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Police Management and Community Policing: A Case Study from Scotland

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ABSTRACT

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This paper reports on a case study of police management in Scotland and its focus on orientating the service toward community policing and away from a target-driven approach. Contemporary police report and planning documents are analyzed to chart this shift in orientation towards what is referred to as New Public Governance (NPG) This involves a focus on the public good and represents moving beyond the previous targetdriven approach of New Public Management (NPM). New Public Governance stresses community involvement and the co-creation of objectives between professionals and the public they serve. The study examines the extent to which the police service in Scotland is, through formal reporting structures, seeking to align with NPG and if there are vestiges of the NMP approach. A discourse analytic methodology is adopted which examines the rhetorical nature of the documents. The focus of the analysis is the extent to which these public-facing documents represent an attempt to convey police acceptance and enthusiasm for NPG, or if they can be considered as attempts to bolster public confidence and police legitimacy. The ambivalent nature of the discourse in the documents is examined in terms of the adoption of both NPG and NPM through references to key aspects of these managerial approaches, including a focus on the setting of policing objectives through community co-creation in the case of the latter, and stress upon outcomes and measurable outcomes about the former.

KEYWORDS: community, discourse, management, police, Scotland.

1. INTRODUCTION

The application of New Public Management (NPM) in managing national police forces is associated with a strategic management approach (e.g., Andersson & Tengblad, 2009; Hoque et al., 2004; Den Heyer, 2011; Ritsert & Pekar, 2009; Sanders, & Langan, 2019). This target and outcomes approach is based on the measurement of measurement of outcomes. However, the deployment of NPM within the police service has led to a critique of its technocratic and rationalist focus which is argued to run contrary to the nature of public service provision and attracted criticism from scholars (e.g., Vickers & Kouzmin (2001) and resistance from officers on the preoccupation with indicators rather than a holistic approach to the role (Cockcroft & Beattie, 2009) and local issues in policing (Martin, 2003). In more recent work on the Australian police service Beckley (2021) found that the concern of meeting targets and performance indicators was detrimental to a broader focus on high-quality public service. In the UK context, Butterfield & Woodal, (2005) found that the targetdriven approach can also lead to data manipulation so that targets are seen to be met. The over-zealous application of the measurable objectives-and-outcomes model has been argued to have been counter-productive in terms of focusing on policing goals and meaningful stakeholder involvement (Bronstein, 2015).

However, on the back of such criticisms, police services have recently turned to a different managerial approach known as New Public Governance (NPG) or Co-Governance (Osborne, 2010). The focus of this type is organizational stakeholders and the wider public good. The range of social, political, and economic factors that impinge upon public sector organizations means that they are reliant upon effective stakeholder relations and involvement. NPG therefore involves public sector organizations basing their priorities and decision-making, not only on formal regulatory mechanisms but also on unregulated connections with various stakeholders (O'Flynn 2007; Carmeli & Kemmet 2006; Hartley 2005; Horner & Hazel 2005; Moore 1994, 1995; Moore & Braga 2004; Smith 2004; Smith et al. 2004; Stoker 2006). Stakeholder involvement and cooperation provide for a more local and decentralized mechanism for decision-making based on information exchange and trust (Klijn et al., 2010).

NPG is rooted in organizational sociology and recognizes the interdependencies and plurality of actors in society, and how this impacts upon the changing focus of public sector management (Brandsen et al., 2013). This approach necessarily involves service delivery through co-governance or co-production mechanisms with various stakeholders (Lindsay et al., 2014; Mazzei et al., 2020). This approach includes the design and delivery phases of service provision (Howlett et al., 2017). In terms of policing, building trust with local communities, and the wider public, in general, the public, is considered key in aiding effective police work. Community policing is now considered an essential aspect of police work



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in terms of an NPG approach. This is not simply about establishing trust and police legitimacy but also a recognition that the involvement of various communities in police work is key to the enablement of more effective ways of controlling crime and reducing the fear of crime through working with communities. This approach therefore relies upon good relations and co-operation between police services and the communities they serve. By working with each other they can identify the nature of the crimes faced by different communities and work on police-community approaches addressing and solving various forms of criminality. The NPG approach to managing police work is therefore very much in tune with the concept of community policing and the view that this is essential to crime and security issues. Three interlinked aspects of this approach are crucial if it is to be an effective form of managing police work (Taylor, 2007). First, there has to be a 2. METHODOLOGY

Given the above inter-twined tripartite criteria for assessing the shift towards NPG and community policing, a methodology was devised that required seeking evidence for such a shift. This involved a case study approach drawing upon the management approach of Police Scotland, the national police authority in Scotland. Police Scotland was established on 1 April 2013 as the single body responsible for policing across Scotland. It is the second largest police force in the UK after the London Metropolitan Police. It is comprised of thirteen local divisions with each being responsible for meeting local needs and priorities, although the overall strategic direction is centrally governed.

