

Aesthetics of the Police Station in Three Countries: An Exercise in Using Fictive Material in Creating Aesthetic Profiles

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Motto: A book of the crime investigations... in which some don't know who is behind the face of the policeman. (Matti Yrjänä Joensuu, *The Gypsies*, 1984)

ABSTRACT

The Finnish administrative sciences have little experience in using fictive material from literature for empirical research. In organisation culture research, this possibility can be useful for seeking out a more analytical interpretation of the reasons for and impacts of organisational cultural phenomena. Aesthetic aspects enter the picture when the focus is on the impressions and illusions of the outsiders, especially those of the citizens who are served by the administration. This article is based on two recent articles that analysed the organisational culture of the police stations in Nordic countries and in Russia using as research material observations from the detective novels of these countries. This same material is used here to determine the aesthetic differences and profiles among the Finnish, Swedish and Russian police forces as well as the usefulness of aesthetic analysis in completing and deepening organisation cultural study.

Introduction

This article is based on two recent articles (Temmes 2005a and 2005b) dealing with the use of fictive literature in the analysis of organisation cultures. The aim of these articles was to compare administrative cultures in the Nordic and Russian police administrations. Aesthetic analysis can be an additional tool to continue to seek elements behind organisation culture and its impacts. Repressive organisations such as police forces are environments of strong cultural aspects. Examples of the most common aspects in forming an external aesthetics profile of the police forces are: how an individual police officer looks in his or her uniform, what kinds of cars they use, how the cars are painted or 'decorated' for police purposes, and in which kinds of buildings and facilities they work.

The scope of this article moves from the internal observations of police culture (which was dominant in the two previous articles) toward the external conclusions concerning the aesthetic profiles of the police in their societies. As a broad orientation, this article follows the principles of the organisational aesthetics practiced by Antonio Strati (1999). Strati emphasises the role of emotion in organisations, the importance of symbols, the value of the subjective influence of culture, as well as the impact of the processes of learning and cognition as tools for organisational identity. According to Strati, organisational aesthetics can be a new lens through which the daily, ever-changing complexity of organisations can be better understood. The organisational life of police stations is a typical example of the grass-roots dynamics that can be analysed by organisational aesthetics.

Aesthetic profiles include both macro- and micro-aspects. At the macro-level, aesthetic profiles are connected to the national identities and to observations made by foreigners. In this case, the Russian police or the Swedish police search for national identities and how they are viewed by Finns. At the micro-level, organisation cultural data is used to analyse the external aesthetic profiles of policemen working in the police departments. The organisation cultural data consists of both the external observations and internal considerations of police concerning their work and roles. This kind of self-reflexive material allows for a deeper analysis of police culture. Even so, it is clear that this kind of approach has its limitations. A double use of the data for an organisation cultural study and for creating aesthetic profiles must be done in a strictly controlled way. On the other hand, the fictive material of literature can be a flexible source of information both for cultural and aesthetic studies.

Fictive material has hardly been used in Finnish administrative research as empirical material. Those few examples we have tackle the external outlook of the administration. The police administration has been a typical sector of the administration that has interested authors and movie-makers. Jari Stenvall's already classic pioneer study, *The Civil Servants in old Finnish Movies*, analyses the stereotypes of the civil servant professions such as female post office workers and policemen used as characters in these movies. The view of the stereotypes is very much a general, aesthetic profile of these professions in the minds of the movie-makers and their audience (Stenvall 1991). The police have also been a popular target in some pop music songs, such as in a single of Eppu Normaali (1978) which includes the following message: "The police are steering, the police are commanding, the police are denying, the police are correcting but how well can the police make rock 'n' roll?" (for a more detailed analysis of the text, see Koivusalo 2006). Finnish researchers have made only some minor attempts to use this kind of fictive material in the interpretation of administrative phenomena. In Sweden, there have been more attempts, for instance, Inge Jonsson's monograph in which he presented a comprehensive presentation of the findings among Swedish literature from Strindberg to the modern detective novels of the 1970s in which there are descriptions of Swedish administration (1978).

The police profession as a basic element of the state and society has traditionally been a subject of general philosophical considerations. Scholars like Hannah Arendt and Michel Foucault have used the role of the police administration as an

example of totalitarian power that can restrict or even destroy human rights (Arendt 1968; Foucault 1980; Koivusalo 2006). These kinds of critical analyses have been popular after Second World War as a feature of the criticism of the modern state and welfare society. The older and more conservative tradition of Hegel, Kant and Weber saw the police profession as a part of neutral bureaucracy, representing and guaranteeing the basic structures of the modern state. Markku Koivusalo has recently collected a short introduction of these different views, adding a summary of the historical phases of the developing police administration. Koivusalo's consideration leads to the latest phase in which the police administration only plays a decreasing role as a pure security service in the new liberal society (2006).

In my attempt to seek an aesthetic profile of the police profession, I tried to avoid normative presumptions. Using detective material perhaps helps me to achieve that. My aim is to study the image that the police have in the eyes of outsiders and what kinds of thoughts and impressions police officers evoke among citizens. Methodologically, using the outsider, or more precisely a middleman, between fiction and a reading audience is the 'detective eye' of the detective author. This therefore involves how a detective author sees the police. This is probably quite different from the critical political researchers who have a more scientific approach to police work.

A broad interpretation of the aesthetic aspects of police forces also includes elements of the internal profile of the police profession. These kinds of contributions are common in modern Nordic detective novels. In other words, this involves how policemen view their position and mission at the national and local levels and the kind of picture they have of themselves. An internal profile of the police profession also connects an aesthetic profile of the police profession to the organisational structures of the police administration and its practises. Every country has external and internal police profession profiles at the national level that can be connected to the national symbols and to the general administrative culture. Of course, the national structures of a society have an impact on these profiles. For instance, the United States does not have a general police organisation; the FBI could not be called a national police organisation in the sense described for Sweden, Finland or even Russia, nor would the Chicago police relate to national symbols. The U.S is, therefore, an exception from a European view, for it has an extremely decentralised administrative structure. As for the situation in Russia, who knows what the future direction will be for the Russian police forces concerning federal and local profiles.

The local level, an environment consisting of a single police station and its policemen, is nevertheless more interesting and concrete as a source of aesthetic analysis. For this reason, the police station level is most often the arena of detective novels. If we wish to use 'the detective eye' of detective authors as our source of empirical observations, we must therefore concentrate on the local level. Yet we cannot forget the national level due to its impact on the unconscious aesthetics of the national police regimes that have their connecting points into the national ethos of the police profession at all its levels. This is also relevant in the U.S. in spite of its model of independent local police forces. The detective author is living and working as a member of some society and he or she is connected to an identity originating from indoctrination and from an education concerning the values and habits of

this society. The author is thus in many ways bound to that society, although the author can use fiction as a channel to cross the limits of ordinary societal life.

