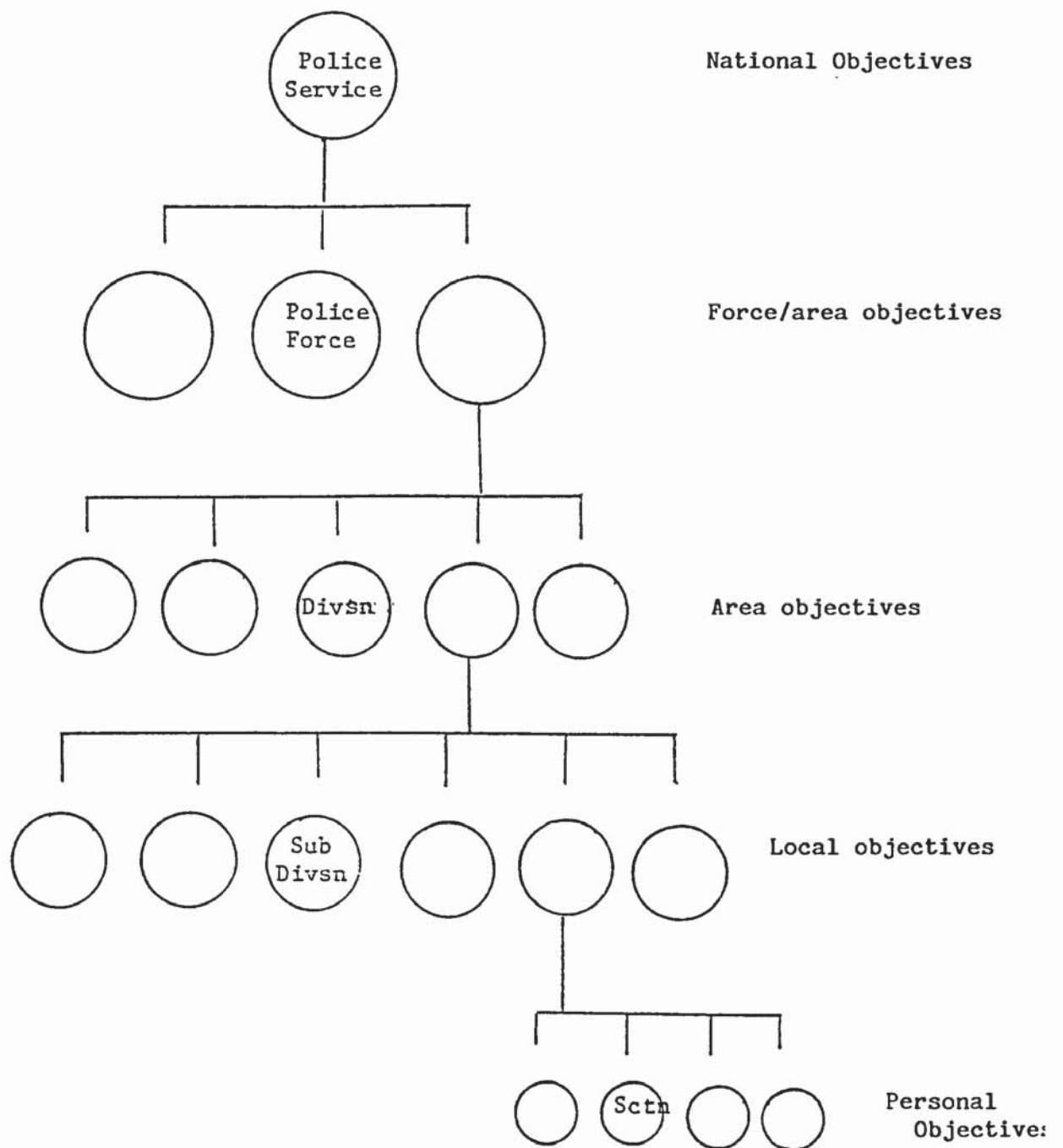


Fig.6.3. System Structure of British Police Service showing structure recursion.

One point of considerable importance at this juncture is to consider the issues of system purpose and hierarchy. What a system does defines its purpose. Now clearly, as we shall see below, the concept of goal setting gives direction, but this does not happen in isolation but is a part of a set of dynamic interactions. The operational system gives the whole model its defining characteristics and this governs the variety generated which the model then has to manage.

We are usually most comfortable to talk of managers setting organisational objectives and direction. Management is recognised in terms of hierarchy and accorded positions of power and status. It ought to be clear by now that the model developed here accords each part of our system equal importance. Certainly, we must recognise that any viable system must be capable of self-regulation; how can the huge variety generated be handled if not through a decentralised process of self-adjustment. Thus, whilst we may accord hierarchical status to rank structures we all know that the constable on the beat is as important as the Chief Officer. The wise will recognise that each has a function to perform - this is the principle of our viable system model. We can also see the sense behind the principle of recursion, that a viable system contains viable systems.

Earlier in this section we spoke of the need to see our police model as a "double-helix" of the V.S.M. and our societal model. The V.S.M. explains how our system works and maintains its viability. It does not tell us anything about what the system does, how it works and why it

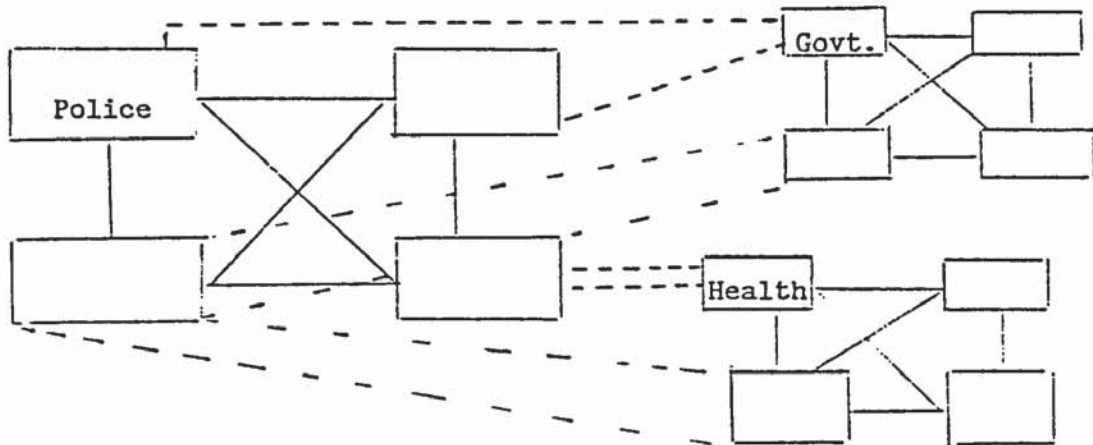
does it. As we said previously, there is a tendency to look for an independent and a dependent variable. However, if each construct in Fig.1.1. is held in balance then a change in any direction will occasion a change in each of the other constructs. Indeed, as we have said when speaking of the viable system model, to maintain viability change must constantly be taking place.

We have seen in our discussion in Chapters II and IV that the goals of policing differ according to the group surveyed. Similarly, technology - defined as work processes (which would include computer systems) will vary according to the goals set. It is of little surprise to also find the structure of policing adapting to meet the demands of communications, forensic investigation, transport etc. But what of culture? We can see this construct as consisting of the shared understanding, or a series of beliefs in the police system. When we spoke of image or reality in Chapter V we were talking of the culture of policing - a set of shared beliefs and expectations which will change, but which are without meaning if taken away from other constructs which give each its meaning; its reality.

What we are saying therefore is that the police organisation was not created in a flash of blinding insight. Rather, as we know from our historical and descriptive literature, policing has evolved through the centuries; a process of adjustments. The police culture evolves, reacting to changes in structure, technology or goals. Most difficult

of all to visualise is that each is always changing and interacting with related social structures :

Fig. 6.4. Interaction of Police Model with Society



If we can accept the implication of Fig.6.4. it must reinforce the observation made in discussing the V.S.M; that much of organisational life is self-regulating.

The Implications for Police Management

Let us be clear at the outset of this section that people do matter and that decisions have to be made by actors within our police model.

Whilst our model consists of the culture, technology structure and goal constructs, and is acted out as a viable system, being a part of, and containing other viable systems, there are people performing roles within the model.

The Police organisation consists of a collection of individuals; each acting his part or parts. Each performs an equally important role; there would be no Chief Constable without the constables! The actions of one will influence the actions of others. There is recursion and replication of our Fig. 1.1. in individuals as with groups and organisations.

