Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Police personnel cultures: a comparative study of counter terrorist and criminal investigation units

Rune Glomseth[a] and Petter Gottschalk[b]*

[a]*Norwegian Police University College, PO Box 5027, Majorstua, 0301 Oslo, Norway;*
[b]*Norwegian School of Management, Nydalsveien 37, 0442 Oslo, Norway*

There seems to be no such thing as one single police culture. Depending on organization, structure, and task, culture in the police varies. In this research, counter terrorist police and criminal investigation police in Norway are compared. Although Norway has one police service, which is based on the principle of coherence, meaning that all functions are in one organization, significant cultural differences were found. The most significant difference in occupational culture was found on the scale from time firm vs. time floats. Police officers in the counter terrorist police find that time schedules, deadlines, and speed are important in their job. On the other hand, police officers in the criminal investigation police find sufficient time and not being run by the watch important in their job. The second most significant difference in occupational culture was found on the scale from legality vs. effectiveness. Police officers in the counter terrorist police find it more important to follow regulations and instructions than criminal investigators.

Keywords: organizational values; empirical survey; productivity; democracy; police officers; occupational culture

Introduction

Police culture has been studied for many years (Fielding, 1984; Reuss-Ianni, 1993), and it has received increased attention in police organizations in recent years. For example, Christensen and Crank (2001) studied police work and culture in a non-urban setting in the USA. They found a police culture emphasizing secrecy, self-protection, violence, and maintenance of respect. Lahneman (2004) studied knowledge sharing in the international intelligence community after 9/11, while Granèr (2004) studied uniformed police officers' occupational culture. Barton (2004) found that the English and Welsh police epitomize organizations that are steeped in tradition, while Reuss-Ianni (1993) made a distinction between street cops and management cops.

There seems to be no such thing as one single police culture. Depending on organization, structure, and task, culture in the police varies. For example, Christensen and Crank (2001) found cultural differences between police officers in urban and non-urban areas, while Reuss-Ianni (1993) made a distinction between street cops and management cops.

In this paper, we present an empirical study of counter terrorist police and criminal investigation police in Norway. We have formulated the following research question: *How does police culture differ in counter terrorist vs. criminal investigation police?*

---

*Corresponding author. Email: petter.gottschalk@bi.no

This research is important, as personnel management in law enforcement is dependent on insights into the occupational culture of police officers. If, for example, the culture is focused on time constraints rather than work quality, then management might be effective if work performance is monitored by the time factor.

This paper is organized as follows. First, a literature review on organizational culture in terms of police personnel cultures and shared occupational values is presented. Next, Norwegian police is described, followed by research methodology and research findings. Finally, this paper discusses findings and presents research conclusions.

Police personnel cultures

An organizational culture is a set of shared norms, values, and perceptions, which develop when the members of an organization interact with each other and the surroundings. It is holistic, historically determined, socially constructed, and difficult to change (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders, 1990). Organizational culture might determine how the organization thinks, feels, and acts.

An occupational culture is a reduced, selective, and task-based version of culture that is shaped by the socially relevant worlds of the occupation (Christensen & Crank, 2001). Embedded in traditions and a history, occupational cultures contain accepted practices, rules, and principles of conduct that are applied to a variety of situations, and generalized rationales and beliefs (Bailey, 1995).

For example, when one thinks about the investigation of a crime as a process of assembling knowledge, one begins to recognize that police officers are knowledge workers. The basic sets of raw material that police work with are information and interactions with people. How the police deal with these materials within their occupational culture is determined by a variety of factors, such as the skills and education police have (Fraser, 2004).

Occupational culture plays an important role in organizational performance and change. Barton (2004) identified occupational culture and its perpetuation as key barriers that have substantially impeded the success of reform agendas. Similarly, Kiely and Peek (2002) studied the culture of the British police. Interviewed inspectors and sergeants felt that most members of the organization shared the established values of the police service.

To some extent, occupational culture contains what is taken for granted by members, invisible yet powerful constraints, and thus it connects cognition and action, environment and organization, in an entangling and interwoven tapestry. They act as socially validated sources one for the other (Bailey, 1995).

