

The four I's of police leadership: A case study heuristic

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we attempt to shed light on police leadership by telling the story of leadership at a particular Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment. The case study is based upon interviews with 28 police officers and participant observations at the case site. The framework provided by transformational leadership theory proved meaningful in describing police leadership within a convenient heuristic comprised of four I's: individualised consideration, idealised influence, inspirational motivation, and intellectual stimulation. We concluded that transformational leaders have particular relational strengths that serve to elevate levels of commitment, work satisfaction, and motivation. The paper also points out that transformational leaders turn constraints into opportunities in the pursuit of their shared vision.

The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to provide a case study of leadership at the detachment level in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) that demonstrates the organisation's core values in action, and that can serve as a guide to leadership development. Leadership is far too complex a phenomenon to portray as a commodity that, once identified, can be bottled and distributed to hungry organisations. More to the point, with this paper we emphasise that leadership defies superficial prescriptions for action because it is an emergent, dynamic social process dependent upon numerous variables that are also in a state of constant flux. However, embedded in the detachment case study presented here are suggestions for leaders, followers, and organisations that will enhance the basic conditions for the emergence of leadership.

It was clear from the inception of this study that our bias was to paint a picture of RCMP leadership based on its essence as a police force, and that essence is found at the detachment level. Most RCMP officers spend their entire careers doing the basic functions of policing in the hundreds of detachments across Canada. They are simultaneously leaders and followers: enforcing laws, keeping order, living with internal

policies and external expectations, serving the public, and contributing to communities. In this paper we attempt to shed some light on police leadership by telling the story of leadership at a particular RCMP detachment. The resulting case study can be read as a story about any detachment in this large, complex, and evolving organisation. The leadership issues are not endemic to this particular organisation or detachment, rather they are apparent, we believe, throughout policing.

It is apparent that broad social and cultural changes require corresponding adjustments in the skills and intelligences required by police leaders, and a new vision of leadership. Such changes in the context for leadership were evidenced at the site of this case study. For example, we noted the increasingly important role of the public, through their elected representatives, in the selection of RCMP leaders reflective of the community's values and needs. Connected to this, we observed the importance of relational skills, or emotional intelligence, in order for police leadership to be evident. Most significantly, we observed how officers' needs, aspirations, values, and belief systems codetermine police leadership.

We explore these issues and others in this paper through a specific leadership framework known as transformational leadership theory (Bass, 1985) that essentially views leadership as a social process arising from both the behaviour of a formal leader and the attributions of followers. There are a large number of factors mediating this social process, and we discuss some of those factors observed during the conduct of this case study. For example, each interviewee contributed to the leadership we observed at the case site, though this is largely invisible and unconscious to individuals performing their normal daily activities in the course of doing police work. In a sense, leadership is latent in every social encounter, emerging when a range of emotions,

actions, personality factors, and contextual conditions coalesce. There are good leaders and bad leaders, but leadership is only evident when the former prevail in the hearts and minds of followers.

In the next section we describe our theoretical inclinations and biases because they inform the subsequent analyses of the systemic processes we observed during four days of interviews and participant observation at the case site.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Transformational leadership theory (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978) is defined by the ability of a leader to motivate followers to transcend their own personal goals for the greater good of the organisation (Bass, 1996). The reciprocal relationship hinges on the ability of a leader to be an idealised influence, to trigger inspirational motivation, to provide intellectual stimulation, and to demonstrate individualised consideration to followers (Avolio, 1999; Bass, 1990); the four I's of transformational leadership.

When the perceptions of followers are taken into account, transformational leadership is associated with follower reverence, sense of collective identity, and perceived group task performance (Conger, Kanungo, & Menon, 2000; Pillai & Meindl, 1998). Some researchers have pointed out that the issue of organisational context must also be explored with respect to transformational leadership research (eg Shamir & Howell, 1999) because the effectiveness of such leadership is facilitated by some organisational circumstances and constrained by others. For example, a collectivist organisational culture, one where a common goal and strong group identity is evident (like that found in the RCMP), was found to be positively related to the emergence of transformational leadership (Pillai & Meindl, 1998).

The individualised consideration aspect

of transformational leadership refers to the perception of a given follower that a leader has provided support, encouragement, or has somehow recognised the individual at a personal level. Individualised consideration is evident by leader behaviour that is 'enabling' (Ross & Offermann, 1997), that is, a manner of relating to others that is helpful but gently corrective.