The evidence base utilized was drawn from two current documents: (i) Police Scotland Plan 2023-24, and (ii) Police Scotland's Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Strategy (2022 – 2026). Apart from being contemporary, these documents were selected because they are public-facing, with one laying out police priorities and activities in a general sense, and the other addressing societal concerns with equality, diversity, and inclusion. Given their public nature, these are important documents in making visible how the police service is seeking to manage its public role and how it has or plans to, seek community engagement and cogovernance.

Reports and plans belong to genres of communicative purposes Bhatia (2004). As such they involve normative rhetorical forms and structures that do not singularly address the audience but rather are aimed at a more amorphous sense of 'the public'. I draw upon the work of Cornut et al. (2012) in considering strategic reporting as a key feature of these documents. Such reporting often includes reference to organizational identity and mission, a tone of future orientation, and the use of declaratives in communicating strategic direction. This is set within an overarching focus on the tripartite criteria of community engagement, problem-solving, and organizational change. With this in mind, the analysis proceeds through an examination of the documents in terms of their rhetorical force and how they seek to display an NPG approach.

3. ANALYSIS

Community Engagement

Both documents make repeated references to the terms 'community' or 'communities' and as such are in line with the

clear focus on working in partnership with communities; second such partnerships have to be involved in problem-solving in terms of local criminality; and third, the police service needs to be seen to be engaged in a process of organizational transformation where it is visible that they are indeed changing from a focus on targets and outcomes to one of high-quality public services that values community involvement.

The objective of this paper is to assess the extent to which the national police authority in Scotland has shifted in its approach to publicly espousing an NPG approach. To address this issue, the study draws upon current police strategy documents that are in the public domain and that set out the police authority managing its approach to policing in the community. These strategy documents therefore provide an insight into the extent to which the national police authority is seeking to engage with the communities they serve.

NPG model. These terms are connotative of a shared sense of values and working together to achieve shared objectives. Examples of these references can be found below.

Police Scotland Plan 2023-24

- (a) Police Scotland has built and maintains a range of high-quality activity that involves the public, communities, and our partners in shaping and assessing our services. Strong response rates to our national surveys were maintained throughout 2022 making Police Scotland's public engagement activity robust and representative. We now have over 100,000 responses gathered through our sector-leading surveys like 'Your Police' focusing on public confidence in local policing, user experience, and the experiences of victim-survivors of violence against women and girls.
- (b) Meaningful and effective engagement involves genuine dialogue, respect, integrity, transparency and accountability. It provides an opportunity for people to shape our services and influence decisions made. Insight from effective engagement helps identify practical solutions and determine changes required to meet the needs of the communities we serve.
- (c) As part of the development of the Annual Police Plan we have undertaken a period of engagement in early 2023 to allow the public and our partners to provide feedback regarding our strategic direction. Questions on our Annual Police Plan and priorities have been included in Police Scotland's Your Police Survey from 6 February 2023 to 23 March 2023. The results of the engagement showed support for the outcomes, objectives, and direction set out. This feedback was captured and used to shape the final version of this Plan.

Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (2022 – 2026)

- (d) Effective policing is enabled and enhanced when all our communities have confidence in the police. Confidence to come forward; trusting that they will be listened to and treated fairly, with dignity and respect; assured that we will respond professionally, with high levels of operational competence.
- (e) Police legitimacy is drawn from the bond of trust with our communities. Building and maintaining that relationship with all our communities is vital.
- (f) Significant value is placed on policing in Scotland, and we have a strong bond with the public we serve. We stand in a



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unique position of trust where the onus is on our people to build and maintain the confidence of diverse communities. By remaining receptive to scrutiny and feedback from our partners, citizens, and the communities we serve we can demonstrate ongoing transparency.