In my previous articles, fictive material from the Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and Russian police stations was used to describe the organisational culture in the police stations of these three countries. The theoretical framework for the articles consisted of an international comparison among organisational cultures. The main method adopted to collect the data was to use Nordic and Russian detective novels as a source of administrative observations. These observations were selected on the basis of an administrative theory. Additionally, Geert Hofstede's comparative results have been used to complement the observations of the organisational cultural phenomena collected from the detective novels (1991). Hofstede's analysis is mainly a macro-level synthesis of national organisation cultures, pertaining to the study of national identities which indirectly have some links to the aesthetic profiles of the nations. Indeed, Hofstede's analysis is the only available completely international, empirical comparison which can be used to identify macro-level national profiles.

According to Hofstede, the Nordic countries belong to the country group having a high degree of individualism, short power distance, a high degree of femininity and a high degree of avoiding uncertainty. In that profile, the Nordic countries are very similar. The profile of Russia is difficult to determine due to the lack of information from that country. The only former communist country in the comparison, Yugoslavia, was clearly different from the Nordic countries in all these aspects, but it was especially different in that it had a high degree of collectivism and masculism. Hofstede's analysis is too general to provide evidence of the differences in the micro-level organisation of cultural or aesthetic differences but it is a useful basis from which to consider macro-level profiles. The national aesthetic profiles in Nordic countries can be based on an outlook of democracy, individual human rights and organisational behaviour with mutual understanding and co-operation. What does that mean in practice though? Probably it can only be an abstract sketch of one aspect of a national aesthetic profile. To get a more concrete picture, both Hofstede's results and the micro-level results need to be analysed together, for instance, from the individual police departments.

The detective writers who were selected for this article (using the empirical material of the two articles mentioned above) are leading authors of what is referred to as modern detective stories in their countries. Modern detective stories differ from the whodunit detective stories and the action detective stories in concentrating on ordinary crimes and criminals and the societal reasons and backgrounds for those crimes. Modern alienation is a typical theme of the modern detective novel.

Matti Yrjänä Joensuu and Leena Lehtolainen have been selected from Finland because they clearly play a dominant role in this kind of genre in Finland. From Sweden, Maj Sjöwall, Per Wahlöö and Henning Mankell were chosen because they are the classics of the modern detective novels in Sweden. But the Russian case is somewhat different. The modern Russian detective authors Alexandra Marinina and Darja Dontsova are really the queens of the detective novels in their country, copies of their books having been sold by the millions, and they have brought a fresh style to the description of changing society in the new Russia. Here, the administrative researcher is mostly interested in transitional change. Furthermore, the role and

external profile of the police is in many aspects different in a transitional situation. The whole society is changing, which means that the tasks of the police are also changing and this change has made a crucial impact on the organisational culture and aesthetic profile of the police (for transition theories see Temmes, Sootla and Larjavaara 2004 and Riggs 1964).

This whole group of authors also forms an interesting selection of different views for analysing their societies comparatively from an aesthetic angle. Joensuu and Lehtolainen represent Finnish identity in its modern form. Joensuu concentrates on societal problems at the level of everyday life and examines their reasons in the extreme forms that can emerge in the crime cases. Joensuu's real-life police background gives his analysis depth and realism. Lehtolainen is more a modern detective author who is interested in urban development as well as in women's positions and opportunities in society and police forces. Sjöwall and Wahlöö are the pioneers of the modern detective novel in Nordic countries. Their strong political attitudes connect their police stations to the societal development of social democratic Sweden and to the welfare state development in which these writers see many paradoxes, threats, dysfunctions and problems. Mankell is the most modern (in fact post-modern) author in the selected group owing to his wide-reaching analysis on the national and global levels that he then connects to the life and work of the police station. His descriptions of the Swedish police activities and profession are perhaps more extant scenarios of the modern police administration than a realistic analysis of the real police.

As a group, these authors also form a time trajectory that starts from the middle of the 1960s with Sjöwall and Wahlöö, continues into the 1970s and 1980s with Sjöwall, Wahlöö and Joensuu, and moves into the 1990s and 2000s, except for Sjöwall and Wahlöö, who ended their careers in 1975. This includes the period of the Nordic welfare state development. The role of the Nordic police administration has also changed during that period. The trajectory of the new Russia is shorter; it began with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the beginning of the 1990s.

This selected group of the detective authors are nationally well-known, well-sold and appreciated. They have also won many literary prizes. For instance, Joensuu received the Literature Prize of the Finnish State in 1982 and was a candidate for the Finlandia Prize in 1993. Certainly, these detective authors have created some symbolic and unconscious impact on their audiences that can be connected to the credibility and trust in the police they are describing. In short, these authors were able to act freely as opinion leaders who have an impact on public debate and opinions concerning police activities. Joensuu states in his television interview that he had not intentionally expressed societal messages in his novels but the comprehensive stories created in his novels certainly are more than pure crime cases. The box seat that the police occupy provides exceptional opportunities to observe the development in society at the grass-roots level and to portray what is going on in society (Joensuu in YLE TV 1, 29.6.2006). The wide audiences they have strengthen this perspective. On the other hand, the Nordic detective authors can base their descriptions on the high level of trust they enjoy among their citizens, which is typical in Nordic countries (according to Harisalo and Stenvall, about 90 % of population in Finland trust the police, Harisalo and Stenvall 2001). However, the situation in the

new Russia is quite different, as only 8-10 % of the population trust the courts and the police (see Rayvec 2003, p. 184).

The portrayal of the police stations that Marinina and Dontsova provide presents an environment and preconditions that differ significantly from their Nordic colleagues. Moreover, the theoretical framework and the analysis of their descriptions are different because of what is referred to as transition theories that analyse the societal development of the post-communistic countries (see Salminen and Temmes 2000). The main focus of this kind of environmental transition research is to analyse the life and activities of the police forces to acquire a better understanding of the transition processes at the grass-roots level. The Russian police administration must be compared to the model of the legal state that is typical in liberal democratic societies. By contrast, Marinina's fiction of the Moscow police station provides a realistic picture of the independent police unit that tries to survive in a fast-changing society and while attempting to maintain its honest and reliable working methods. The possibilities for real reform toward a legal state are, however, very restricted and the administrative analysis shows how many threats and dysfunctions there are on the road to good governance. Marinina's strength lies in her long experience in the police forces and her education as a lawyer. She is another interesting author owing to her viewpoint as an outsider who cleverly and unconditionally describes and lightly analyses the working methods and failures in the police activities of present-day Moscow.

The aesthetic tensions among these authors occur perhaps mostly in the comparisons of the police professions, the everyday life and work in the three countries, using external and internal aesthetic observations. These kinds of comparisons are possible between the police administrations because these organisations have many similarities, typical of all police stations and even police forces in every country. On the other hand, these three cases display differences that perhaps can be analysed and explained by their aesthetic profiles.