Idealised influence represents the elevated moral attributions made by followers about a leader's values and behaviour. To have idealised influence, a leader must display a consistent stance in word and deed that is consonant with the commonly held values and beliefs of a larger society. Clearly, there will be some values and beliefs held by a particular leader that will run counter to some individuals' world view, however, the key is the widespread appeal and recognition by followers that a leader stands for something that they aspire to and that influences their behaviour towards the same goal.

Inspirational motivation has been linked with the vision of the leader (Berson, Shamir, Avolio, & Popper, 2001). Followers feel a greater sense of collective identity when inspired by the leader's vision (Conger, Kanungo, & Menon, 2000). An experimental study demonstrated that vision and the implementation of vision affected personal goal achievement, performance, and self-efficacy, highlighting the importance of vision as a transformational factor (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1996).

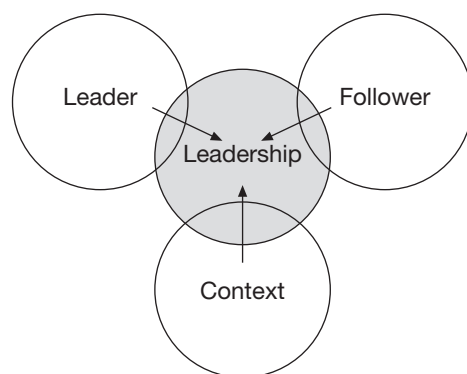
Intellectual stimulation arises when followers are challenged to think about their work situation or behaviour in different ways to enhance productivity and working conditions. Personal empowerment might be part of being intellectually stimulated because of its explicit challenge to learn, think, and apply knowledge to one's situation. For example, in a study of transformational leadership and occupational safety

(Barling, Kelloway, & Loughlin, 2002), intellectual stimulation was defined in terms of the leader's ability to 'confront long-held assumptions and motivate them (followers) to think in innovative ways that enhance occupational safety' (p. 489). An experimental study of transformational leadership training with infantry cadets (Dvir, Eden, Avolio, & Shamir, 2002) showed that the training enhanced follower empowerment, amongst other factors, suggestive of the intellectual stimulation that is possible when leaders have skills that are directed in this manner.

Several studies have demonstrated that training for transformational leadership is possible (Barling, Weber, & Kelloway, 1996; Dvir, Eden, Avolio, & Shamir, 2002; Kelloway, Barling, & Helleur, 2000). The critical training variable in these experimental studies was the improved perceptions of transformational leadership qualities amongst subordinates. Enhanced commitment to the organisation and increased performance were also noted amongst followers after such leadership training. One of the lingering questions stemming from these kinds of studies is the process through which leadership training effects such changes. What triggers motivation? And if followers are not being motivated, is the leader not being transformational? The very definition of transformational leadership hangs on the motivation of followers, which necessarily is an individual factor involving affect, personality, and cognition.

To summarise transformational leadership theory, its key strength is the abundant research on this topic that has advanced our conceptual understanding of the leadership phenomenon. The theory and research has inspired awareness that leadership focally concerns the dynamic interplay between leader, followers, and the contextual elements comprising the leadership venue (see Figure 1).

Figure 1
The Emergence of
Leadership as a Social
Process



METHODOLOGY FOR THE CASE STUDY

As Clandinin and Connelly (1994) point out, attempting to understand human experience is the basis of all social science inquiry, and furthermore, 'when persons note something of their experience, either to themselves or to others, they do so not by the mere recording of experience over time, but in storied form' (p. 415). Experience is holistic, captured in the routines we follow, the actions we perform, and the metaphors we use. Yukl (2002) supports the widespread use of what he calls 'descriptive studies' in leadership research that involve interviews and observations followed by content analysis of the resulting data. In this case study of RCMP detachment leadership we have attempted to elicit police officers' stories about leadership, both their experience of this phenomenon in the past and in their current daily work lives.

Procedures

We employed semi-structured interviews with probing follow-up questions in an attempt to identify the experience of leadership as perceived by a range of key informants. Each interview (ranging from 45 minutes to two hours) addressed several important facets of all stories:

- people's feelings, beliefs, and values,
- their daily reality, routines, roles, and responsibilities,
- key events, behaviours, and outcomes from the past,
- their future hopes, goals, and expectations.