These examples provide a way of understanding how the terms 'community' and 'communities' are used as a means of demonstrating a commitment to NPG. In extract (a) reference is made to a means by which Police Scotland utilizes public and community views using national surveys. The phrase "strong response rates" is used to demonstrate the reach of the survey and that it is "robust and representative". Also notable is that the figure "100,000 responses" is cited to support the claim of public and community engagement although it is unclear whether the figure represents individual respondents.

Extract (b) adds to the claim of community engagement. This involves a tone that signals the sincere nature of the consultation through the inclusion of words such as "meaningful and effective engagement" and "genuine dialogue". The listing of abstract nouns (".... respect, integrity, transparency, and accountability") strengthens the impression of the sincerity of consultation by referring to an underlying qualitative dimension to its utilization in terms of reaching out to the wider public. This is elaborated upon in terms of the value of such engagement for the communities themselves through policing that seeks to "identify practical solutions and determine changes" that meet their needs.

Extract (c) refers to the consultative nature of the production of the plan itself. This overtly brings to the attention of the reader three points in claiming police-public engagement on the nature of policing in Scotland: (i) views were sought in terms of "feedback" on "strategic direction"; (ii) that this showed "support for the outcomes, objectives, and direction set out": and (iii) that the evidence for this available for scrutiny through the "Consultation hub" website link. While these three points are used to claim engagement with the public on the community policing priorities, it is nonetheless qualified by pointing to how the "feedback was captured and used to shape the final version of this Plan". The import of this statement is that it is still the Police Scotland who set the strategic direction of policing albeit with "feedback" from the public.

Extract (d) explicitly mentions "confidence" and "trust" in the police service with the claim that this enables "effective" policing. Notable is the use of the phrase "all our communities" about the latter. In other words, this statement serves to bolster the claim that the police service in Scotland is seeking to work across a range of communities about their concerns and that they will be "listened to fairly". This is set within the context of equality, diversity, and inclusion where the term 'communities' is taken as applying to the diversity of different groups within society.

Extract (e) poses an interesting statement and mirrors academic writing concerning the nature of police legitimacy. When taken alongside extract (d) above, we can see that Police Scotland is aware of the value of police legitimacy, in this case, used as an explanatory resource to refer to the relationship

between police and the public in terms of a "bond" ("bond of trust", strong bond with the public").

Extract (f) also makes use of the word "bond", again picking up on the previous point in extract (e). This is framed around the discourse of "trust" and "confidence" in "diverse communities". The focus on diversity again situates this claim within the notion of the breadth of different communities, both geographical and social. It is also rhetorically aimed at maintaining police legitimacy through reference to being "receptive to scrutiny and feedback" to "demonstrate ongoing transparency".

Solving Problems Together

Taylor (2007) also characterizes community policing as involving problem-solving. This is evident in the documents in terms of tackling problems such as violence and harassment against girls and women, drug-related deaths, hate crime, and the wider problem of racism and misogyny in the police service itself, or it is perceived that way. The extracts below illustrate the problem-solving nature of Police Scotland's approach through engagement with communities.

Police Scotland Plan 2023-24

- (g) A series of focus groups, interviews, and workshops were carried out to understand the lived experiences and perceptions of diverse communities of different age groups for informing our Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy and connected approaches in public protection and local policing. Going forward, we seek to expand the approaches we use to create more opportunities to listen, understand, and respond to the challenges affecting communities.
- (h) Our determination and ambition to help build a society where women and girls live free from violence, abuse, exploitation, and harassment are outlined in our Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Strategy and Implementation Plan, developed through deep engagement across society, including with survivors."
- (i) Use public health principles to identify, support, and develop innovative ways to reduce the harm associated with problematic drug use.
- (j) Develop partnership approaches to tackle drug-related deaths, and drug-related harm and improve community wellbeing, including the impact of safer consumption facilities on policing.
- (k) Develop an understanding of the accessibility barriers to improve victims' confidence to report hate crimes, with approaches in place to proactively address the problem.

Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Strategy (2022-26)

- (l) We have listened to our communities, including our officers and staff, and of course, all of us know policing is not immune from the challenges of racism, sexism, homophobia, and discrimination.
- (m) Views gathered through public and colleague engagement have been crucial in how we strengthen our people policies, procedures, and recruitment activity to ensure that we do not exclude any groups from communicating with or working in our organization.
- (n) The HMICS report on Hate Crime said police officers and staff who have not been subjected to hate crime themselves do not understand the cumulative impact of multiple "minor"



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incidents on their colleagues. It was found that little support is offered to victims and repeat victims are not routinely identified. We must address these issues urgently if we are to truly understand the impact incidents of hate crime have on our people.

Extract (g) draws attention to the use of community involvement through the use of "a series of focus groups, interviews, and workshops" to "understand the lived experiences and perceptions of diverse communities of different age groups". Notable is the focus on "lived experience" which strengthens the claim of situating the problem of violence and harassment of women in their terms. The result of this consultation is the "Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy and Connected Approaches in Public Protection and local policing." This is framed as an exemplary initiative for future police work to "create more opportunities to listen, understand and respond to the challenges affecting communities". It is evident from this statement that Police Scotland is seeking to present their work as being rooted in a community-informed approach to policing prominent problems such as violence against women. This is further elaborated on in extract (h) where the use of words such as "determination", "ambition", and "deep" are used rhetorically to convey the strength of commitment to a "Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Strategy and Implementation Plan".

Extracts (i) and (j) are drawn from an objectives section about tackling drug-related deaths in Scotland. This is very much set within the objectives-and-outcomes approach in NPM but is softened by the claim to use "innovative ways" to tackle this problem rather than specifying target-driven measurables. This is evident, for example, in the way that the objectives are specified in terms of "performance measures and insights" rather than "performance measures and targets". About the deep-seated nature of Scotland's drug problem, particularly in urban areas where there are high levels of deprivation, the measure is specified as "How is Police Scotland working to reduce the harm caused by drug-related deaths?" The focus here on activity, in this case, the use of Naloxone, a medication used to reverse or reduce the effects of opioids. This contrasts with previous approaches that simply stated percentage drug reduction overdose targets.

Extract (1) and (m) drawn from Police Scotland Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Strategy with the statement offering a public admittance that policing has on occasion had problems with behavior from its officers in terms of failing to adhere to police neutrality or embrace and promote embrace and promote inclusivity. Although the use of the phrase "all of us know" points to a common knowledge perspective, the very fact that this statement has been made is suggestive that in listening to communities, the police service is seeking to tackle this problem. In this case, the problem to be tackled is internal to the police service itself and extract (m) stresses the point about working with communities to tackle this issue in terms of seeking to "strengthen our people policies, procedures and recruitment activity". Again, we see the claim to be an open organization in addressing problems that do not "exclude any groups from communicating" with them.

Extract (n) draws attention to a report on Hate Crime which again admits potential failings in "police officers and staff

who have not been subjected to hate crime themselves do not understand the cumulative impact of multiple "minor" incidents on their colleagues". Although this is addressed as an internal issue there is a parallel with extract (k) in terms of a public recognition that such crime is misunderstood in society in general and that "multiple minor incidents" can be damaging. The implication embedded in the extracts is that the police service needs to work with communities as well as its internal processes to address the problem.

Organizational Transformation

Organizational transformation and change are also considered fundamental to community policing according to Taylor's (2007) three core aspects. The Police Scotland documents analyzed in this study make several references to the changing nature of the organization as it seeks to modernize and adopt an approach rooted in community engagement. The extracts below illustrate the different dimensions addressed about claims of organizational transformation and change.

Police Scotland Plan 2023-24

- (a) Crime is evolving in line with wider societal change and there is increasing scrutiny and pressure in relation to police actions. We will create the environment for our staff to be able to work effectively and equip them to make decisions, ensuring they are trusted and empowered to do so.
- (b) We have also committed to delivering our Policing Together strategy. Through our "Policing Together" initiative we will focus on our values, behaviors, and standards, ensuring that Police Scotland is a welcoming and inclusive organization that reflects, represents, and serves all of our communities. This can be found on our website at Equality, diversity, and Inclusion Strategy 22-26.
- (c) Our approach will help Police Scotland to contribute to wider efforts to tackle societal issues such as violence against women and girls, as well as work to transform the justice system to deliver trauma-informed and victim-focused services within a wider framework of a rights-based policing approach.

Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2022-26

- (d) Our approach to being an actively anti-racist workplace begins by continuing to develop our organizational culture by addressing any cultural or institutional racism; acknowledging there is a need for better representation in the service, particularly in senior roles, and establishing clear objectives to work towards as an organization.
- (e) Our external campaign, That Guy, launched with the focus on men accepting a greater amount of responsibility for their actions and the language they and other men around them use to help contribute to a culture change. To support the cultural changes our organization requires, we will deliver an internal campaign to challenge and address unacceptable views and behavior within the workplace.
- (f) We introduced the role of Hate Crime Champion to provide a network of officers and staff with an enhanced understanding of hate crime who are readily available to support colleagues in identifying and tackling these issues. We are in the process of creating and reviewing a new Hate Crime Advisor



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(HCA) course to provide information, guidance, and advice to all levels of the command structure.

Extract (o) refers to the "evolving" nature of crime and links this to "wider societal change". In other words, although left unstated there is an implicit sense here that reference is being made to the increasing nature of the digital in people's lives as well as shifts in social values which may link up with the latter in terms of such aspects as hate crime via social media. What is interesting about this extract is the reference to "increasing scrutiny and pressure about police actions". The implication here in terms of police legitimacy is that such public scrutiny is focused on what the police ought to be doing and their changing role. Recognition of the need for organizational change is made about this trust, again bound up with the need for police legitimacy.

Extract (p) refers to another initiative ("Policing Together strategy") that again signals the virtuous nature of the organizational change being implemented. This is rhetorically constructed in terms of a moral tone ("our values, behaviors and standards") that align with community involvement "(welcoming and inclusive organization which reflects, represents and serves all of our communities"). Reference is also made to the "Equality, diversity, and Inclusion Strategy 22-26" as a means of reinforcing the point.

Extract (q) signals a much greater shift in tackling "societal issues such as violence against women and girls". In mentioning "trauma-informed and victim-focused services" and "a rights-based policing approach" it is evident that this statement implies that the police service is reorientating the organizational focus to one rooted in victimology and the psychological effects of such crimes rather than simply policework as evidence gathering of criminal actions.

Extract (r) points to another major change, this time in avowing and promoting anti-racism ("Our approach to being an actively anti-racist workplace begins by continuing to develop our organizational culture..."). This is espoused through the direct acknowledgment that "there is a need for better representation in the service, particularly in senior roles". In other words, the statement makes the point that minority ethnic groups are underrepresented in the police service and that this needs to be tackled through a process of organizational transformation in terms of organizational culture.

Extract (s) draws attention to a Police Scotland "That Guy" campaign designed to change sexist language use with the aim of "men accepting a greater amount of responsibility for their actions and the language they and other men around them use". This is linked to an internal campaign with the implicit recognition of a male-dominated culture in the police service and the need for an organizational transformation that seeks to "challenge and address unacceptable views and behavior". What is interesting here is the implicit way this is put across so that the 'problem' of a male-dominated and at times sexist culture is left for the reader to infer.

Extract (t) deals with the issue of hate crime within the context of organizational transformation through an internal appointment of a "Hate Crime Champion to provide a network of officers and staff with an enhanced understanding of hate crime".

While this may be open to potential criticism of being a token gesture the point is also made that a "Hate Crime Advisor (HCA) course" is being initiated that seeks to inform "all levels of the command structure." The use of the phrase "all levels" seeks to add rhetorical credence that this issue is being taken seriously across the police service as an aspect of organizational transformation, and again liking to wider societal concerns about hate crime.

The Vestiges of New Public Management

While the above analysis seems to point to an NPG focus on the 'public good' through community policing and concern with modernizing in the face of a changing society, there are still vestiges in the documents of a concern with outcomes and targets. This is manifest in the Police Plan for 2023-24 where statistics are used to support claims about the effectiveness of the police service. Example statements of this sort are presented below.

Policing in numbers

- Violence against women and Girls "That Guy" campaign video and website viewed over 4m times including 2.3m engagements on social media worldwide
- Public Satisfaction/User Experience 85% of people contacted in a recent survey were satisfied with our service. Our User Experience Survey engages with around 2,500 people monthly.
- Your Police Survey Over 70,000 people have helped shape our local and national services in the past year.
- The cyber investigation team had an increase in demand of 2000% from 2019 (16) to 2022 (220).