Occupational culture arises from a set of tasks that are repeated and routinized in various degrees, and a technology that is various and indirect in its effects (it is mediated by the organizational structure), producing a set of attitudes and an explanatory structure of belief (ideology). The tasks of policing are uncertain; they are various, unusual, and unpredictable in appearance, duration, content, and consequence. They are fraught with disorderly potential. The police officer is dependent on other officers for assistance, advice, training, working knowledge, protection in the case of threats from internal or external sources, and insulation against the public and periodic danger. The occupation emphasizes autonomy, both with respect to individual decision-making or what lawyers term 'discretion'; the public it serves and controls (officers will routinely experience adversarial relations with the public); and the rigid authority symbolized by the paramilitary structure of the organization. Finally, the occupational culture makes salient displaying, creating, and maintaining authority. The sources of the authority theme are multiple insofar as they draw on the state's authority, the public morality of the dominant classes, and the law (Bailey, 1995).

Organizational culture represents basic assumptions that are beliefs, values, ethical and moral codes, and ideologies that have become so ingrained that they tend to have dropped out of consciousness. These assumptions are unquestioned perceptions of truth, reality, ways of thinking and thinking about, and feeling that develop through repeated successes in solving problems over extended periods of time. Important basic assumptions are passed on to new members, often unconsciously.

Beliefs and values are consciously held cognitive and affective patterns. They provide explicit directions and justifications for patterns of organizational behavior, as well as the energy to enact them. Beliefs and values are also the birthplaces of basic assumptions.

Police culture can be described as a confluence of themes (Christensen & Crank, 2001). Themes are areas of activity and sentiments associated with these activities, linked to each other by a dynamic affirmation. By dynamic affirmation is the idea that activities and dispositions are not easily separable ideas but reciprocally causal. Activities confirm predispositions, and predispositions lead to the selection of activities. Themes are developed around particular contours of the day-to-day working environment of the police.

The principal works of the police vary in method, in conceptual focus, in depth of analysis, and in the degree to which they are comparative. In a comparative study of Scottish and American police roles, peacekeeping and law enforcement were identified as two different police roles. Another comparative study of rural and urban English forces found higher dependency on other officers in the urban force where the public was seen as unsupportive. There, the radio and the police vehicle became primary tools. The rural force was found less dependent on other officers (and more on the public) and less concerned with action, risk, excitement, and crime fighting (Bailey, 1995).

Shared occupational values

Kiely and Peek (2002) studied the culture of the British police. The purpose of the study was to explore police culture and the perceived meanings of 'quality' and 'quality of service' in the police context. At the Police Staff College the definition of culture suggested by police academic staff is that offered by Schein (Kiely & Peek, 2002, p. 170):

> A pattern of basic assumptions invented, discovered or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problem of external adaptation and internal integration – that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members in the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems.

In this definition, they used the shared values perspective, rather than the shared practices perspective. They found several organizational values. For example, police inspectors viewed as important values such as honesty, morality and integrity, providing a good service, value for money, and a desire to help. Others included: commitment, self-discipline and restraint, courtesy, empathy and sympathy, fairness, and impartiality. Loyalty, consistency, trust, and sense of humor also featured.

The degree to which police inspectors and sergeants espoused values that were felt to match those of the organization was explored by Kiely and Peek (2002). Some considered their values matched those, stated in some form or other, by Chief Officers. Others argued their values were reflected in published annual objectives.

Interviewed inspectors and sergeants felt that most members of the organization shared the values of the police service. The view was expressed that what could differ was the degree of emphasis on particular values or differences in priorities. The realities of police

work were highlighted as 'tarnishing' values – particularly those of young recruits. The greatest perceived influence was the 'canteen culture.' They learn their values eight hours a day, spending long periods of time sitting in cars watching how other policemen do their job, eating with them, socializing with them. Dangers of 'canteen culture' with youngsters being influenced by 'old cynics' and picking up outdated values were repeatedly alluded to.

To those interviewed, quality of service signified 'serving the community,' 'value for money,' 'just doing the best you can with the resources available,' and 'the public getting the service they fund us to supply.' Half of those interviewed perceived quality of service to include internal quality, for example, service to the people within the police force, in other words the way they treat each other.

The case of Norwegian police

For several years, the United Nations has rated Norway to be the best country to grow up and live in. Yet, Norway is a typical Western society, with similar crimes compared to Sweden, Denmark, and other European countries. In terms of occupational practice, Norwegian police is more similar to the UK than the US law enforcement practice.