Shared culture ensures that decentralised action follows a general direction. If the higher system functions make new policy decisions, these will need communicating within the system; this will require amplification. Variety attenuation is vital as is amplification when direction and decision is given. Much activity is directed towards the creation and manipulation of image as this is often the only way variety can be absorbed.

In recognising that our police model is involved with the environment in a variety of ways is to recognise that information receptors work at all levels. Consequently, to structure computerised information systems to handle variety requires such systems to replicate the information links of our model; that is a decentralised system. A computer system which serves system four needs above will not meet the needs of system one; the operations.

We must also recognise that whilst all parts of our model are capable of self-regulation, the pursuance of new directions requires decisions from those parts of the model capable of looking within

and outside the model itself. Changes in our model will have impact on other parts of society, as will change generated outside impact upon the police model.

CONCLUSION

Simple hierarchic models outline a formal structure which bears little resemblance to the rich variety of how organisations work. If we seek to bring into use new technology -- computer systems for example, it should be clear from this study that tacking them onto a simple organisational chart is not likely to result in the exploitation of potential. The result is likely to remain an organisational structure which performs far short of its potential. The result of this is likely to be an erosion of confidence and the loss of 'market share'. Ultimately it is possible to foresee the growth of replacement law enforcement or security systems and policing going the way of the night watchman.

In this study we have been concerned to develop models which allow management to systemically scan their environment -- both internally and externally in order to meet demands. The application of cybernetics tells us at least two things. In the first place there is a need to use a variety of approaches in management to meet a vareity of demands. Secondly, it is necessary to use the organisation to address those issues it can impact upon and use other organisations in order to amplify it's own capacity (see Chapter VII). The environment is dyanmic and as all organisations have loops into the environment they must also be dynamic.

Our model is an attempt to develop an understanding of the richness of people systems. We have used the term 'contingent' because, as it

should be clear to the reader, change is always contingent on change elsewhere. Change is a process of mutual and dynamic adaptation.

No one police manager can hope to have the full control of the whole police organisation. At each level within the police structure objectives are set by the policy function level as a result of the interaction between that level of the system structure and its environment. The goals then set impact on the technology and culture. In a similar way new technology developments can also impact on the capacity of the structure to achieve its objectives; or, even, bring new objectives into the realm of reality. At each level the intelligence function will provide the vital capability to the system level to assess its internal capacity to achieve its objectives with an assessment of what is happening in the environment. The control, or management, function directs the implementation whilst the co-ordination function monitors the performance of the implementation function. Working through all of this process is the capacity of the control function to monitor the performance of the system and the most powerful process available to it is the audit process; to reach down and examine the implementation at periodic intervals or at set stages of the process. This allows each level of the system to maintain its discretion and thus it achieves its objectives without overloading the command channels which exist between the control and implementation function. In this way, the variety produced at each stage of the program does not overload the control function.

The maintenance of requisite variety is essential for the system to remain in balance. With this model police management can

assess the progress of program implementation; can make assessments as to the performance of the different functions within the levels of the structure. If there is a need to strengthen the systems approach to a set of objectives it may be necessary to re-emphasise the co-ordination function, as an example, to ensure a number of sub-systems pursue the same objective rather than build up the self-contained task sub-system which could be in danger of taking too much complexity on for its filters to cope with.

It follows from what has been said above, that the complexity of the organisational response to a program is a function of the objective decision and that the response should provide a match to the complexity of the environment. There is no one best way, but the situation faced by each system will demand a sufficient complexity within the organisation to cope with the environmental complexity or the performance of the system will fall short of its potential. Clearly, from what has just been said, it is of the utmost importance to design the correct filters and amplifiers and this is another way of bringing us back to the importance of the structure and the technology matching the demands of the culture and the goals.

This model of viewing the police organisation in terms of achieving effectiveness in the implementation of programs provides a flexible and dynamic model which can react to all contingencies. We will now complete the study by applying the model to the management of the sub-divisional level of the police structure.

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CHAPTER VII

A CASE STUDY OF THE CONTINGENT POLICE MODEL

The study so far has been concerned to develop an appreciation of the organisational complexity of policing in this country. The availability of computer technology presents new challenges to police management at a time of enormous demand on limited resources. The theme the study follows is that the effective utilisation of computers will only occur if police management understand the nature of their organisation.

The organisation model described in the previous section of the study provides a useful tool for management in any organisation. In the case of police forces it has wide application in view of the recursive nature of policing, i.e. from The Police Service at national level to the local police section operating in a limited geographical area.

It has always been the intention to present a study which not only satisfies academic requirements, but also has applicability to the practitioner. For the latter to apply let us, in this section, look at a set of experiences the writer has undergone managing a police sub-division, applying the model as a tool by which resource allocation and policing strategy decisions were made. From this case study it is apparent how useful the organisational model can be. It must be said at the outset however, that the model is not the only management model available. Yet, the writer has found no better model and it works for him.

THE BACKGROUND

The police sub-division at the heart of this case study consists of a geographical area of 65,000 hectares, with a residential population of approximately eighty thousand people in about twenty seven thousand dwellings. The major town of the area is an historic market town of twenty four thousand residents, about thirty miles south of Birmingham, and a similar distance from the City of Coventry. To the west of the town is a major new town development. This market town is an important national tourist location, attracting two and a half million visitors each year, a half of these from overseas.

Due to good road communications the police area is subject to crime committed by travelling criminals (nearly half of all persons arrested for crime live outside the area of the case study). The sub-division contains high value property and the average value of a house burglary is twice that of the rest of the police force area of which the sub-division is a part.

In common with the rest of the country, the sub-division has experienced increased recorded crime each year. Police resources have also increased, but at a much slower rate.

Thus the period of the case study; a two year period from the autumn of 1985 to autumn of 1987, available police resources did not increase. Indeed, because of increased leave entitlement to police officers there was a net decrease of approximately one per cent of all police officers.

Crime occurs in many ways - theft of and from motor vehicles, from shops, from the person, burglary (house and other buildings - shops etc.) assaults, etc. The two categories of offence which were focussed upon during the two years of this case study were household burglary and shop theft (commonly known as shoplifting). These two categories of crime were focused on because of the acute concern of traders in the town who felt that an increasing number of young school children from the secondary schools were stealing from their shops. In the case of burglary from houses; the police sub-division consists of many villages which were increasingly being attacked by travelling teams of professional burglars from the local cities and as far away as Liverpool.

The crime figures for the relevant years were :-

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>
Burglary	244	306	344	288	219
Juvenile Shop Theft	75	48	121	96	43

The reduction in crime 1986-1987, a reversal of trend, occurred because of new policing tactics, based upon the application of the models developed in this study and mark a considerable, albeit local, success.

THE PROBLEM SITUATION IN CYBERNETIC TERMS

Looking again at the background situation we see that the police organisation at sub-divisional level is part of its total environment. Demands upon the police increased at a time resources remains static. The demands received have to be reduced to a manageable size and consequently reduction of variety takes place. As the information

received is communicated through the various levels of the police organisation, police activity continues in its autonomic way. The policy for deliberate action is decided and amplification takes place; action then follows. So too in this way, resources are magnified to deal with the problem.

In Fig.7.1. we see the situation in its recursive nature. There is a national objective to tackle crime. This objective is very generally stated and results from the environmental feedback that the national system structure receives; crime rates increase and people are concerned; sales of locks and bolts increase, new private security initiatives are launched and stores employ their own detectives to tackle shop thieves.

The police force sets a series of objectives, one of which is that it is going to specifically target household burglary and a general objective of reducing crime! The local sub-division is tasked with developing specific action plans to tackle the problem of household burglary and other initiatives within the general crime prevention area. At the local level the two initiatives - against household burglary and shop theft are embedded in the local environment which is itself part of the whole environment.

We know that the complexity of the problem is great, the crime statistics tell us the numbers of offences known and we also know the size of the resident and visiting population. Clearly, the programs developed to attack the issues will require complexity to absorb the variety of the situation.