Some of the authors adopt a more micro-level approach, such as Joensuu, Lehtolainen, Dontsova and Marinina. Some of them, especially Swedish authors such as Sjöwall and Wahlöö and partly Mankell, use a more macro-level approach and their stories are connected to a societal debate. We can also speak of differences according to the pragmatic and idealistic approaches of the authors. For instance, Joensuu strictly follows a very pragmatic view in describing police activities. He has also intentionally used a minimalistic way to analyse work of the police. He concentrates mainly on the gory activities of 'the field policy activities' and tries to avoid everything outside this scope. His colleagues, especially those from Sweden, are more open-minded when they gather the components of their stories concerning the general societal debate with only a loose connection to police activities.

On the basis of different information sources, we can use detective stories as our tool of analysis when we can separate the following:

- Macro-level observations from national organisation culture that we can then compare to cross-cultural results like Hofstede's. The transition theories and practices are also mainly from the macro-level, helping explain major societal changes in post communist societies.

- Micro-level observations from the police stations or police activities that describe views from the grass-roots level.
- External observations that have been made by outsiders on the macro-level. For instance, foreigners can observe the national aesthetic profile at the macro-level, whereas clients of the police do this at the micro-level.
- Internal observations that have been made by members of the organisation, at a macro-level by the citizens of the country and at a micro-level, for instance, by the police station employees.

Both organisation cultural studies and studies concerning aesthetic profiles can in principle use all these sources of information. In fact, observations in the form of quotations at many times include material both for the organisation cultural and aesthetic analysis. The difference between these approaches is a different viewpoint. Organisation cultural studies concentrate on organisation life and on the leadership of the target units, trying to capture culture as an element of organisation life. In contrast, aesthetic profiles can be made by the outsiders who create their picture of the target units (a country or a police station, etc.). Aesthetic profiles can include observations on characteristics as well as the origin and development of the target organisation, which together influence how the outsider experiences police activities. A policeman or a police station is not an art object but certainly it can create experiences among people who are in contact with it.

Theoretical Basis

Aesthetic analysis overlaps with many other related forms. Research on organisation cultures deals with the same kind of questions. The nearest related field to the administrative sciences can be found among what is referred to as public service picture research, in which the different kinds of public services are analysed on the basis of the picture that citizens form of these services (see; Asikainen 1998; Setälä 1988). Especially when studying cultural profiles of some organisations, or for instance, public services, it is often possible to include aesthetic aspects that can have an impact on the research results. The increasing role of the media emphasises this approach. In short, an aesthetic analysis can be understood as being a specific view of a more general cultural view that concentrates on citizens' aesthetic constructions and conscious and unconscious experiences. As a consequence, we can use very much the same kinds of observations both in organisation cultural research and in research concerning the aesthetic aspects of the organisation and its activities.

The theoretical basis of the aesthetics of administration can be based on several views and the profile of administration can be analysed from different angles. For example, the focus can be on a conscious profile but also on the unconscious effects of the administration or aesthetic principles and codes used in administration. In a changing administrative environment, the external picture and how the citizens view public administration seem to be more important aspects. This is partly due to the increasing power of the media but also due to the increasing capacity of citizens.

Citizens are more educated, and in an open and free society, they have many possibilities to express their opinions. The internal picture of the public profession is also an increasingly important aspect of the working life in public organisations. Civil servants are more interested in their own pictures of their profession. We can speak of an employer profile but perhaps it is even more important how the civil servants themselves see their work and position in society. Aesthetic aspects are naturally present in both the external and internal pictures of the public professions.

These angles will be, however, difficult to capture in police administration because formally, it has a subordinate role to fulfil regulations of the national regime. In principle, the police have no space in which to create autonomous aesthetic effects and tensions. Police administration is one basic organisation of the nation state and its aesthetic profile will or should normally follow the general national profile and even exaggerate some of its features. In federal countries such as the U.S., we cannot speak of the police working only on the level of the national state, resulting in more variations among policing organisation. Indeed, aesthetic effects and tensions that are specific to police activities only, are nevertheless an existing fact everywhere, making a more detailed analysis possible, seeking the aesthetic elements among the structural and symbolic aspects.

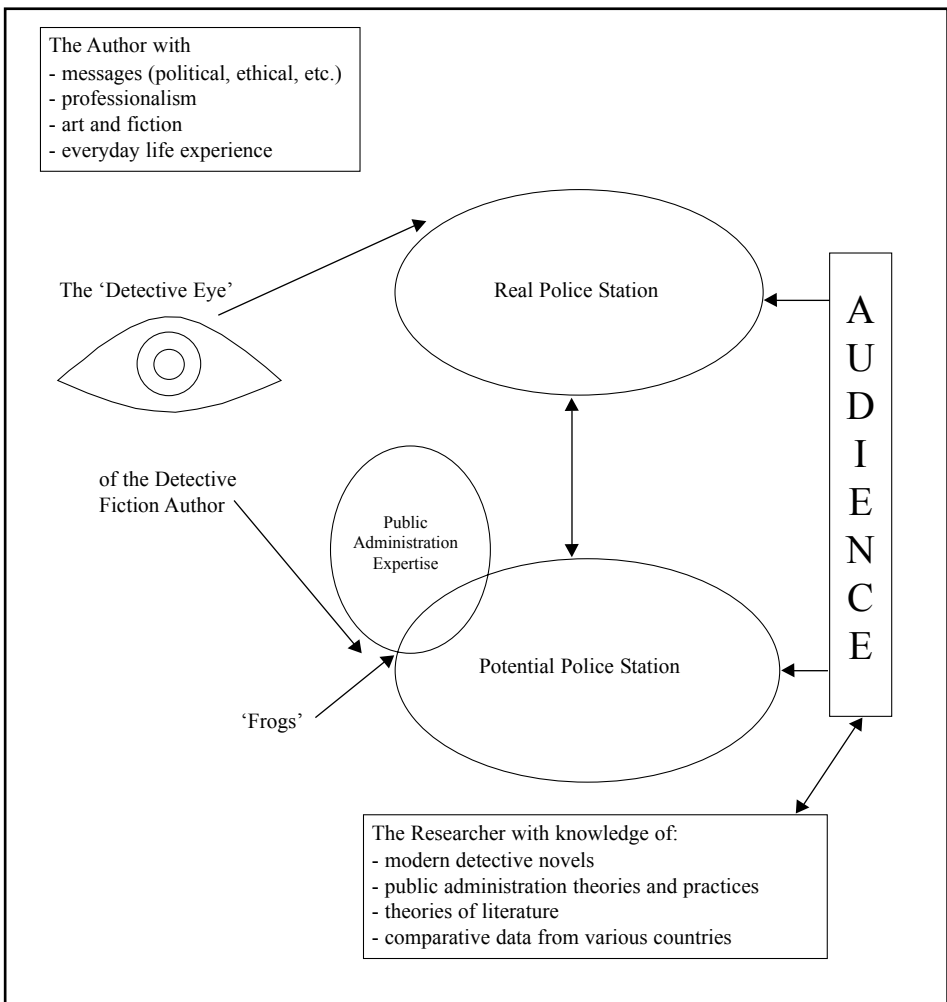
The structural and symbolic aspects of police forces are mainly clear and openly expressed. This is because the tasks of the police are connected to the structuring of the everyday life of society when they maintain the security of citizens. In developed countries such as the Nordic countries, the responsibilities and rights of the police are strictly stipulated in the Police Law and other statutes. (see Käyhkö 2002) The symbolic role of the police is also clear due to the strong organisation culture of the police forces that is strengthened by overt symbols like uniforms, police cars and military type order and command system.