Norway has one police service, which is based on the principle of coherence, meaning that all functions are in one organization. There are 27 local police districts, each under the command of a Chief of Police. The Chiefs of Police head all kinds of policing in their districts. Each police district has its own headquarters and several police stations. The districts are divided into rural police districts, under the command of a Police Chief Superintendent. All police officers are trained as generalists, able to fulfill every aspect of ordinary police work, including criminal investigations, maintaining public order, and community policing (Glomseth, 2004).

The *Counter Terrorist Unit* ('Beredskapstroppen') belongs to Oslo Police District, and is led by a police chief. It constitutes a separate police division in which all members are involved in operative activities. Administrated and organized in a staff element responsible for planning, equipment and operation, training and exercise, the Counter Terrorist Unit comprises four divisions, which are sub-divided into eight special teams.

The Norwegian Counter Terrorist Unit has two main functions: one national and one local. The former implies that it is the Norwegian police's special unit to combat sabotage and terrorism, to deal with hostage situations, complex armed assignments, as well as organized crime. Its local function consists in reactive, uniformed policing such as around-the-clock car patrol work in Oslo Police District. Moreover, the unit is to provide assistance to other police districts whenever it is necessary. This means that the Counter Terrorist Unit accepts responsibility in demanding situations. Its members also take on a variety of assignments, which uniformed police normally are in charge of. The overall competence level within the unit is impressively high at the individual level, group level, and organizational level.

Through a survey, interviews, and observations, some important occupational values were identified. These values can help explain how the officers in the counter terrorist police think, plan, and act. The following values seem to be strongly shared among the officers:

- Orientation towards competence and development
- Orientation towards legality
- Orientation towards structure
- Orientation towards performance

- Orientation towards problems, cases, and tasks
- Orientation towards acting
- Orientation towards cooperation
- Orientation towards humility.

In this paper, we compare the occupational culture of the counter terrorist police with the occupational culture of the criminal investigation unit in Norway. We conducted surveys in both organizations. The questionnaire had 18 scales to measure occupational culture.

The *Criminal Investigation Unit* ('Kripos') is a support organization for all police districts in Norway. Investigations is the police activity concerned with (1) the apprehension of criminals by the gathering of evidence leading to their arrest and (2) the collection and presentation of evidence and testimony for the purpose of obtaining convictions. Investigations is normally divided into two major areas of activity: (1) the preliminary investigation normally carried out by officers in the uniform patrol division and (2) the follow-up investigation normally carried out by officers formally trained in investigative techniques, often part of a detective bureau (Thibault, Lynch, & McBride, 1998).

Knowledge work in police investigations is based on a variety of information sources, such as incident reports, crime scene investigator reports, witness statements, suspect statements, tip lines, crime scene photographs and drawings, fingerprints, DNA, physical evidence (ballistics, tool marks, blood spatters), informants, and property tracking (Fraser, 2004).

The role of the investigator is probably the most glamorous one in the police department. This modern Sherlock Holmes is portrayed in movies, television, and novels as a meticulous and tireless gatherer of evidence that miraculously leads to the arrest and conviction of criminals. As shown on several television series, this super police officer is a bit unorthodox, normally at odds with his superiors, and normally willing to bend the rules, especially if this involves a deliberate violation of departmental directives. Embedded in a web of unsavory informers the heroic investigator maintains integrity in his unrelenting pursuit of crime and the master criminal (Gottschalk, 2006).

In global comparisons, Scandinavian police (Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, but also Island and Finland) is similar to police forces in the UK in terms of tasks, responsibilities, and level of maturity. However, there are differences among countries. For example, to become a police officer, a person has to be a graduate from high school and complete three years of study at the Norwegian Police University College.

Research methodology

In analyzing the culture of a particular group or organization, Schein (1990) finds it desirable to distinguish three fundamental levels at which culture manifests itself: (a) observable artifacts, (b) values, and (c) basic underlying assumptions. When one enters an organization one observes and feels its artifacts. This category includes everything from the physical layout, the dress code, the manner in which people address each other, the smell and feel of the place, its emotional intensity, and other phenomena, to the more permanent archival manifestations such as company records, products, statements of philosophy, and annual reports.