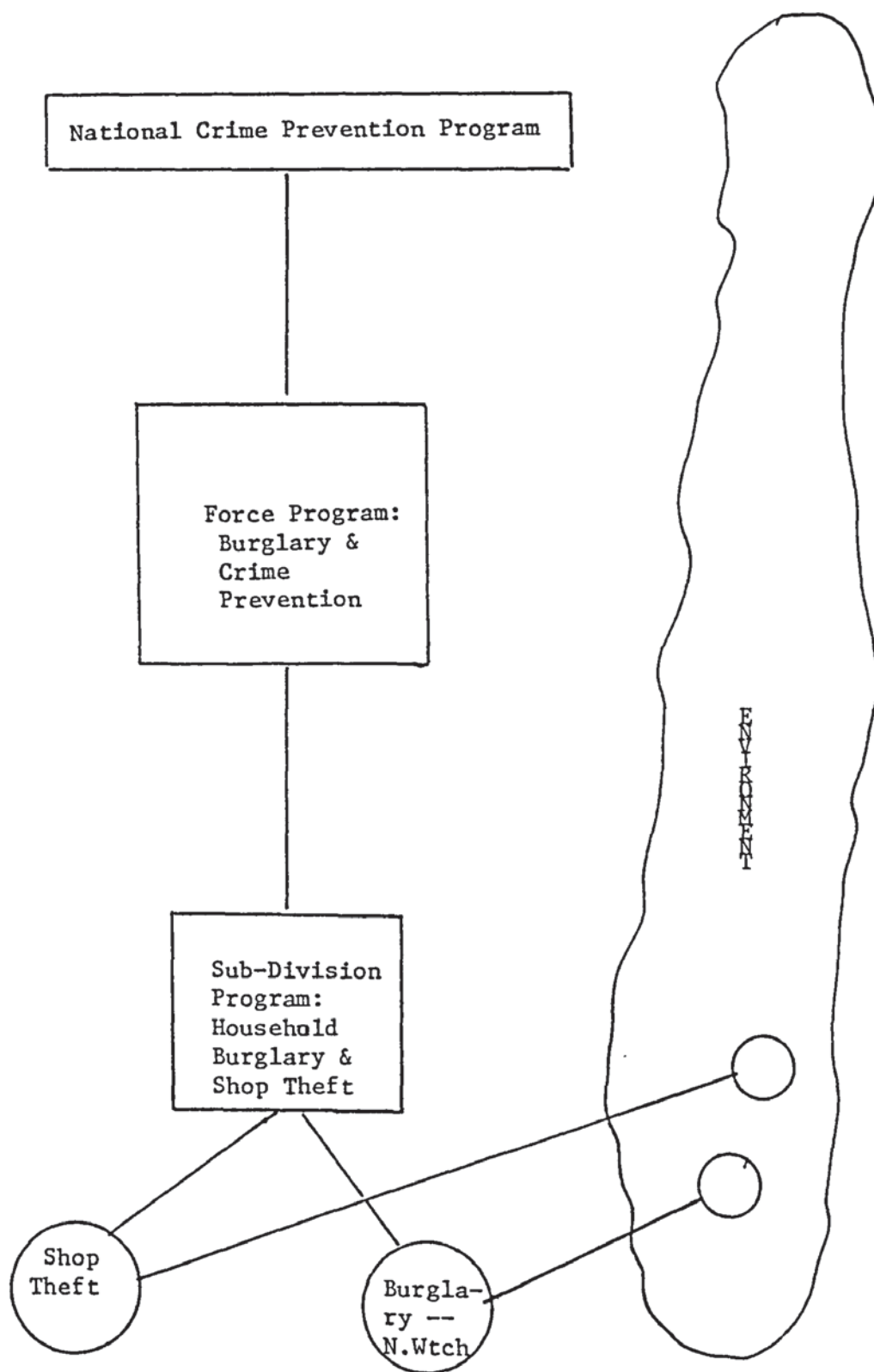


Fig.7.1. Program of Crime Prevention from National to local system level.

The task facing the sub-divisional police management - a police Superintendent - was to increase the amplification of his resources in order to reverse the crime trends and thereby increase his 'market share' of the domestic security industry. This then has the effect of raising the police image.

We also know that once goals have been set this will have an impact on the structure of the organisation, also on the technology and the culture. Changes affecting any one construct impact on the others. We also know that to make local changes on a police sub-division will impact above in the police organisation and on other organisations in the surrounding environment.

Clearly, there was a need to either increase resources available to detect criminals or increase the preventative capacity available; or do both. It is only in this way that variety could be increased to absorb increased variety (or variety be reduced to fit existing variety, or indeed, a combination of both!).

From a management standpoint the concept of variety and its treatment was crucial. It is not intended to suggest that the operational police capacity was in danger of crumbling in the face of the increasing demands. What was happening was that as crime increased and detection rates declined the operational police officers' belief in their own role as primary security agents changed - their self-image alters.

If the development was to be reversed it was clear that from a management level new strategies had to be developed and put into action. These strategies had to increase the capacity of the police to absorb variety and/or reduce the variety.

THE ACTION PLAN AND IMPLEMENTATION

We have seen that the two areas identified as causing acute local concern were juvenile shoplifting and household burglary. In the case of juvenile shoplifting, intelligence indicated that juveniles from a wide area travelled into the town to commit the crime and therefore this wide dispersal of variety producers would have to be tackled.

In the case of burglary; the plan would have to include action encompassing the whole of the geographic area, its residents and work against the many travelling criminals.

The two strategies developed were very different :

1. The strategy to tackle shop theft by local juveniles entailed a high visibility schools programme. Participating in this programme were store managers, the police and teachers. The programme was directed at first year pupils prior to the summer vacation. At the time of writing, three programmes have been implemented and three full student year groups of the nine secondary schools in the area have been included. The result, to date, has been a halving

of juveniles detained for shop theft. At the same time, county and national figures continue to rise.

2. In the case of household burglary, the strategy implemented consisted of developing community support through Neighbourhood Watch Schemes. By the time of writing, Neighbourhood Watch Schemes cover seventeen thousand households (fifty nine percent of the total). The development of Neighbourhood Watch has been encouraged both nationally and locally as a means of combating household burglary through increasing awareness and thus prevention. At the same time encouraging the reporting of suspicious vehicles/persons and thus aiding detection. The local development of Neighbourhood Watch has contributed to a reduction of household burglary in 1986 and the maintenance of this reduction in 1987. Additionally, information from Neighbourhood Watch Schemes has directly led to the arrest of travelling teams of household burglars (twelve such groups in 1987).

The two strategies pursued here led to a reduction in crime in quite specific areas through the harnessing of energy and assistance of community groups. These are groups which have previously been treated as part of the external environment insofar as the police organisation was concerned. In both strategies the community groups were brought into the organisational environment.

THE ACTION PLAN IN CYBERNETICS USING THE CONTINGENT MODEL:

We have seen earlier that limited police resources were not keeping pace with increased demands for service. Indeed, because of these pressures on the organisational equilibrium, there was a tendency to retreat; to increase the amount of information reduction taking place in the police system to cope with the complexity of the demands with the result that the performance of the system was declining as measured in increased crime and fear amongst residents. Many of the traditional police responses were automatic and geared towards the maintenance of the status quo which, because of the development of alternatives e.g. private alarm companies etc., was becoming a smaller part of the total law enforcement dimension.

Fig.7.2. diagrammatically shows the program implemented to tackle household burglary. It was clear to the police manager responsible for the sub division that within his own organisational resources he did not have the resources to absorb the complexity of the demands. If performance was to be increased a new approach was necessary. Neighbourhood watch was a strategy that was gaining popularity nationally and there was an officer within the sub division responsible for crime prevention who had established a small number of schemes. The policy decided upon involved an analysis of crime figures and information about the type of criminal committing household burglary(the intelligence function).