Aesthetic aspects, however, can also be unconscious and hidden even to police leadership. These could be represented and identified through literature. Aesthetic profiles of police stations can probably also be analysed by using the same selection of observations used in the above-mentioned articles concerning administrative culture. This method of selection follows the idea of 'the jumping frogs'. In collecting these jumping frogs, the reader, in a role similar to the researcher, concentrates on finding those pieces of text that include administrative findings, or according to this article, the findings most interesting for forming an external or internal picture. Actually, for an experienced administrative expert, these 'frog's leaps' are normally easy to pick out.

In a selection procedure of aesthetic observations, a rather complicated co-operation emerges between three actors in relation with each other. First, a detective fiction author describes his or her picture of a potential 'sub-world or village in a form of a police station' as the environment for the story of the detective novel (see Cohn 1999, pp. 9-17, 150-162). In the case of the detective novel, this potential 'village' can be constructed quite realistically because the detective fiction author is interested in creating a credible environment for the incredible murder story. Especially in those written by experts on police work, the police station can be well described and even well analysed from the perspective of police activities, including interesting observations on the administration. This angle is often very similar to an adminis-

trative analysis (see also Czarniawska who has used Swedish detective novels to analyse the development of the structures of the Swedish firms, 2003).

The following picture also shows how the audience must be included in this relationship. The audience probably has an exceptionally great impact on the content of texts because the author has a great need to assure them of the credibility of the described police environment. This phenomenon can be detected in Nordic detective novels but especially in the new Russian detective novels. One reason for the enormous popularity of Russian detective novels must have been that they provided descriptions of the new society that are credible.



Picture 1: Three actors that transform the relationship between a fictive police station and a real environment of police work.

The most demanding role in this relationship belongs to the researcher. To fully understand the differences between a real and a potential police station created by the detective fiction author, the researcher must also see the impact of the audience and succeed in selecting the observations that can be useful in a scientific analysis. On the other hand, the researcher can use the author's observations and innovations. In many cases, the author provides exceptionally good preconditions for seeing behind the curtains of the police stations. In general, these observations fall under the title of structural and symbolic observations but these certainly also include aesthetic aspects. In fact, these kinds of observations are apparent to the expert who is ready to notice them. For instance, they are obvious in the detective novels that deal with internal organisational issues. These are really like 'frogs' that jump out of the text without any doubt of their meaning. Furthermore, these observations are methodologically valid and reliable because of easy repeatability; every administrative expert probably makes very similar observations.

In an aesthetic analysis, the 'detective eye' and the 'jumping frog' can each have specific roles. Primarily, the idea of the 'detective eye' is based on the ability of the author to uncover interesting findings from reality by using fictive descriptions of police stations. The value of these findings is in their originality and innovative view. These qualities are important in an aesthetic consideration and an author, as an outsider, has the opportunity to provide a valid analysis. The 'jumping frogs' for organisation cultural analysis or aesthetic profiling have a different content at a detailed level but they live in the same corners and love to jump at the same time.

If we adopt a broad model of aesthetics as a perspective from which to study the sensitive impacts and illusions (conscious and unconscious) of activities, not only artistic or intellectual impacts but impacts of all kinds, it is important to recognise both external and internal aesthetic profiles. In fact, these profiles can be not only dual, but even prismatic because of the different views both in the internal and external profiles. For instance, the external profiles of the police depend on who is looking at these police activities, so the view of some minority groups can be completely different from the view of the main population. (Joensuu's novel *The Gypsies*, 1984, is a good example of these kinds of different views in describing the internal racism of the police forces.

Additionally, the official profile that the management of the police forces tries to create and maintain can easily be viewed differently by an ordinary policeman or by an outsider. This is a typical tension between the organisation culture, which is a target of management, and the 'real' organisation culture, which is difficult to steer. We can speak of a tension being present when the management tries to use organisation culture as a tool for better managing. (see Alvesson 1989; Aaltio-Marjosola 1991) The aesthetic view emphasises the outsider's perspective in which critical aspects are more easily present.

All these different views and tensions, together with the interesting and difficult relationship between the facts of real life and fictions created by an artist, present the researcher with a challenging task. The structural and symbolic aspects of police activities are, however, exceptionally easy to find. The police are a part of the basic machinery of the society and they also represent the role of bureaucracy and power in a Weberian sense. The police belong to what is called the violence machinery and

therefore have repressive rights when defending the security of society and its citizens. This positioning, according to the ideal type analytic model of the bureaucracy, particularly its efficiency and impartiality values, is a typical Continental European model with a Continental legal tradition and constitutions that try to guarantee the control of repressive power in society.

Owing to the nature of police tasks, the police must, in developed societies like the Nordic countries, act according to legal frameworks with transparency so that citizens can realize and approve the role of the police as a natural element of society. This is not only required in following the ideal model of the neutral bureaucracy but also for guaranteeing the citizens' trust. In this sense, the police administration is always a mirror of the society in which it is acting. This holds true for the police administration in Europe in the U.S. and all over the developed societies with liberal democratic political systems.

For this reason, due to the basic role of the police, we can minimise our interest in the structural and symbolic values of their activities since the tight connections of these aspects to the national character of society, especially the development level of the legal state, determines the structural functions of the police activities and partly also the symbols that can be used in fulfilling the functions of the police forces. The aesthetic aspects of the police are not as clearly connected to the general aesthetic profile of the state, and so the latter aspects are more independent. Thus, perhaps the aesthetic aspects are the most interesting elements of the external profile of the police. It is paradoxical if the professional level of the police is good but its external picture is much worse. The aesthetic analysis could clarify the reasons for this paradox. By comparison, the internal profile is more difficult to determine. How policemen themselves realise their role and outlook is a far more unconscious aspect that is a challenge to the police administration, to the societal researcher and to the detective fiction authors, also owing to its connection to the external profile of the police. The internal view is therefore important to the recruiting and in-service training of the police staff and more generally to the leadership of police forces.