The presentation of these figures serves as a rhetorical means of claiming measurement of the success of Police Scotland's strategic direction. This coupled with a document that still addresses an objectives-and-outcomes format is very much in keeping with a focus on targets and measurable outcomes. Although these are framed in a 'soft' manner rather than the specification of 'hard-defined' targets, they nevertheless point to the need for senior police management to stay wedded to the specification of outcomes. This is commonplace for most organizations where 'success' is assessed and evaluated through the specification of measurable objectives. Likewise, the Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Strategy (2022-26) document contains a statement on the role of measurable objectives:

Linked to our plans, our outcomes-focused performance framework describes how we monitor and measure our progress on our priorities for policing, outcomes, and objectives to evidence the impact of our policing approach on the public and communities in Scotland.

We have several specific performance measures set against our employment Equality Outcomes in support of the following areas:

- Workforce insights
- Leadership
- Officer/staff retention
- Recruitment and progression

The outcomes are listed and, as in the Plan for 2023-24, are 'soft' in the sense that they do not specify precise statistical targets. This is to be expected in a public document that may differ



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from internal documents where such measurable targets and outcomes may well indeed be present.

4. DISCUSSION

The above analysis indicates the Police Scotland documents examined do indeed conform to the NPG model, at least on the face of it. This is evidenced in the discursive construction and the documents as they lay out concerns with community relations, inclusion, and diversity, problem-solving through public involvement and input into operational matters, and a commitment to organizational transformation and change. However, the analysis of the extracts also reveals the rhetorical use of discourse in a way that seeks to offer a persuasive account in terms of corporate self-presentation (Koller, 2009). This is evident in several lexical choices such as "dedication", "professionalism", "strong response rates", "robust and representative", and "genuine dialogue"; the repeated use of the pronoun "our" ("our communities", "our partners", "our strategic direction"), and reference to named initiatives ("Policing Together strategy", "That Guy", "Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG) Strategy and Implementation Plan"). These discursive features are not surprising given the public nature of the document and the implicit aim to secure police legitimacy.

The Police Scotland Plan for 2023-24 is a typical example of this kind of planning document in terms of drawing attention to challenges and change, references to strategic intent, and statements of aims and objectives. However, while these features can be considered as 'standard' the analysis has also indicated how Police Scotland is pivoting to an NPG style of management by stressing public values and community engagement. Taylor's (2007) tri-componential model of co-governance is evident in the discursive themes within the document and this is aligned with the Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Strategy (2022- 26) where there is evidence of a much greater recognition that the service needs to change to be able to be effective in terms of taking an inclusive approach both externally and internally.

However, while there is a greater emphasis placed on public values that align with policing for the good of the communities being served, there are still vestiges of the NPM

approach in terms of measurable outcomes. In the documents concerned, these are framed in terms of 'soft' outcomes rather than quantifiable targets. Again, this is not unexpected for a public organization that is under scrutiny in terms of the evaluation of its effectiveness. In high-level documents of this order, it is not expected that precise targets are laid out given that they tend to focus on an overview of plans and strategic direction.

5. CONCLUSION

The discursive construction of the documents leaves two possible opposing interpretations, with perhaps the possibility of a halfway position. The first is that the documents are taken at face value in pointing to a service orientation and a move towards an NPG approach. There is ample evidence to support this view given the focus on community policing as a driver in the documents. However, the same evidence can be considered in terms of an alternative interpretation given the public nature of the documents themselves and the need for police legitimacy. It could be suggested that the rhetorical style adopted is suggestive of these documents seeking to make a persuasive case in terms of corporate self-presentation. Taking such a view would result in the statements about community involvement and inclusivity as an adroit but superficial presentation of the actual nature of Police Scotland's operations, designed to create a favorable impression. Of course, it may be that there is an element of both, a halfway third interpretation in which Police Scotland is genuinely seeking to adopt an NPG approach to the organization in the face of major changes in society in terms of increased civil liberties and tackling established prejudices. This need not negate their seeking to rhetorically promote an NPG approach as best they can to demonstrate a commitment to this style of management and organizational transformation. Taking this view, the police service is not simply seeking to retain their authority and legitimacy but rather are also responding to societal demands that they transform the nature of policework with a greater understanding and responsiveness to the communities they serve. The true test of whether or not Police Scotland has embraced an NPG approach aligned with community policing lies in what transpires in the years to come.

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