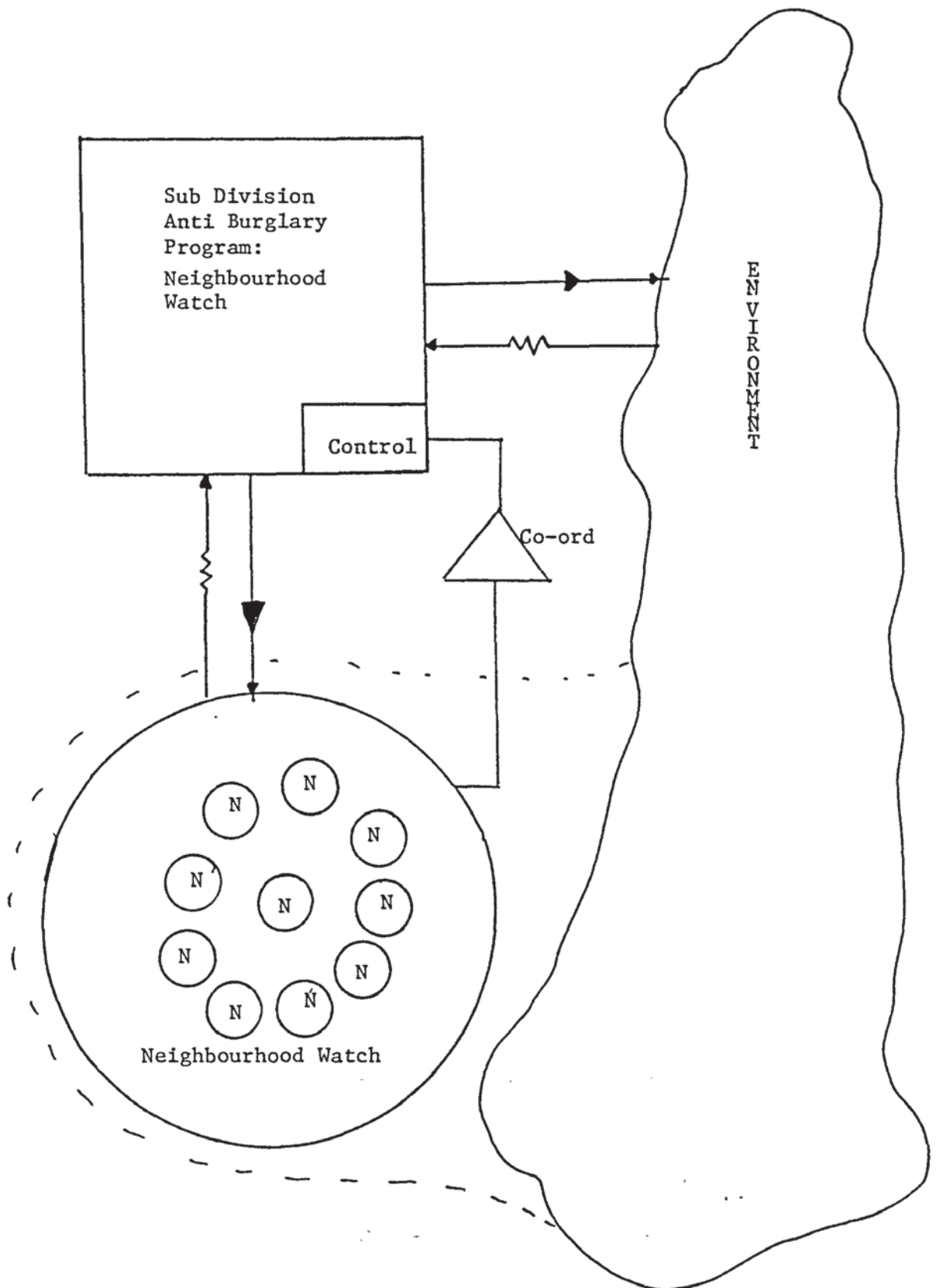


Fig.7.2. Anti Household Burglary Program utilising Neighbourhood Watch.

The intelligence obtained was used to launch publicity and gain recruits from residents who were, until then, part of the general environment. Groups were organised into schemes and linked together under the management of the crime prevention officer who was responsible for providing co-ordination and direction to the schemes, (diagrammatically shown in Fig. 7.2).

In the first year, the number of schemes increased from six to eighty and in the second to one-hundred and fifty, involving a total of seventeen thousand households in the sub-divisional area. Each group was a sub system of the whole programme directed from the police system which changed the nature of the environment by giving about sixty per cent of all the households within the policing environment a role that was directed and co-ordinated towards a common set of goals.

The crime prevention officer ensured that each scheme ran with considerable discretion. He provided information to the schemes concerning trends of crime and received back information about suspicious people. He visited schemes on a 'as requested' or ad-hoc basis; which performed an audit process and allowed the policy adopted to meet developing needs. The vital need which developed was to ensure that the co-ordination and monitoring function linked with the intelligence function in order that schemes went in the same direction. They were made aware of the impact that they were having on the crime environment through an assessment of crime in the community which is ongoing within the police organisation, as part of the intelligence function.

In the case of the program developed to tackle the problem of shop theft by juveniles it was realised that there already existed a group within the community (outside the police organisation) who were very interested in doing something to alleviate a growing problem. This group is the local Chamber of Trade which consists of representatives of those being the victims of the very crime causing the problem. At the same time it was realised that to prevent the occurrence of the crime it was necessary to bring the potential offenders together in groups otherwise the complexity would be too great for any existing or planned method to cope with.

Fig.7.3. illustrates the way in which this program was put together. The policy was put together at the police subdivision in consultation with the Chamber of Trade and representatives of the secondary schools (nine in total). The representatives were provided with a summary of the intelligence concerning the problem. It was agreed that the program would be managed by a police officer and a representative of each other group. The police officer would co-ordinate and monitor the program and would report to the small management group. The representative teacher liaised with a teacher in each school who undertook to manage and monitor the implementation of the program in his school. Similarly, in the Chamber of Trade, each main shop represented monitored their own input in the school and provided an intelligence feedback as to problems from school children in the shops.

In this program therefore there was a particular need to ensure a strong management function in each of the schools and

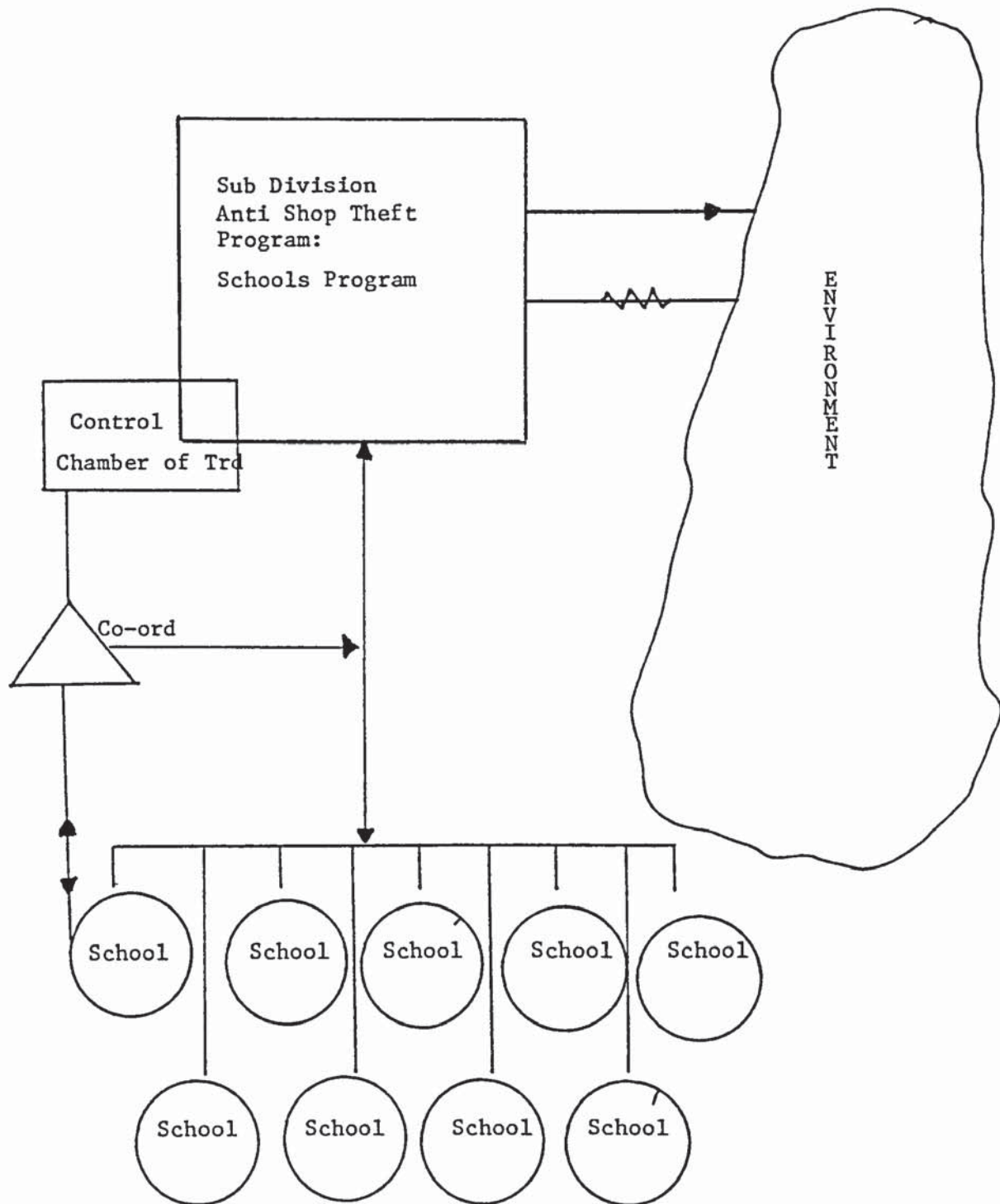


Fig.7.3. Anti Shop Theft Program working through Schools and Chamber of Trade.

maintain the feedback of intelligence which was generated from a range of sources.