In marketing and communication theories, the term 'image' is used to describe the external outlook of a target organisation. This term cannot be used as a synonym for the aesthetic profile because it has too narrow a picture of the external character of the target organisation. As a commercial or communication term, it is mainly used to describe a profile that is important in successful business or, for instance, in an election campaign. The aesthetic profile of public organisation or service is a more complicated phenomenon with aspects of citizenship and political elements that create or destroy the trust of the citizens.

The genre of the detective novel is a useful window from which to observe the world of the police station. First, we must use the above-mentioned typology of Voitto Ruohonen in his dissertation on Joensuu's societal picture (Ruohonen 2005) to select interesting detective novels that can include useful observations in aesthetic analysis. Ruohonen categorises (2005, pp. 85-97) the detective novels into whodunit detective novels, such as Agatha Christie's novels, in which the focus is on solving the murder mysteries, hard-boiled action detective novels in which the focus is on action and violence, and modern detective novels in which the focus is on the societal impacts and reasons for the crimes.

The police station is a basic organisational unit and in that role, it is the arena in which the police participate in both collective and individual activities. It is typical of modern detective novels to contain carefully described police stations with main characters as well as supporting staff and facilities. We must, however, remember to keep in mind the differences between fact and fiction. The police station created in the detective novel is fiction. How well the author has succeeded in imitating the real situation depends on his or her expertise at describing the field police activities and also – of course – on the authors' to construct a realistic environment for the story.

We must also observe the elements of the text in detective novels. The text proceeds with the characters but also with the narrator who indicates the personal opinions and considerations of the author. We can also speak of the implied author as a framework in which the author addresses themes (see Kantokorpi, Lyytikäinen and Viikari 1990, pp. 147-158). In modern detective novels the implied author indicates the societal values of the author. In his TV interview, Joensuu emphasised that the planned wholeness of his novel represents most clearly the implied author (Joensuu YLE TV 1, 29.6.2006). In administrative and organisational questions, the implied author easily reveals the attitudes and opinions of the author concerning good police management and culture.

The detective novel is an interesting genre because of its specific relationship to the audience and to 'real' police activities. Many of the well-known detective authors have been very popular, and as a consequence they have sold well, in many cases millions of copies. Mankell has also had great success in the international market, with 24 millions sold copies. The present selection of authors includes two Russians who are exceptional success stories in their country. Both have sold millions of copies, but also the other selected authors in the Nordic countries have had major publications. We can see that the popular detective novels have been written for large audiences, not for the small elite groups of experts interested in literature. Detective novels have often been classified as being entertainment without real artistic value. Of course, this claim is controversial and belongs to the field of literary criticism. In using the detective novels as a source of administrative observations concerning police stations, the pragmatic relationship between the detective authors and their audiences can also prove to be beneficial.

In order to draw comparisons between the Nordic countries and Russia, we also need transition theories that analyse the development in post-communist countries when these countries are seeking ways to establish liberal democracy, market economy and a legal state. Transition theories have been studied among administrative scientists since the end of the 1980s both in the old EU member countries and in the Central and Eastern Europe countries (CEE countries) on the one hand, and in the international organisations of administrative sciences, such as IISA (International Institute of Administrative Science), EGPA (European Group of Public Administration and NISPACEE (Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in CEE countries) on the other. This block of theories and practices is growing fast. My own contribution has consisted of some articles and monographs in which I emphasise what is called the prismatic development in countries which are living with a new and an old administrative culture at the same time (see Salminen and Temmes 2000; Temmes, Sootla and Larjavaara 2004; Riggs 1964).

Aesthetic Observations from Three Countries by 'Detective Eye'

The empirical data and research results of two previously mentioned articles (Temmes 2005a, 2005b), in which the organisational culture of police stations is analysed, using administrative observations of Nordic and Russian detective novels, form the basis for my aesthetic considerations of the Finnish, Swedish and Russian police administration. I have collected hundreds of quotations from the detective novels analysed in these articles concerning the administrative observations of the detective authors. Some of the quotations contain observations that include aesthetic aspects. These quotations describe how a police station and its policemen look through the eyes of the outside observer. Some quotations include aspects that reveal the internal considerations of policemen or their own perceptions of a police station, its staff and everyday life. Mainly, there is a question of mental difficulties in police work. These external and internal aesthetic profiles are often connected by other organisation cultural observations and perhaps it is not so important to try to separate them.

In this article, it is possible to use only illustrative examples of the observations that I have used in the analysis in these two articles, providing only hints at the wider analysis that can be conducted. In these two articles, I used a typology for the four levels of administrative culture of the police: a picture of the world; a professional value basis of the police; attitudes toward the internal management and administration of the police station; and police culture. The last element, police culture, primarily means an administrative culture of police activities but at the same time, it is a summary of an administrative culture typical of the police forces. My research results showed that the police culture was very similar in the Nordic countries. Moreover, Hofstede's analysis of organisational cultures strengthens the similarity of the Nordic police cultures; according to him the Nordic organisation culture has short power distant, high individualism, high femininity and high avoidance of uncertainty rates (1991, 26, 33, 84, 113). In Russia, the transformational features of society were in such a dominant role that a comparison between Russia and other countries was difficult.

The external aesthetic observations of police administration are mainly connected to a picture of the world that is typical of the policemen and their professional value basis. In an aesthetic analysis, the focus is on the feelings and the picture of the outsiders (citizens also in a role of 'client'). In other words, how they realise police activities. Internal aspects can be discerned from these two elements of police culture but also from the attitudes toward internal management and administration.

Mankell's main character, Wallander, in response to a question from his daughter: "What do you know about South Africa?" answers: "You know more than I in any case. When I was in Latvia last year, many times I thought: how is it possible that I am over 40 years old and I don't know anything about the world" (Mankell 2001, 286). This quotation is typical of Mankell. His policemen live in their local environment without a real picture of the world around them. This conclusion probably corresponds to the typical police profile in many countries but in spite of that, Mankell tries to connect international and even global events and considerations to his stories. By contrast, Sjöwall and Wahlöö go even further in their clearly political

criticism of ‘lacking picture of the world’ among police officers: “In spite of all differences, this country [an anonymous country in South America] was like Sweden, a fake democracy which is governed by a capitalistic private sector and cynical politicians” (1980, 17). Sjöwall and Wahlöö see militaristic thinking and increasing violence as real threats to police culture. “When the police is in the front line of using violence, it is like harnessing a cart in front of a horse” (1980, 331). This attitude culminates in the opinion against the founding of the police agency in 1965 in Sweden. This attitude is also interesting in comparison to Finland where the plan to found the separate police agency was rejected in the Finnish parliament in 1973.