Values as the second level can be studies through interviews and questionnaires in terms of norms, ideologies, charters, and philosophies. Basic underlying assumptions at the third and final level are concerned with perceptions, thought processes, feelings, and behavior. Once one understands some of these assumptions, it becomes easier to decipher the meanings implicit in the various behavioral and material phenomena one observes (Schein, 1990).

In their research, Hofstede et al. (1990) found that shared perceptions of daily practices to be the core of an organization's culture, not shared values. The research measurements of employee values differed more according to the demographic criteria of nationality, age, and education than according to membership in the organization per se.

What by Hofstede et al. (1990) was labeled practices can be labeled conventions, customs, habits, mores, traditions, or usages. Culture is then that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of an organization.

Perceptions of daily practices can be measured in terms of shared practices. Practice differences can be found in terms of process oriented vs. results oriented, employee oriented vs. job oriented, parochial vs. professional, open system vs. closed system, loose control vs. tight control, and normative vs. pragmatic.

The main emphasis in this study is on the core element values as it is important in discussions of organization culture. Hofstede et al. (1990), for example, argue that values compose the core of any culture. Being relatively lasting, values are emotional perceptions of what is appreciated and preferred in an organization. In other words, values are essential for an organization's fundamental perception of what is right and what is wrong, and what is desirable and valuable in a work situation. Consequently, it is possible to claim that an organization's values dictate its behavior.

A total of 18 police personnel values were applied in this research, all representing cultural dimensions of potential importance to law enforcement performance. We will now systematically and carefully introduce the research variables by drawing out characteristics of each of the 18 factors that we examine.

(1) *Time firm vs. time floats*. Some police investigators value conscious use of time and punctuality. Time is regarded as an important factor, both in relation to ordinary policing and training, and especially when they are faced with aggravated and dangerous crime. The time factor is particularly decisive in armed responses.

(2) *Legality vs. effectiveness*. Legal protection and democracy vs. efficiency and productivity is an important and interesting dimension for the entire public sector. The concept of public ethos might be linked to the question about the role of the police as an institution in society with the right to use coercive force, and the question that the police should serve. This dimension is of particular great interest to the police, which act as society's machinery of power. Consequently, the police's priorities in connection with the execution of power have great impact on our democracy. This dimension is also important because the police are action and task oriented.

(3) *Direct vs. indirect*. This factor is concerned with the style of communication. A direct style might be preferred, which has to be seen in relation to a context involving an open and relaxed tone between the officers and the absence of conflicts. In terms of subject matter and form, a unit's regular discussions might encourage a direct or indirect style.

(4) *Open vs. closed*. Closure, secrecy, loyalty, and no communication with the environment during investigations are suggested as typical characteristics of police culture by Reuss-Ianni (1993).

(5) *Informal vs. formal*. This factor measures the extent to which police investigators are communicating informally or formally with each other.

(6) *Equality vs. hierarchy*. Equality is characterized by short distances between layers in the organization, minor differences in status, a relatively tight social environment, and a welcoming reception given to new members.

(7) *Security vs. challenge*. This dimension of security and safety vs. challenge and suspense is perceived as very two-sided. On the one hand, it is a general feature of the police officers in the unit that they are drawn to suspense and seek challenges to test their ability to master difficult situations. On the other hand, we see that importance is given to planning, structure, situation analyses, and training. The significance of security is underlined by the priority given to health, environment, and safety regulations, as well as the stress on personal safety in connection with different assignments.

(8) *Change vs. tradition*. On the one hand, the police officers are almost continually preoccupied with self-development, team development, and with developing their division. The management encourages them to frequent testing of new equipment, interview methods, evidence collection, competence building, and further development of police investigation methods. On the other hand, they also value experience and thoroughly tested routines and systems. It is also appreciated that routines are thoroughly tested and have proved to work. Most organizations, in particular police organizations, view tradition and history as important. Fielding (1984) shows that police officers to a great extent tend to trust their previous experiences and arrangements, which have proved to work in the past.