In both programs discussed there was enormous variety generated which had to be filtered. The activity of each program was amplified through the involvement of the range of different sub-systems involved. The use of maximum discretion at all levels ensured that individual participants did not become overloaded.

In so far as the societal model part of our model is concerned we must look at how once we had looked at our goals; the reduction of household burglary and shop theft committed by juveniles we decided upon the structure to be used in tackling these programs. We also looked at how the programs would work - the issue of the technology. Culture is a concept which was a part of the origin, development and implementation. Certainly, as each program progresses so the balance and shape changes.

We have spoken in this description of the case studies of people and functions and levels. In fact, as will be apparent the crime prevention officer, for example, performed a range of functions from being part of the policy development to carry the main role of control and co-ordination of the doing. The police manager of the sub-division similarly had to be involved in policy and the control of the program through the occasional audit of performance. As the numbers of schemes in the neighbourhood watch grew deliberate strengthening of co-ordination had to take place.

The successful application of the strategies raised the threshold of the police organizations' capacity to handle variety without losing its equilibrium. The fact that both strategies are achieving the success targeted is due to acknowledging that the distinction between internal and external environments is fluid. To increase the capacity of an organization to tackle increasing demands may require the harnessing of resources beyond the immediate membership of the organization's own internal system.

DISCUSSION

Clearly, a knowledge of cybernetics, systems theory or the application of Stafford Beer's model is not essential to the successful implementation of policing strategies. What is useful, however, about organization models and theory is the ability to construct frameworks of management control and understanding against which plans of action can be assessed before and during implementation.

Policing is a most unusual occupation :

"The police are unlike most other big organizations. All the important decisions are made by the people at the bottom. Nine out of ten policemen and policewomen are constables. They have the right of arrest. The hierarchy then has to cope with the consequences of whether they arrest or not. In such circumstances, image building escapes from the marketing man's grasp". (1)

One of the primary roles of senior police management is to look at strategic issues; the direction and aim of the organization: its mission. Once this is set then resources are allocated and operational management is tasked with the development of tactical plans. The use of a coherent framework always entails the use of mental models. A knowledge of specific management and organizational

models gives management a capacity to maintain coherent linkages between strategy and tactics and ensure that, whilst the majority of action implementation is at the discretion of the lowest organizational level - the constable - its direction and presentation fits into a pattern.

The case studies described in this section illustrate how two tactical plans were implemented to enable variety absorption to take place through the development of additional organizational capacity. This was achieved by drawing on the resources available in the wider environment, rather than remaining insular. The use and abuse of image is a vital ingredient in this approach to managing a public service which is part of the British cultural heritage :

"At one stage, the police tried to combat this mismatch of image by joining the car culture themselves. These were the high days of Z-cars and flashing lights. The car-borne cop would be with you in ten minutes.

It sounded a good idea at the time, and it was widely welcomed. But everything has unforeseen consequences. The result wasn't a new respect for the technological image of the new police. It was a feeling that they were never around in person. For the past ten years the police have been trying to move back towards the old image of the neighbourhood bobby". (2)

So we come back around to the core issue, how are police managers to use their organization to meet demand, absorb and use technology and present the correct image whilst improving the performance of their organisation?

CONCLUSIONS

To meet the multiple needs of a modern, complex organization requires constant adjustment and sensitivity in management. There is little point in talking about the use of computers in any organization before attempting to reach an understanding of how the organization works; how it handles information. Of course, it is of little use to any organization if it perfects an information handling system, using the most modern computer knowledge, if it is only self-serving! That is to say; too much concentration on the internal environment without taking account of the linkage between internal and external organizational environment, would result in an organization which will eventually become insensitive to the external world and fail to absorb variety. When this happens, the organization is likely to collapse. The viability of an organization is seriously threatened.

It is also important to appreciate that society is moving through a period of revolutionary change, occasioned by the use of computer technology.

"We are living through a social revolution, but what keeps one awake at night is the fact that half the people haven't noticed and the other half do not seem to care a rap". (3)

Professor Handy goes on to quote a Dutch survey which estimates that by the end of the century :

"70 percent of jobs will be cerebral (knowledge or information) jobs, not manual jobs; a complete switch from 100 years ago when over 70 percent of all jobs were manual". (4)

Whilst this change is taking place in society generally, police forces are recruiting civilian staff to provide administrative support - frequently the knowledge jobs - and policemen are being put back onto the beat. Yet available to the men on the beat (the traditional image) are a whole range of technologies, the majority driven by computer (the technological image). The skills of management necessary to mould and develop both images to create a reality of organisational action are now greater than at any time before.

In this study we have brought to the surface a whole variety of organisational issues. From the range of literature available to a picture of policing drawn from a range of attitude surveys, the complex nature of the police organisation has been illustrated.

The reader will recall that the theme of this study is that understanding the police environment is the key to improving effectiveness through the development of internal and external communication. In the first chapter of this study reference was made to Sanderson's study of police communication (page 7). It will be recalled that one of the three core features of police organisation he identified was the emergent development of organisational professionalism within which individual professionalism is subverted. Police Managers must be aware of the implications of this issue, which we have seen in this study from the survey results where officer and public expectations of police service are quite different. Taking this study's theme further, it is suggested that if the police culture is at variance to their customer's then their goals and work technology will also be at variance (See fig.1.1.)

Given such a situation there are a number of options open to the Police:-

- a) The organisation can become self-serving:
 - i) directing most of its effort to maintaining its own internal stability
 - ii) manipulate an image which seeks to justify its existence on the basis of public need rather than servicing the actual need.
- b) The organisation can retreat from servicing the demand:
 - i) by selecting from a range of demands and servicing only some which it (the police organisation) defines as 'legitimate'.
 - ii) it can increasingly maintain a 'market position' through its monopoly position in the 'legitimate' use of force.
- c) The organisation can recognise demand and adjust to meet such demands.

In this study, we have argued that the police organisation is presently addressing options a and b. As a result of this, the market share of 'law enforcement and peacekeeping' owned by the police is diminishing. Public confidence in the police is decreasing, as evident through public attitude surveys and other agencies are competing with the police, e.g. Customs & Excise; Private Security Companies; Private Police Forces (Ministry of Defence Police).

If the police are to remain in the forefront of public service in meeting traditional demands for 'police services', management must recognise what is happening outside their own organisation and meet the requirements of option c.

In this study one way for police management to adjust to present day needs has been outlined. The basic requirement is a recognition and understanding of how their organisation works within a wider environmental

framework. If management appreciate the variance between police and public expectations, and recognise the need to address this issue then the usefulness of the cybernetic model of Stafford Beer and its appreciation, examined through case studies, seems to underline some of the conceptual skills necessary in a modern police manager.

We must accept that this study presents more problems than solution. For this we make no apology. The beginning of a solution lies in identifying the problem. The fact that the problem is complex arises inevitably from the complex nature of policing. The term Police is derived from the Greek Polis (the state). The organisation and management of policing is entwined within the organisation and nature of society. To manage such an organisation requires skills the like of which this study can only just touch upon.

If, from this beginning, police managers are driven to think about their position, if technologists consider the way in which computers are put to use, if image makers consider their impact on strategy and tactics, then the organisational viability and effectiveness of policing at a time of great complexity will remain sound. If not, the place of the police service in providing the main law enforcement service could be challenged.

Sensitivity by police management to the needs and desires of both their own officers and their customers is a prerequisite. We have brought together in this study a range of surveys, which together with the literature review, illustrates some of the gaps in the perceptions and expectations which exist. We have seen the need for police management to be provided with tools to look ahead and plan new programs to meet the

pressures to be both efficient and effective. In seeking to bring together a range of models developed elsewhere and apply them to the police service serves two purposes; we bring to the surface issues which have lain within black boxes and we also provide a practical tool for managerial effectiveness which is both flexible and dynamic.