Finnish detective authors, especially Joensuu, represent a more pragmatic, everyday-life picture of the world in their police station descriptions. One example of this is Joensuu’s main character, police sergeant Timo Harjunpää who has travelled abroad only once to attend a training course in Sweden. Finnish authors focus on societal problems and their criticism in domestic cases in which the criminals often are in focus and have been seen as victims. The attempt is to understand the reasons for the crimes. “He should not look at the windows, people, men and women behind them who were drinking something delicious and were discussing with each other and knew in their minds how the evening would be ending. But he was outside and alone. And the hired men they had hired for their safety were trying to catch him” (Joensuu 1982, 68). One of the main themes of Joensuu seems to be the alienation of young men from ordinary life and society but he moves restrictedly in the domestic society perhaps by stressing some aspects of the increasing urban and metropolitan problems. According to Ruohonen, Joensuu emphasises alienation of the young males who have grown up as sons of strong mothers who live alone (Ruohonen 2005, 490-497). Furthermore, Lehtolainen is somewhat of a pioneer in the fictive internationalisation of the Finnish police forces. By contrast, in the latest Maria Kallio detective novel, the main character takes part in the training of the Afghan police and is involved in the Nordic-Baltic network of the female police officers (2005, 17-18). But these new tasks are part of normal police activities in modern Finland, not a part of global activities.

This same difference emerging between Finnish and Swedish police culture is also repeated in many other more concrete aspects: in the position of women in the police administration, in racism among police forces, in attitudes toward the use of firearms, and even in the leadership models in the two countries. For example, Lehtolainen describes the Finnish police station as a working place of the female police officer through the words of the old police chief: “It is good to also have one female police officer in this department –for image reasons, for starters – and I must admit that you seem to manage as well as the boys” (1994, 191). Joensuu’s seventh detective novel, *The Gypsies*, uses sad satire to depict the Finnish police’s racism. The following quotation shows how scathingly critical he is: “In the basic police course, our teacher of Finnish handed out a brochure in which there were crucial words of the Gypsy language. But we thought it was enough for that old man to teach us Finnish. In the beginning of the next lecture, we tore the hand-outs into pieces – together and at the same moment. Damn, it was really interesting to see the face of the old man” (1984, 125). Another example is the negative attitude against using firearms and violence. This theme is an important issue in Mankell’s books.

Moreover, Sjöwall and Wahlöö also emphasise the political aspects of police violence. In Finnish everyday police activities, arms and cars are working tools, and the police officers of Joensuu or Lehtolainen are more concerned about the reliability of their arms and cars (until the end of 1980s, the most used police car model in the Finnish police forces was the Russian Lada) than their Swedish colleagues.

One of the clearest aesthetic differences between police administrations can be found when observing the facilities typical of a police station. Mankell does not comment on Wallander's police station from this angle but his description is sufficiently detailed so that the actual Ystad police station can be identified. This police station is a typical creation of Swedish modern bureaucracy – an office block located outside the city centre, a one-story building, grey walls and a large parking lot. The municipal travel bureau of Ystad has used it as well as the other places that are identified from Wallander stories in their tourist information (they have a brochure in which all these places are marked). Joensuu also uses detailed descriptions of the police station facilities to create the right atmosphere. His description of the old facilities of the criminal police on Sofia Street is a classic, just as the descriptions of the new Pasila police building are interesting as examples of the modernisation of the Finnish police administration (Joensuu 1975, 54-55; 1986, 53).

The leadership models in these two countries have traditionally been slightly different. The Finnish model originates in the hierarchic and charismatic traditions that created strong leaders. For instance, Harjunpää sees his chief Norri in the following way: "Norri was a gentleman of appearance and of character ... His first names were Veikko Väinö but nobody called him Veke or Väiski by nickname, he was pure Norri. In fact, he had only one burden: some of his attitudes were strongly limited and he had some conservative attitudes against new issues. He was always calm with an almost inexpressive face. Norri could be playful and companionable if he wanted but he was full of natural prestige which created the hint of a tense teacher-pupil relationship between him and his men ... There was one frightening feature in Norri's behaviour: He was fond of some his colleagues without reservations or with the same passion disliked some of them" (Joensuu 1976, 30-1). This kind of external picture was a typical Finnish leadership profile of good police officers in the Finnish post-war police administration as well as more generally occurring in the administration. We can speak of what is called the 'Koskela syndrome', which originated from the Unknown Soldier by Väinö Linna, the most popular post-war novel in Finland and at the same time, a kind of national final account of war experiences (2000). It is quite clear that this kind of profile would not be appreciated or even approved as being good leadership in the Swedish police administration during the same years. In spite of being mostly an internal question, this difference has also had an impact on the external aesthetic profile of the police profession in the two countries.

The aesthetic profile of the Finnish police profession created by our detective authors seems to be pragmatic and connected to the everyday level of people's lives. The Swedish profile is more idealistic and philosophical since it includes global and societal aspects. Certainly, this difference is caused partly by the different backgrounds of the detective literature traditions in the two countries. The different developmental phases and timetables have also caused this difference, especially

when creating the welfare state in both countries. One source of this is the different war experiences that have remained, at least unconsciously, in the behaviour of the Finnish police forces even today. The Finnish leadership style still demonstrates evidence of war behaviour with strict order and independent responsibility taken even in serious events. However, the Swedish society has been safe from real war experiences for almost 200 years. This impact could be relevant in the police administration that shares some features with the army especially in the command system.

Already at the ground level, the Russian case is different from the Nordic cases. In a transitional situation, everything in the society seeks new balances. This kind of situation is extremely difficult for the police administration. The police colonel Gordejev describes the difficulties of that new position in the following way: "I have always wanted that my department would be working carefully and honestly, so that we never would fall into conflicts with the prosecutors and the judges" (Marinina 1993; 2002, 129). Yet, this general principle is almost impossible to follow in the environment of a prismatic differentiation of the society to the competing blocks and increasing corruption at all levels of the society (on transitional development see Salminen and Temmes 2000; Ryavec 2003). Gordejev reveals how he handles the corruption problem when he talks with his wife: "We have tickets to the first night performance of *Sovremennik*. Are we going ourselves or are we giving them to the children? – Who has given them to you? – *Grazewits*, who is in a leading role. – Again *Grazewits*? His boy is a poor pupil, isn't he? – No, the boy is doing well. – Ok, I will take care of it today. If the boy has anything to do with something against the law, we will send the tickets back with regrets" (Marinina, 2002, 24-25). To understand the environment in which colonel Gordejev makes his decisions concerning corruption threats, we must remember the general relevance of what is referred to as friendship networks and business between friends, the *blat*-phenomenon in Russian society (see Heusala 2005, 258-9). So we can observe that Gordejev's wife is working as a dean in an elite school and his farther-in-law is a famous professor of cardiology. All this means that Gordejev can use Russian *blat*-culture to also strengthen his position against those who pose a threat to his position in his work. "He was not afraid of anybody, nobody wanted to quarrel with him, everybody had children who had to get into the gymnasium and every third of them had heart diseases" (Marinina 2002, 23-4).