(9) *Practical vs. philosophical*. Detectives may have a clear practical and pragmatic orientation or a theoretical and philosophical orientation. They have a practical orientation when they are working continuously with the purpose of finding simple and practical solutions. They have a theoretical orientation when they are testing new equipment, developing new plans, and combining evidence material in new ways. A similar distinction can be made between intellectually reflecting attitudes in contrast to an intuitive, practical, and action-oriented attitude among police officers.

(10) *Liberty vs. control*. Liberty and freedom is given to police investigators to be creative, follow the challenge of solving a crime, and applying each officer's skill. Control is needed so that detectives follow the book and they themselves do not break the law.

(11) *Individual vs. group*. Group orientation is often found in police work since a typical feature of policing is team cooperation or cooperation between two partners. This is a typical feature developed as newcomers when they go on car patrols together. Partnerships of this kind tend to last for many years, long after they left the uniform in the closet. On the other hand, police officers are described as strong individuals with distinct leader qualities. What is more, a detective is often completely responsible for his or her own actions, which leads to stronger emphasis on individualism.

(12) *Privacy vs. openness*. This factor is intended to capture how officers put into practice or value the social conditions in the unit. Which topics are being discussed, and to what extent do the police officers feel that the unit is characterized by openness and intimacy?

(13) *Competition vs. cooperation*. Cooperation is often appreciated among close colleagues. At the same time, detectives may be competitive in solving crimes. They have a strong desire to achieve results. This attitude can stimulate individual competition and competition among teams and divisions.

(14) *Task vs. relationship*. Task orientation vs. relation orientation is a dimension, which is frequently subjected to a variety of analyses of organizational culture. Members of police units often express a clear preference for task orientation. This tendency can be understood in the light of the officers' strong interest in professional matters

and the room they are given for self-development. The emphasis on action and result orientation are likely to reinforce this tendency.

(15) *Firm leader vs. individual creativity*. This factor measures management, where the investigation leader might be the boss as a strong manager. Traditionally, the police hierarchy encourages a culture of strong managers, where the senior investigation officer (SIO) makes decisions.

(16) *Work vs. balance*. This dimension of work being more important vs. balance between work and spare time is an interesting culture factor among all kinds of professionals and managers. Detectives might tend to be very enthusiastic about their job, their special field, and their work environment, causing an imbalance towards work. A prominent feature of the organizational culture in the police is to regard police work as more than just an ordinary job. Entering the police might mean adopting a lifestyle. On the one hand, many police officers are also parents of small children – often many children, which is a factor that works contrary to the notion of police work as a lifestyle. In addition, a great number of police officers are actively taking part in sports, outdoor life, and organizational activities, as well as taking on duties.

(17) *Short term vs. long term*. A police investigation can sometimes be described as guided by incidents and fragmented information. This indicates that extensive planning is not necessary, and that the focus is short term. Consequently, this might create a culture of short-term focus, fast solutions, and quick results. On the other hand, wherever possible, detectives value thorough analyses and decision-making processes characterized by a long-term perspective. For example, it might take several years of training leading up to approval or certification of a SIO in the UK.

(18) *Act vs. plan*. Also interesting is the dimension action orientation vs. planning orientation. This is the only dimension where it is often possible to identify certain differences of some significance between managers and non-managers. Reuss-Ianni (1993) distinguishes between managers (management cops) and police officers on patrol (street cops) with widely different cultures of the two groups. Police officers who do not hold managerial positions display a general feeling of disdain for managers because they have lost touch with everyday practical policing.

In this research, a survey instrument was developed to measure values. A questionnaire design was chosen to enable quantitative comparisons of occupational values. Values were measured on scales with opposite statements. For example, time might be firm vs. time floats. We might expect that in the anti-terrorist unit, where fast reaction is critical, time is more firm than in the criminal investigation unit, where solving a crime may take time.

Two convenience samples were selected. As researchers, we had access to all employees within the anti-terrorist unit. As lecturers, we had access to a large group of detectives from the criminal investigation unit.

All police officers in the Counter Terrorist Unit responded to the questionnaire. The number of the responses was 52, which represents a response rate of 100%. All detectives from the criminal investigation unit at the special seminar responded to the questionnaire, again representing a response rate of 100%. In terms of response rates, we have reasons to believe that non-present detectives from the criminal investigation unit would respond similar to the present detectives.