Failure to take notice of these issues will lead to a continued reduction in the 'market share' of the law enforcement market possessed by the police. Equally, of concern to both police and public, is the possibility that the police could rely increasingly on the use of force to maintain its dominant role. A dynamic, developing and democratic police service requires a management aware of these issues and it is to these ends this study is directed.

The replication of this study's methodology in respect of other public service areas would allow us to compare our results and validate the general applicability of this model to other organisational requirements. Without doubt, the police service both needs and benefits from research which increases understanding and can improve its effective performance.

REFERENCES - CHAPTER VII

1. Barker, P. "Whatever happened to the British Bobby?"
Sunday Telegraph Magazine . N.550. May 10 1987. p.48.
2. op. cit. p.48.
3. Meade-King, M. "Wouldn't you like to go to work like this?"
Sunday Time Magazine. Oct 18 1987. p.92.
4. op.cit. p.92.

APPENDIX 'A'OUTLINE OF SURVEY METHODOLOGIES

In this appendix an outline will be given of the methodology used in the four surveys undertaken by the author as contributory parts to the study:

a. Survey of Superintendents

The population of Superintendents and Chief Superintendents (N = 103) were sent a survey instrument with a covering letter explaining how the survey was part of a research study. The author was a serving officer in the same police force. Seventy Four replies were received within the four weeks allowed for completion (reminder telephone calls were made to respondents at two weeks).

The replies were analysed following computer compilation using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.)

A report outlining the results of the survey was sent to the respondents and the author offered verbal feedback to any respondent so requesting. The survey took place in Spring 1982. (See Appendix 'B')

b. Survey's of Police Service Consumers

This was the first part of a two part survey (See c below) undertaken as part of a research project on behalf of the police force, of which the author was a serving officer. The purpose of the research project was to assess how police response to calls should be managed.

The consumer survey was conducted in two ways; using one survey instrument;

- i. Members of the public who had contacted the police during a week in April 1983 were interviewed by teams of police officers. A total of 1927 members of the public (consumers) were interviewed, from a total of 2000 selected from the total number of calls received by the police during that week (N = 5213). Thus, only 63 consumers declined to answer some or all of the questions put by the police interviewers (who were police women working in pairs). Each team of interviewers worked to a standard set of instructions on how to conduct the interview. Consumers were aware from the outset that police officers were conducting the survey to help establish policing priorities for their police area.
- ii. Consumers were sent the same survey instrument as that used at (i) above. This survey instrument was sent to the remaining callers for police service (N = 3213) and they were invited, in a covering letter explaining the survey's purpose, to return the completed survey instrument to a FREEPOST address. Of the total sent out 1373 replies were received. There was no follow-up or reminder to the postal survey.

In total, therefore, 3300 replies from 5213 consumers were received (63%).

Or, in each part of the survey the return rate was :-

Interview: 1927 of total 2000 (96%)

Postal: 1373 of total 3213 (42.7%)

All of the completed survey questionnaires were coded and processed using the S.P.S.S. program on 'in-house' computer facilities.

The analysis of the consumer information was used to form the basis for an argument to alter the police response to public demand; an argument and debate which was still continuing when, two years later, the author moved to another police force. (See Appendix 'C')

c. Survey of Police Service Providers

The second part of this survey (see (b) above) was to seek the views and explore the attitudes of police officers involved in servicing the calls. During the week chosen for survey a total of 1636 officers were surveyed as being responsible for servicing one or more of the calls received. Each officer was sent a questionnaire, through his supervising officer. A force-wide circulation had been made by an Assistant Chief Constable, explaining the purpose of the research and each of the twelve Divisional Chief Superintendents had been circulated with a memorandum outlining the research methodology.

1253 of the service providers returned their completed questionnaires (76.7%). Similarly to (b) above, the responses were analysed using S.P.S.S.

d. Survey of a Town and Country Area

In November 1986 a survey was conducted by post of a number of residents in a part of a rural county police force area. From a total residential population in that part of the country (a district council/police sub-division) of 86,000, a total of 800 survey instruments were distributed. The distribution was made on the basis of a random sample, stratified.

according to main residential areas (there are five centres of population).

The 800 instruments were delivered to the houses by sixth form pupils of a local school who became involved in the survey as a part of their social studies. Of the total distributed 318 responses were received (39.7%). The responses were analysed using S.P.S.S.

The results of the survey were used to develop policing strategy on a police sub-division and the two case studies in Chapter VII flow from this.

(See Appendix 'D')



West Midlands Police

WG401

Reference:

FROM: Inspector K. Bond

STATION: Management Services.

TO: Members of The Superintendents' Association DATE: February, 1982.

SUBJECT: Police Attitude Questionnaire.

In recent times we hear increasing discussion about the need for the police to use computer-based information systems; the 'Byford Report' into the handling of the 'Ripper Enquiry' is a case-in-point. The introduction of such systems is hailed as the answer to all police information handling problems. Unfortunately, little has been done to examine the real need for such systems, nor in particular, the impact they are having and are likely to have on police organization and effectiveness.

The attached questionnaire is part of a research project being undertaken, on a part-time basis, at The University of Aston Management Centre to examine the relationship between the organizational structure of the West Midlands Police, middle management decision-making and the utilization of computer-based information systems. This research is being partly funded by the West Midlands Police through an award towards meeting the cost of fees, etc.

I would be grateful if you would find the time to complete this questionnaire. This will provide a data base for further enquiries. If you desire an extract of the results please indicate at the end of the questionnaire and this will be sent when all the replies have been analysed.

The questionnaires returned will be treated in confidence and the space for the name of the person completing is solely for the return of an extract of results if required.

Please return completed questionnaire to :

Inspector Kevin Bond
Management Services Department,
Lloyd House.

Kevin Bond.
Inspector.



Reference:

FROM: Inspector K. Bond.

STATION: Management Service

TO: Members of The Superintendents Ass.

DATE: March 1982.

SUBJECT: Police Attitude Questionnaire.

Further to my communication of February 1982, can I take this opportunity to remind you to complete the questionnaire which accompanied the earlier report.

The information collected on the questionnaire will assist with the study being undertaken and hopefully aid future computer developments within the West Midlands Police. In order to do this, it is important to obtain as good a return rate to the questionnaire as possible.

In the event that you have mislaid your initial questionnaire, I enclose a further copy.

Please return your completed questionnaire to:

Inspector Kevin Bond.
Management Services Department,
Lloyd House.

Kevin Bond.
Inspector.

Police Attitudes -- Superintendent's Association.

Aim:

The aim of the present survey is to indicate and measure a number of the attitudes of police officers of the West Midlands Police (W.M.P.) in respect of their jobs. This information may then direct further research and development concerning decision-making and the application of computer-based information systems.

1. Will you indicate from the following list of duties, those you consider to be the responsibility of the police. Please rank order them i.e., 1 to ...

- ___1 To preserve law and order.
- ___2 To protect persons and property.
- ___3 To prevent crime.
- ___4 To detect criminals.
- ___5 To prosecute offenders.
- ___6 To make decisions whether or not to prosecute offenders.
- ___7 To control traffic.
- ___8 To perform quasi-governmental functions e.g., Alien enquiries.
- ___9 To befriend those in need of help.
- ___10 To foster community relations, particularly with the young and coloured people.

Any other duty (please specify) : _____

2. Will you describe your own role within the W.M.P.: _____

3. Is your own role within the W.M.P. predominantly:

- ___1 Operational.
- ___2 Administrative.
- ___3 Other (please specify) : _____

4. To whom within the organizational hierarchy of the W.M.P. are you directly and immediately responsible for the performance of your duties?