The many problems in searching for everyday solutions for the legal state are concretely present in the Russian police station. On the other hand, we can find interesting defensive mechanisms that protect ordinary policemen in their lives. The rules and the strong legalistic regulation are still compensated for in contemporary Russian society by mutual co-operation and networking. The *blat*-culture that originated in the Soviet time is one example of these survival tools. Moreover, the isolation of the organisational units and the working environments they form also mean some kind of protection in the everyday conditions for the policemen (on difficulties in Russian administrative reforms, see Temmes, Sootla and Larjavaara, 2004; Heusala, 2005). Today, these working places still have their traditional privileges of their own restaurants and doctors etc., and in any case, to a certain degree, this means a protected environment for their members. This same phenomenon can also be found in the Western European police administration but its impact is much

greater in Russia due to the transitional situation in the country. Dontsova describes the controversial side of this protected isolation of the ordinary police officers in the form of lazy and passive police activities which probably influence the very low trust ranking in the Gallup-type surveys (2005b, 60, 65). Certainly, the questionable level of the legal state is the most relevant reason for these low trust rankings but also the poor service culture of the Russian administration has a role to play.

As an aesthetic profile, we can summarise a Russian case in which the police administration is seeking a new role, but not very actively due to many threats and problems of rapid change. The most important impact of this unclear situation is a strong internal focus on the struggle of the police administration and even the police profession. At the same time, the case illustrates their attitudes and a defensive strategy derive from isolation and survival needs that are beyond criticism of the citizenry. In the model of the military type authority used in the Russian police forces, this kind of isolation can be even too successful against the citizens' claims and criticism and when they insist on better police services. We must also remember the two levels of organisational culture of the transitional administrations. At the upper level, the top leaders of the police forces are heavily involved in a rapidly changing society with corruption and power games. At the grass-roots level, in the police stations, ordinary police officers mainly seek protection against the negative effect of changes. At this level, corruption also exists, but its nature is different – it is a minor scale corruption resulting from low salaries more than being real economic crimes.

Aesthetic Profiles – Outlines for Three Different Police Regimes

To continue the analysis and incorporate aesthetic aspects into the comparison, we can move to the macro-level and form a conceptual outline for each of the three national-level police regimes used in this comparison. These outlines can be formed from the national aesthetic profiles that reflect police activities and police stations. These profiles can be based on hidden symbols and background elements that determine the aesthetic picture the citizens have when they try to formulate their image of police activities, the police stations and, more generally, the police culture of their country. These pictures, in part, connect professional values with national values, although these connections can cause harm, for instance, ranging from militarism or racism, to neutral attitudes and reliable work methods. The profile thus reflects mainly the external but also the internal thinking among the police forces and is relevant, especially if the external and internal profiles differ remarkably.

In seeking national police aesthetic profiles, we can make observations on national symbols, as well as the national history of the states in question. Typical basic findings that can reveal national aesthetic profiles are the national flags, national anthems and the national history of the former great power positions. These profiles can also more or less steer the internal aesthetic pictures of the police. Of course, the active development activities can prevent 'wrong' aesthetic profiles because they can be seen as obstacles for developing a service orientation and in decreasing the militaristic aspects in the police forces; however, this is extremely difficult to achieve.

With conscious simplifying, we can end up with three reduced outlines of the police regimes and their aesthetic profiles. It is wise to start from Sweden which was, until the early decades of the 1700s, a great power regionally around the Baltic Sea. The historical impact and price of this position was high for the citizens. The pompous rulers with their priorities in war successes directed national life into war failures that continued for several hundreds of years until the beginning of the 1800s. During the period when Finland was a part of the Swedish regime, Sweden was at war more than half the time. This historical background is difficult to connect to modern democratic Sweden but probably in the deep and unconscious aesthetic profile of the national-level, we can still find these kinds of elements. So we can choose as symbolic colours of Sweden the royal blue with the golden yellow and also use these colours as the aesthetic symbols of the Swedish police forces. On the other hand, the historical Sweden and the Sweden of today represent a Weberian Protestant working morale and democratic controlled Puritanism in the outlines of public organisations.

Finland is a much younger state than its former 'mother country' Sweden. Finland became part of the Russian Empire as an autonomous Grand Duchy in 1809 and obtained her independence in 1917. Finland's national symbols and history are excluded from any kind of national greatness. For hundreds of years, Finland suffered as a border country of negative impacts of the great power polices of its neighbours. Perhaps as it lacks national greatness, the Finns and also the Finnish police forces have concentrated on domestic problems and the grass-roots struggles against crime. The colours of the flag of Finland, white and blue, symbolise the clean and cold nature of this Nordic country - not the might of rulers. These symbols fit enormously well together with the Weberian Protestant working morale and with Puritanism. Additionally, the recent historical war experiences have caused a clear military type profiling in leadership and in attitudes toward responsibilities in the police forces.

The aesthetic symbols and the backgrounds of the Russian police forces originate from a history of several phases of great power positions, cruel wars, and many destructive events. This complicated history has evidently left marks in the national aesthetic profile that also reflects the aesthetic profile of the Russian police forces. In imperial Russia and in the Soviet Union, a great official power profile was openly dominant and approved, one that is coming back to the new Russia so clearly that we cannot see any significant difference between the former Russian states and this new one. The dominant colour of the Russian flag has been the red of battles, victories, revolutions, blood and suffering. The national anthem is again the same as in the Soviet time (with new words) and nationalism and militarism are not decreasing. This all overshadows the aesthetic profile of the Russian police. On the other hand, the collectiveness of all kinds of organisations and work places is clearly a more remarkable feature of profiling than in the Nordic countries. In spite of the missing Weberian Protestant working morale, this collective feature has caused cohesion at the grass-roots level, with networking between the members of organisations and an atmosphere of mutual co-operation that at least partially steers the working morale. On the other hand, this feature means an informal approval of the autonomous behaviour of the separate organisation units.