Research findings

Survey results are listed in Table 1. Each scale had two extremes, at 1 and 7, respectively. For example, one scale said that time is firm or time floats. Police officers in the counter terrorist organization find that time is firm (1.83), while police officers in the criminal investigation service find that time floats (5.06).

Research findings are concerned with differences in values between the two units. Differences are significant, if the statistical significance has low levels of $p < 0.05$, $p < 0.01$, or even better $p < 0.001$ (Gottschalk, 2006). If these differences were found, they are marked *, **, or ***, respectively in Table 1. Statistical tests were based on *t*-statistics, which is the common way to measure significance of differences (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998).

The most significant difference in occupational culture is found on the scale from time firm vs. time floats, as illustrated in Table 1. Police officers in the counter terrorist police find that time schedules, deadlines, and speed are important in their job. On the other hand, police officers in the criminal investigation police find sufficient time and not being run by the watch are important in their job.

The second most significant difference in occupational culture is found on the scale from legality vs. effectiveness. Police officers in the counter terrorist police find it very important to follow laws, regulations, guidelines, and instructions in doing the job. On the other hand, police officers in the criminal investigation police find it just as important to be effective and efficient, by demonstrating a willingness to fight serious crimes, without necessarily following exactly laws and instructions.

Table 1. Statistics for the comparison of occupational culture between counter terrorist police and criminal investigation police in Norway (Likert scale 1–7).

No.	Item	Counter terrorist	Criminal	Significance
1	Time firm vs. time floats	1.83	5.06	123.633***
2	Legality vs. effectiveness	1.71	3.13	26.701***
3	Direct vs. indirect	2.54	4.06	22.366***
4	Open vs. closed	2.52	4.06	20.924***
5	Nonformal vs. formal	2.33	3.63	15.256***
6	Equality vs. hierarchy	2.38	3.75	14.296***
7	Safe vs. challenge	2.40	3.53	13.361**
8	Change vs. tradition	3.33	4.56	11.925***
9	Applied vs. theoretical	2.14	3.06	10.430**
10	Liberty vs. control	3.19	4.25	9.502**
11	Individualism vs. cooperation	5.44	4.56	7.042**
12	Privacy vs. openness	5.31	4.69	4.283*
13	Competition vs. cooperation	4.81	5.25	1.814
14	Task vs. relationship	3.31	3.63	1.087
15	Firm leader vs. individual	3.73	4.06	0.799
16	Work vs. balance	4.35	4.00	0.692
17	Short term vs. long term	4.38	4.56	0.175
18	Act vs. plan	3.85	4.00	0.169

Note: The statistical significance of the *t*-values is ***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, and *p < 0.05.

Discussion

Differences in occupational culture can be explained by organization, structure, and task. While the Counter Terrorist Unit has to react quickly and precisely in an emergency situation, criminal investigators have to spend time to organize and carry out the investigation. The timeframe for a counter terrorist police officer to act can be extremely short, while a criminal investigation can go on for quite some time. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the scale time firm vs. time floats receives very different scores in the two organizations.

Police officers in the Counter Terrorist Unit value conscious use of time and punctuality. Time is regarded as an important factor, both in relation to ordinary policing and training, and especially when they are faced with aggravated and dangerous crime. The time factor is particularly decisive in armed responses. The tendency is confirmed clearly by the fact that more than 90% of the respondents choose the three lowest values on a scale ranging from 1 to 7. The average score is 1.83.

Time is also an important factor as service lists and job rotation lists are employed. Occasionally, changes are made to these lists to accommodate special tasks. Moreover, respondents perceive of time as part of a uniform system. This is in accordance with the findings from previous interviews, which show that structure and clear objectives are considered important. As a curiosity it may be worth mentioning that clocks were installed both in the offices and in the lunchroom to remind everyone that efficient use of time is vital. Consequently, a conscious, purposeful, and structured use of time is a prominent value.

While anti-terror officers find time to be fixed (1.83), detectives find time to be floating (5.06). Compared to another survey of district police officers in Norway, district police officers find themselves in the middle of these extremes at 3.2 (Gottschalk, 2007).

The second most significant difference in occupational culture is a little surprising. It might seem that criminal investigators can ignore the law as long as they are effective and efficient in their investigations. However, we have to remind ourselves of the scale here, running from 1 to 7. An average score of 3.13 is slightly closer to following the letter of the law than to following free initiatives, as the middle value on the 1–7 scale is 4.