- 2 -

5. How accessible is your immediate senior officer?

- ☐ 1 Immediately for personal (face to face) consultation.
☐ 2 At short notice i.e. advance telephone call encessary.
☐ 3 Day or two's notice necessary to set-up meeting.
☐ 4 Appointment necessary.
☐ 5 Other (please specify) : _____

6. How often do you meet your immediate senior officer?

- ☐ 1 Daily once or more often.
☐ 2 Two or more times each week.
☐ 3 Weekly.
☐ 4 Other (please specify) : _____

7. Does your immediate senior officer understand the problems presented by performing your job?

- ☐ 1 Yes, but a little out of touch with the range and nature of the problems.
☐ 2 Yes.
☐ 3 Not really, tendency to underestimate complexity of your job.
☐ 4 No.
☐ 5 Other (please specify) : _____

8. Do your junior officers (those working directly for you) understand the problems presented by performing your job?

- ☐ 1 Yes, but a little out of touch with the range and nature of the problems.
☐ 2 Yes.
☐ 3 Not really, tendency to underestimate complexity of your job.
☐ 4 No.
☐ 5 Other (please specify) : _____

- 3 -

9. What is the size of the department/section/division/
sub-division(you are responsible for running) in number
of officers (police only)?

___1 0 - 25.

___2 25 - 50.

___3 50 - 75.

___4 75 - 100.

___5 100 - 125.

___6 125 - 150.

___7 150 - 175.

___8 175 +

10. What do you consider to be the optimum size, in number
of officers, for territorial:

___1 Sub-Division?

___2 Division?

11. Do you understand the problems faced by your subordinates
in performing their jobs?

___1 Yes.

___2 Yes, but a little out of touch.

___3 Not really, easy to underestimate the complexity of
their job.

___4 No.

___5 Other (please specify) : _____

12. How long is it since you performed operational duty as
an Inspector?

___1 1 - 2 years.

___2 2 - 4 years.

___3 4 - 6 years.

___4 6 - 8 years.

___5 8 -10 years.

___6 10 + years.

- 4 -

13. Information is often said to be the life-blood of any organization. Do you have access to adequate information on which to make your management decisions?

- ___1 Yes.
- ___2 Yes, in most cases.
- ___3 Not really, many gaps in the information available.
- ___4 No.
- ___5 Other (please specify) : _____

14. In Question 2 above, you described your role within the W.M.P. What type of information do you generally consider prior to decision-making within your main role function? Please rank order i.e. 1 to ...

- ___1 Crime figures.
- ___2 Manpower availability.
- ___3 Equipment availability.
- ___4 Administrative support.
- ___5 Financial implications of alternative actions.
- Other (please specify) : _____

15. How do you mainly get your information? Please rank order means i.e. 1 to ...

- ___1 Self-knowledge.
- ___2 'phone.
- ___3 Literature.
- ___4 Conversation., face to face conversation.
- ___5 Computer.
- Other (please specify) : _____

16. The W.M.P. have developed a Management Information System as part of the Command and Control development. Do you use the M.I.S.?

- ___1 Daily.
- ___2 Two or more times each week.

Question 16 Continued:

- ☐ 3 Weekly.
☐ 4 Monthly.
☐ 5 Very seldom.
☐ 6 Not at all.
☐ 7 Other (please specify) : _____

17. If you answered 'Not at All' in Question 16 above, will you explain any problems you may find with the information supplied by M.I.S.

18. Do you consider computer-based information systems of importance to the W.M.P.?

- ☐ 1 Yes.
☐ 2 No.
☐ 3 Other (Please specify) : _____

19. Do you consider police computer applications to be successful so far?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 P.N.C. : | <input type="checkbox"/> a Yes |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> b No |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Command and Control : | <input type="checkbox"/> a Yes |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> b No |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3 M.I.S. : | <input type="checkbox"/> a Yes |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> b No |

20. Which of the following application areas would you like to see incorporated into new computerised systems; please rate a, b, or c priority.

- ☐ 1 Criminal offence file, e.g. info on type of crime, where and when.
☐ 2 Criminal arrest file, e.g. info on type of crime, where and when.
☐ 3 Modus Operandi file, criminal patterns, techniques etc.
☐ 4 Warrant file.
☐ 5 Property file -- stolen and lost/found.

Question 20 Continued:

- ___6 Intelligence file - info on organized crime, subversives etc.
- ___7 Traffic accident file - info on nature of accident, who/where.
- ___8 Traffic process file - process, court docket preparation etc.
- ___9 Parking offence file, fixed penalties etc, plus outstanding fines.
- ___10 Patrol allocation and distribution.
- ___11 Police service analysis - info on type of call, location/time etc.
- ___12 Personnel records.
- ___13 Inventory control.
- ___14 Vehicle fleet maintenance.
- ___15 Budget analysis.

Other (please specify) : _____

21. Please indicate (by number) the three applications listed above in Question 20 which you feel are most important or will be most important to your department/division/sub-division.

22. What are your major reasons for using a computer, or what would be the main reasons you would like to see computers used for within the W.M.P.? (Please indicate your top three reasons by ranking them 1, 2, or 3 in order of their importance in the space provided).

- ___1 To make the internal administration of the police more efficient.
- ___2 To monitor the performance of police divisions or units.
- ___3 To improve the patrol officer's ability to rapidly identify and apprehend criminals.
- ___4 To improve the ability of the department(division/sub-division) to investigate crimes.
- ___5 To improve surveillance capacity.
- ___6 To improve service to the public.
- ___7 To get better management information.
- ___8 As a part of the 'professionalisation' program of the W.M.P.

Other (please specify) : _____

23. On the basis of your experience with the computer systems available within the W.M.P., what major recommendations would you make in respect of future computer developments?

Name : _____

THANK YOU!

N.B. If you would like a summary of the results of this survey please tick the box:

☐

Case No
Sub-Division

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - MEMBERS OF PUBLIC

INTRODUCTION

I understand that you recently had occasion to call the police. I am part of a survey taking place throughout the West Midlands to establish ways of improving police services.

I would be grateful if you could answer a few questions about this recent incident. The replies will be treated with the utmost of confidentiality and only used to develop and improve policing in the West Midlands.

NB Interviewer

Please circle, where necessary, the answer which applies.

KPB/S2

-1-

INCIDENT

- 1 Would you briefly describe what happened for the police to be called?

- 2 Who called the police?

Self Relation Friend Other

- 3 How long was this after you first became aware of the problem:

5 mins 10 mins 15 mins 20 mins 25 mins 30 mins 30+

- 4 Were you reluctant to call the police?

Yes No Don't know

If yes, why was that?

- (a) Fear of causing false alarm
 (b) Nothing Police could do
 (c) Did not want Police to attend
 (d) Other (specify): _____

CALL TO THE POLICE

- 5 When you called the police, what did you hope they would do?

- (a) Catch offender
 (b) Restore property
 (c) Prevent same happening to others
 (d) Provide reassurance
 (e) As a formality
 (f) Other (specify): _____

- 6 How many times did you call the police in connection with this matter?

Once Twice Thrice Three + times

- 7 Which telephone did you use?

Own Friend's Kiosk Other

- 8 Which number did you ring?
- 999 Local Police Station 100 Other
- 9 Did you have any difficulty getting through to the person you finally spoke to?
- (a) Delay in answering
(b) Problem with the 'phone
(c) Other (specify): _____
- 10 Please describe, in a few words, what you said to the officer on the telephone:
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- 11 Did you actually ask for a police officer to be sent?
- Yes No Don't send one Don't Know
- 12 Did the officer say anything would happen in response to your request?
- (a) Promised police officer immediately
(b) Promised police officer, but subject to delay
(c) Promised police attention - CID, etc
(d) Other (specify): _____
- 13 What action did you expect the officer on the 'phone to take?
- (a) Expected police officer immediately
(b) Expected police attention in due course
(c) Expected no action
(d) Other (specify): _____
- 14 Did you specify any particular time for the officer to call?
- Yes No Don't Know
- 15 Did the officer give any indication of when the patrol would arrive?
- Yes No Don't Know
- 16 Did the officer mention any delay before a patrol would arrive?
- Yes No Don't Know

-3-

- 17 What did you think about the delay mentioned/and the justification given for it?
- (a) Reasonable and no problem caused
 (b) Wanted immediate action
 (c) Other (specify): _____
- 18 What was the officer's attitude to you on the telephone?
- (a) Businesslike
 (b) Helpful
 (c) Unhelpful
 (d) Other (specify): _____
- 19 On completing your call to the police, how satisfied were you with the response they made to you over the telephone?
- Satisfied Neutral Unsatisfied

Arrival of Police Patrol (If no patrol sent go to 'Overall Impressions')

- 20 When the police patrol arrived did the officer(s) speak to you or relatives/friends, etc?
- Yes No Don't Know
- 21 Did you want them to see you or not?
- Yes No Don't Know
- Why Not? _____

- 22 How many officers came?
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| Uniform | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6+ |
| CID, etc | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6+ |
- 23 How did the officers (first officers) arrive?
- Car Motor Cycle Foot Other
- 24 Did you know any of them:
- (i) Uniform Yes No Don't Know
- (ii) CID, etc Yes No Don't Know
- 25 How were you feeling when the officer(s) arrived?
- _____

26 How long after you telephoned did the first officer(s) arrive on the scene?

_____ mins Don't Know

_____ mins Don't Know

Satisfied go to 30	Neutral	Dissatisfied go to 29
-----------------------	---------	--------------------------

(a) Officer arrived too late to do anything
(b) Personal inconvenience
(c) Other (specify): _____

Too Many Enough Too Few Don't Know

Satisfied Neutral Dissatisfied

Why was this? _____

Yes No

If no, why not/what did you want him to do?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Police simply taking details over the telephone			
Your visiting police station to make statement			
By sending letter to police			
By police sending you form to fill and return			
By visit from officer at later time by appointment			

Follow Up

34 Did the initial officer indicate whether another officer would follow up enquiries and visit you?

Yes No Don't Know

If yes, who was he to be?