It is interesting to mirror these outlines into a consideration of the aesthetic observations presented in the previous section. In moving from the national level to the micro-organisational level of police stations, we move to a use of the detective novel. The national level can, however, be found in a more or less hidden form in the elements represented by the authors. In aesthetic profiling, the heroes of stories can summarise and simplify the complicated findings created in the detective stories. The typical detective novels have a main character who is normally one of the detectives. Joensuu's hero is Timo Harjunpää, a police sergeant representing a typical Finnish police officer. Lehtolainen's main character is Maria Kallio, a female police sergeant in Espoo. Sjöwall and Wahlöö have Inspector Martin Beck from Stockholm in a main role. Mankell has his Inspector Kurt Wallander from Ystad. Marinina's main character is the police officer Anastasia Kamenskaja, who is in an interesting way a prismatic product of the old and new features in Russian police culture. Dontsova's family wife, Darja Vasiljevna, from a nouveau riche family as a private detective, is a clever spy-type observer who analyses the changing Russian culture in police stations, in the courts and even in jails.

All these main figures can be characters representing aesthetic profiles of their police stations. The authors have created them to describe the mainstream of police activities in their countries. These figures also act mostly as the mouthpieces of the ideas and ideology of the authors. On the other hand, these characters are somehow too carefully described, perhaps a little bit stereotypical, probably due to the credibility needs of the long serials of these detective novels.

So it is perhaps possible to find even more heroic characters among the minor characters of the selected novels. In fact, when seeking these kinds of 'hidden heroes' the researcher moves slightly (or even more) inside the author's territory using his or her own aesthetic values and observations to evaluate the characters of the detective novels. This means that while this kind of evaluation is quite subjective, it can nevertheless raise interesting considerations concerning the unconscious aesthetic aspects of the novels.

Joensuu brings into the spotlight Onerva Nykänen as a real Finnish heroine, a female constable experienced both in sexual and violent crimes. She is an independent, strong and clever woman, living alone with her boy and working skilfully in a hard masculine environment. Her heroic position can be seen in comparison with Harjunpää, who personally respects and relies on his partner. Sjöwall and Wahlöö's 'unconscious hero' seems to be Gunvald Larsson, a crime constable with the look of a Viking, with exceptional physical powers and with a family background from an old Swedish noble family, a background Larsson tries to escape from and disguise from others. In spite of Gunvald Larsson's attitudes, he acts like a nobleman officer from Gustaf Adolf's army in the 30 Years' War. Larsson is strong and brave but somewhat uncontrolled – a manner of behaviour resembling a typical Swedish hero from a glorious history of the great power era of Sweden. The character of Gunvald Larsson is also interesting because of the extreme left-wing backgrounds of both authors Sjöwall and Wahlöö. It could be that unconsciously, Sjöwall and Wahlöö have something left over from the glorious battle fields of the Thirty Years' War.

The Russian hero could, of course, be Anastasia Kamenskaja, as she has superior intelligence and talents, the kinds of features that are very much respected in Russian society. Perhaps a more remarkable hero is, however, her chief, Police Colonel Viktor Aleksejevits Gordejev (whose nickname 'Loa' describes his short and round appearance). Gordejev is an unconditional leader of his police department: he also independently and skilfully takes responsibility for the struggle for survival of his unit and for the quality of their activities in fulfilling the principles of the legal state. In this rapidly changing and prismatic situation of the Russian police administration, he is faced with real obstacles and threats.

Conclusion

A short article restricts the presentation and use of the large data-base of Nordic and Russian detective novels to demonstrate the aesthetic observations concerning the external picture of the police professions in these three countries. In fact, in this kind of article, it is mostly a question of attempting to demonstrate how a selected research method can work when using the police administration as a target organisation. Some restricted conclusions can nevertheless be drawn.

First, Nordic societies have succeeded in developing police activities and services so that the citizen trust is high and the police's procedures and working methods are not far in practice and standards from the other sectors of the public sector. Citizens can therefore rely on the neutrality and legality of police activities. This general view of the Nordic police means that they have a slightly dull external aesthetic character, but the citizens seem to appreciate this kind of grey dullness. According to this external picture, detective authors who (in the Nordic way) are interested in the development of a modern society can build their stories on the reliability and high competence of their police forces. This gives the author the possibility to move outside the typical, and somewhat dull, police station and to consider, for instance, the unconscious aspects of the police activities, to make political observations, or to widen the theme to global aspects. In these considerations, some aesthetic observations can be made which also establish differences between Finnish and Swedish police administrations. In this kind of deeper analysis, the Finnish police station seems to be even more grey and dull than its Swedish colleagues' organisation. The clearest difference seems to be the lack of ideological ethos of the Finnish authors which is compensated for by pragmatism and a grass-roots level view but also with serious interest in addressing recent problems in society in the form of 'typical crimes' committed by ordinary people.

This dullness is also a political phenomenon typical of everyday life in a welfare society with bureaucratic, safe networks in which the police also take part. The threat of degeneration of the welfare state still exists, though. Alienation of members of society and the crimes committed because of this, are extreme forms of this kind of degeneration. The police are witnessing in their work this kind of development that can pose a serious threat to the welfare society. The change toward a *laissez-faire* capitalist society without social networks and common social responsibility is, however, not probable in Nordic countries. So the threat of a picture like Koivusalo with a shrinking police professional role and a mission reduced to selling security

services, is probably a theoretical fiction in the Nordic countries. This pattern also runs against what is called the Neo-Weberian State model that actually was adopted in the Nordic countries in the 1990s when implementing NPM-type administrative reforms such as privatisation and marketisation (Bouckaert and Pollitt 2004, 99-101).

Second, the Russian police administration is still living in a transitional phase that started about 15 years ago when the Soviet Union collapsed. The change within the police forces has not occurred. It has been much more of a struggle for survival in a completely new environment. Russian police forces cannot rely on the support of the ready-made legal state, and the citizens' attitudes toward the competences and reliability of the police forces are too often negative. In this situation, Russian police forces seem to have chosen isolation that fits well in a prismatic development typical of fast transition. As a result of this kind of survival strategy, the Russian police profession also bears the heritage of the Soviet police in the form of citizen experience. The aesthetic picture of today's Russian police thus reflects aspects that connect it directly to the great power of the Soviet Union and the roles typical of that society in which the state and party were strong and dominant.

Third, it is evident that detective fiction material can function both as a source for organisational cultural research and organisational aesthetic research. Naturally, the full scale of data collecting involves a wide range of observations both from the external and internal aspects of the police activities. Typical themes that also include aesthetic aspects in police activities are militarism or racism, the position of the women in the police forces as well as the use of firearms and violence. In addition, aspects that belong to more everyday work, such as uniforms, cars, localities, hobbies and activities such as sports, family life, and its role in backing the hard police experiences all include aesthetic aspects. Examples also arise demonstrating how tightly the administrative science, sociology and aesthetic research are inter-connected.

The example of the aesthetic profile of the police forces also shows how wide a scale there can be from Arendt's and Foucault's deep and critical analysis of threat behaviour of the totalitarian police to the planning of the look of police uniforms and cars. In fact, an aesthetic view could produce useful information not only in analysing impressions of police activities but also in planning them.

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