Legal protection and democracy vs. efficiency and productivity is an important and interesting dimension for the entire public sector. The concept of public ethos might be linked to the question about the role of the police as an institution in society with the right to use coercive force, and the question that the police should serve. This dimension is of particular great interest to the police, which act as society's machinery of power. Consequently, the police's priorities in connection with the execution of power have great impact on our democracy. This dimension is also important because the police are action and task oriented, which becomes particularly evident in demanding operative work of the nature the Counter Terrorist Unit deals with.

The main tendency is that legal protection and democracy is valued highly. The average value is 1.71 and more than 80% of anti-terror officers choose the two most unambiguous scores 1 and 2. No other question asked in this survey has received a clearer answer, which proves that democracy and legal protection are regarded as extraordinary important by the members of the Counter Terrorist Unit. This is in accordance with the professional attitude displayed by members of the unit throughout all of their missions, and with the unit's vision. In the interviews respondents made it very clear that they looked at illegal and unnecessary use of force as a very negative factor, which should not occur in their division. The interviews left an unambiguous and clear impression in this respect.

These sentiments are in line with observations made in meetings and during training. To underline this further, the division's instructions disapprove of illegal and unnecessary use

of force. Finally, it may be worth mentioning that the trust in the Counter Terrorist Unit and legitimacy require both a clear attitude and consistent behavior in relation to questions that this dimension affects. The attention the Counter Terrorist Unit naturally attracts implies that any errors committed by the unit in connection with this dimension will have a tendency to produce negative consequences.

Operative work and operative disposition may indicate that the wish to achieve results has priority over values such as legal protection and democracy in practical police work. International research shows that operative cultures rate results higher than legal protection. Certain reservations must be made, however, when the Norwegian or Nordic police forces are concerned. The value democracy and legal protection are viewed as important more often than not. In the annual survey undertaken by the Norwegian Market and Media Institute, the police are consistently the highest scoring government service. Consequently, the survey gives a general impression of Norwegians as trusting the police. Police activities are firmly regulated through a large number of laws, instructions, plans, and routines. The Police Instructions and the Criminal Procedure Act are central tools, which are being used in order to ensure legal protection and democracy. These factors contribute to reinforce the value legal protection and democracy.

We find many similar culture dimensions as well for the Counter Terrorist Unit and the Criminal Investigation Service. For example, both prefer to work long term rather than short term. A long time perspective implies a thorough decision-making process and an ability to sustain relationships over long periods of time.

Overall, the counter terrorist police officers have the highest average score on the scale from individualism to cooperation, where the average score is 5.44. This implies that the group's needs are put first, and that each officer takes responsibility for the group's actions.

Similarly, the criminal investigators have the highest average score on the scale from competition to cooperation, where the average score is 5.25. This implies that the internal cooperation in the organization has priority.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss to what extent the measured cultural values are appropriate and even optimal for the two law enforcement organizations in Norway. We leave this important issue for future research. If the values should emerge as non-effective in future research, we know that change of culture is a challenging task, as organizational culture represents an imperfectly shared system of interrelated understandings shaped by its members' shared history and expectations. It defines the 'shoulds' and 'oughts' of organizational life (Veiga, Lubatkin, Calori, & Very, 2000).

As an example of change, Zamanou and Glaser (1994) studied a communication intervention program designed to change the culture of a governmental organization from hierarchical and authoritarian to participative and involved. This shift was measured through a triangulation approach. Specifically, questionnaires, interview data, and direct observation were combined to study the areas of cultural change. Subjects completed the Organizational Change Scale (OCS) before the intervention and a representative sample was interviewed. Then, the entire organization participated in an organizational development program. Two years later, subjects again completed the OCS and were interviewed. The post-intervention results were statistically analyzed and compared to the pre-intervention data. Results suggest that the organization changed significantly in the following dimensions: information flow, involvement, morale, and meetings.

Using involvement as an example of significant change, ratings on the questionnaire were significantly higher after two years. Interview data revealed that prior to the intervention, employees expressed resentment and anger toward what they perceived to be a hierarchical, authoritarian organization, which shut out their ideas. Employees reported that

their opinions were not valued by management, that they had little say in decisions that affected their work, and that even though they had suggestions for improving work processes, their opinions were not welcome. Following the intervention, involvement and participation were viewed very differently. Most employees agreed that they were much more involved in decision-making and that they were given more authority and responsibility (Zamanou & Glaser, 1994).