CID SOCU Photographic PBO Same Officer Other

35 Has the follow up taken place?

Yes No Don't Know

36 Did you expect there to be a follow up?

Yes No Don't Know

37 How satisfied were you with this (lack of) follow up (promised)?

Satisfied Neutral Unsatisfied

38 Do you expect to be told of the outcome of this police action:

Yes No Don't Know

39 Have you been so informed:

Yes No Don't Know

40 Do/did you want to be informed of the outcome?

Yes No Don't Know

Overall Impression

41 How satisfied are you with the response you received from the police as a whole?

Satisfied Neutral Unsatisfied

42 Was there anything you particularly liked?

43 Was there anything you particularly disliked about the police response?

-6-

44 How often have you had to telephone the police in the past year

This time only 2x 3x 4x 5x 5x +

45 Were there any incidents which occurred in the last year where you might have called the police, but didn't?

Yes No Don't Know

If yes, what were they: _____

46 If an incident similar to the present one occurred again, would you call the police:

Yes No Don't Know

If no, why not? _____

RESPONDENTS

Please complete the following as accurately as possible.

47 Occupation of Respondent _____

48 Employed Self Employed Unemployed

49 Age group of Respondent:

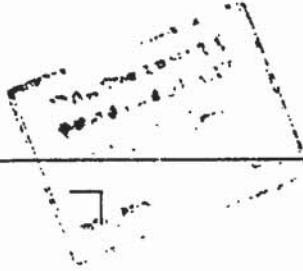
U 21 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 Over 60

50 Sex of Respondent:

M F

THANK YOU FOR HELPING

Warwickshire Constabulary



POLICE OFFICE,
Stratford upon Avon

WARWICKSHIRE.

TELEPHONE(0789) 687111.

*All communications should be addressed
to "The Officer in Charge"*

OUR REF KB/JRH

YOUR REF

DATE October, 1986

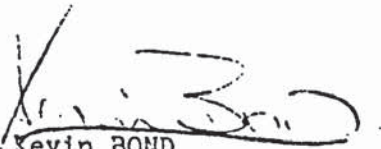
Dear Occupier,

The Warwickshire Constabulary, together with Stratford-upon-Avon Grammar School for Girls, is conducting a survey into the attitudes and expectations of members of the public towards their local Police. It is hoped that the responses from this survey can help us provide a better Police service in the area.

I would be grateful if you would complete this questionnaire and return it, as soon as possible, in the prepaid envelope, attached. I can assure you that all responses will be treated in the utmost confidence and the anonymity of the respondent is assured.

Many thanks for your co-operation in this most important matter.

Yours faithfully,


Kevin BOND
Superintendent

Please answer the following questions by circling the statement which applies:

1. Have you had any contact with the Police in the last 12 months?

Yes

No

If yes, please specify:

- (a) Victim of crime
(b) Traffic incident
(c) Enquiry with Police
(d) Other (please specify): _____

Neighbourhood watch.

2. If you were the victim of a crime, what was it?

- (a) Burglary - home/flat
(b) Burglary - business/shop
(c) Assault
(d) Theft of car
(e) Theft from car
(f) Theft - other
(g) Robbery (mugging)
(h) Damage - vandalism
(i) Sexual offence
(j) Other (please specify): _____

3. If you were involved in a traffic incident, what was it?

- (a) Being stopped and reported for an offence
(b) Being stopped and advised
(c) Road accident - involved
(d) Road accident - witness
(e) Fixed Penalty Ticket
(f) Other (please specify): _____

4. If your answer to Question 1 or 2 was yes, please indicate what you hoped the Police would do:

- (a) Catch the offender
(b) Restore property
(c) Prevent same happening to others
(d) Provide reassurance
(e) As a formality
(f) To meet insurance needs
(g) Other (please specify): Co-operate with local neighbourhood watch schemes.

5. If your answer to Question 1 or 2 was yes, did the Police act effectively?

1
☒ Yes

No

If no, please specify:

- 6
 (a) Slow response
 (b) Unhelpful
 (c) Offenders not apprehended
 (d) Police did not tell result of enquiry
 (e) Other (please specify):

Cooperation very good

6. If you were the victim or witness of a crime, would you contact the Police?

1
☒ Yes

No

If no, specify why not:

- 9
 (a) Police cannot do much about crime
 (b) Do not like the Police
 (c) Would not want to get involved
 (d) Other (please specify):

7. Are there occasions when you are concerned about safety from crime?

1
☒ Yes

No

If yes, please specify:

- 24
 (a) Leaving house empty X
 (b) Walking the streets during day
 (c) Walking the streets after dark
 (d) Carrying money about X
 (e) Security of unattended car
 (f) Other (please specify):

8. How many times in the last 6 months have you seen a Policeman or Police car patrolling your area?

- 2
 (a) Never
 (b) 1 - 5 times X
 (c) 6 - 10 times
 (d) 10 +

9. How would you prefer to see a Policeman on patrol?

(a) Car Motorcycle

(b) Foot

(c) Cycle

(d) Other (please specify): _____

10. If your answer to Question 9 included either foot or cycle, would you be willing to wait for a Police response to your call for assistance?

Yes

No

11. How serious do you think the following is in South Warwickshire?

V.Serious Serious Not Serious Don't Know

2 Burglary

X

4 Theft - car

X

4 Theft - other

X

4 Sexual Assault

X

4 Assault

X

3 Street Robbery
(Mugging)

X

4 Noise

4 Drunkenness

X

4 Litter

X

4 Disorder

X

4 Vandalism

X

4 Drugs

X

4 Traffic Offences

X

4 Parking Offences

X

12. Do you know where the Police Station is?

Yes

No

13. Have you ever called at the Police Station for any of the following reasons:

No.

(a) To complain about something

(b) To report a loss

(c) To report a find

(d) To report a person missing

(e) For advice or information

(f) To advise Police about your vacant house - holiday

(g) To report a road accident

(h) To produce driving documents

(i) Other (please specify): _____

14. If you have been to the Police Station, what was the reception like?

(a) Very helpful
 (b) Helpful
 (c) Uninterested
 (d) Bad
 (e) Other (please specify): _____

15. How do you think the Police are operating in this area?

(a) Doing a very good job
 (b) A good job
 (c) Not particularly good
 (d) Bad job
 (e) Don't know

16. What level of response should the Police in South Warwickshire give to the following:

	High Priority	Medium Priority	Low Priority
1 Burglary	X		
2 Theft - car		X	
2 Theft - other		X	
1 Sexual Offence	X		
Assault	X		
Street Robbery	X		
3 Noise			
2 Drunkenness			X
3 Litter		X	
2 Disorder		X	
2 Vandalism		X	
1 Drugs	X		
3 Traffic Offences			X
3 Parking Offences			X

17. Are there any other problems you believe the Police should tackle?

They have sufficient to do

Please provide the following information:

9 Sex: Male Female
 Age: 10 - 17(1); 18 - 20(2); 21 - 30(5);
 31 - 40(4); 41 - 50(5); 51 - 60(6);
 Over 61(7)

Housing Type: Owner occupied - House(1); Flat(2)
Rented, private - House(3); Flat(4)
Rented, Council - House(5); Flat(6)

Occupation: Unemployed(1)
Employed(2)
Self Employed(3)
Retired(4)
Student(5)

2