Brehm and Gates (1993) stressed the importance of organizational culture in determining police officers' levels of compliance points to management actions in the police force. According to Brehm and Gates (1993), many police agencies are staffed by policy bureaucrats with strong policy interests. Many subordinates put in long hours yet may receive few direct rewards for extensive service. Perhaps the resolution to the discrepancy between wide latitude for subordinate bureaucrats and productive agencies washes out when both agent and principal share the same preferences.

Conclusion

This paper documents both similarities and differences in the Norwegian police. Both counter terrorist police and criminal investigators find cooperation important. The counter terrorist police officers are concerned with fixed time limits, while criminal investigators consider time to be flexible. This paper illustrates the importance of understanding both similarities and differences for public personnel management generally and in policing specifically. While, for example, money laundering investigators have to spend flexible time to solve a complicated crime, police officers in the Counter Terrorist Unit have to value conscious use of time and punctuality.

Notes on contributors

Rune Glomseth is police superintendent and assistant professor at the Norwegian Police University College. He has many years of experience in law enforcement including police patrolling, investigations, police intelligence, proactive work, and administration. He teaches organizational development and leadership to undergraduate and graduate students as well as law enforcement executives.

Petter Gottschalk is professor of management information systems at the Norwegian School of Management. Idea Group Publishing, Hershey, PA, publishes his most recent book entitled *Knowledge Management Systems in Law Enforcement*.

References

Bailey, W.G. (Ed.). (1995). *The encyclopedia of police science* (2nd ed.). New York: Garland.

Barton, H. (2004). Cultural reformation: A case for intervention within the police service. *International Journal of Human Resources Development and Management (IJHRDM), 4*(2), 191–199.

Brehm, J., & Gates, S. (1993). Donut shops and speed traps: Evaluating models of supervision on police behavior. *American Journal of Political Science, 37*(2), 555–581.

Christensen, W., & Crank, J.P. (2001). Police work and culture in a nonurban setting: An ethnographical analysis. *Police Quarterly, 4*(1), 69–98.

Fielding, N. (1984). Police socialization and police competence. *The British Journal of Sociology, 35*(4), 568–590.

Fraser, C. (2004). *Strategic information systems for policing.* Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum.

Glomseth, R. (2004). Norway. *World police encyclopedia.*

Gottschalk, P. (2006). *Knowledge management systems in law enforcement: Technologies and techniques.* Hershey, PA: Idea Group.

Gottschalk, P. (2007). Predictors of police investigation performance: An empirical study of Norwegian police as value shop. *International Journal of Information Management, 27,* 36–48.

Granèr, R. (2004). *Patruljerande polisers yrkeskultur.* Lund Dissertations in Social Work, University of Lund, Sweden.

Hair, J.F., Anderson, R.E., Tatham, R.L., & Black, W.C. (1998). *Multivariate data analysis.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall International.

Hofstede, G., Neuijen, B., Ohayv, D.D., & Sanders, G. (1990). Measuring organizational cultures: A qualitative and quantitative study across twenty cases. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 35*(2), 286–316.

Kiely, J.A., & Peek, G.S. (2002). The culture of the British police: Views of police officers. *The Service Industries Journal, 22*(1), 167–183.

Lahneman, W.J. (2004). Knowledge-sharing in the intelligence community after 9/11. *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, 17,* 614–633.

Reuss-Ianni, E. (1993). *Two cultures of policing: Street cops and management cops.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Schein, E.H. (1990). Organizational culture. *American Psychologist, 45*(2), 109–119.

Thibault, E.A., Lynch, L.M., & McBride, R.B. (1998). *Proactive police management* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Veiga, J., Lubatkin, M., Calori, R., & Very, P. (2000). Measuring organizational culture clashes: A two-nation post-hoc analysis of a cultural compatibility index. *Human Relations, 53*(4), 539–557.

Zamanou, S., & Glaser, S.R. (1994). Moving toward participation and involvement. *Group & Organization Management, 19*(4), 475–502.