In addition to interviews, data were also derived from field notes based on observations and conversations, and a variety of individually volunteered archival documents.

Stake (1994) comments that 'nothing is more important than making a proper selection of cases' (p. 243). Choosing cases where there is an opportunity to learn and where researchers can spend as much time as possible are two important criteria in case selection. In this case, the two researchers spent four full days (8–16 hours per day) conducting interviews, having informal conversations over coffee and lunch, and observing police officers in the general duty room and in police vehicles. Another important consideration is the collaborative nature of the research. Developing relationships of trust between researchers and participants is vital. In this regard we were transparent about the research goal when we were introduced to people at the detachment. We informed every person who consented to the interview that the information was confidential and that nothing they said could be linked specifically to them. We also sent each interviewee the raw transcript of their interview (or notes based on the interview) so that they could elaborate, clarify, or change something that they said or we had noted.

Case site

Prior to identifying a detachment and gaining the commander's permission to interview people, we engaged in informal discussions with a range of individuals within the RCMP who have first-hand

knowledge of detachment life and personnel across the country. We did not use specific criteria of 'good leadership' other than anecdotal perceptions because the intent was to identify the social processes contributing to the 'buzz'. However, one criterion for detachment selection that we did use was that the current detachment commander should have been posted there for at least one year. We felt that this was sufficient time to minimise the 'honeymoon effect' associated with any new detachment commander.

Data collection

We interviewed 28 police personnel (see Table 1 for sample demographic data) using an identical set of open-ended questions with follow-up questions, where necessary, that sought to clarify or expand upon a given response. We also conducted a telephone interview with a representative of the city government who played a critical role in the selection of the detachment commander and who was able to offer valuable insight into the city's selection criteria for a police leader. The interviews were conducted with several important considerations in mind. First, all detachment personnel were viewed simultaneously as leaders and followers. That is, shared (distributive) leadership is explicit in the RCMP so that constables, for example, are simultaneously being led by the watch

commander and empowered to be proactive, and to make important decisions during the course of a call or an investigation. Likewise, detachment commanders are concurrently leading others via explicit command-and-control procedures (when appropriate) and through strategic vision while being led by initiatives and policies at the divisional level and beyond.

The implication of this is that all interviewees have knowledge of and opinions about leadership having been leaders and followers at various points in their own personal histories, both prior to joining the RCMP and throughout their careers. All individuals, then, have an implicit theory about leadership that we attempted to make explicit through the interview process. The second point that we wish to make explicit is that qualitative research necessarily implicates the researcher in the field of inquiry. The questions, their mode of delivery, the active listening and the empathic attunement of the researcher are all important processes to which we attended. As interviewers and participant observers we were not detached from the scene, but active participants in co-constructing the narratives of interviewees. We attempted to establish rapport with all the interviewees by expressing our genuine interest in each person and their comments, and by providing an atmosphere where each person could freely express their views. It was our sense that the interview process was mildly

Table 1: Sample demographics

	<i>Males (n=18)</i>	<i>Females (n=10)</i>	<i>M years of service</i>
Constable	5	8	4.9
Corporal	3	2	12.5
Sergeant	5	0	22.2
Staff Sergeant	2	0	24.5
Inspector	2	0	25.5
Superintendent	1	0	21.5

cathartic for some individuals, providing an opportunity for dialogue, personal insight, and potential avenues for development. From our perspective, participants were a source of provocative information, stimulating stories, and challenging ideas. Every interviewee contributed something valuable to the leadership mosaic emerging at the case detachment.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis consisted of identifying patterns, themes, and narrative threads in the interviews using QSR's 'NUD*IST' qualitative software and by manually coding each transcript according to grounded theory principles (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This means that we used the interviewees' words to build the theory of detachment leadership presented here. Obviously, no researcher enters a research site in a purely open-minded state, unsullied by previous experience and expectancies regarding the nature of leadership. Our theoretical biases were evident prior to the first interview; however, we looked for disconfirming evidence from the data as we analysed the transcripts. Throughout the data collection period and analysis we kept a number of competing theories in mind and were open to diverse interpretations of the things we heard.

While there is a certain amount of theory-building apparent in this paper given the relative novelty of the topic in the generic leadership literature (police leadership), we also admit to drawing on an established theoretical framework (transformational leadership) in order to interpret the data. Thus, the paper serves to highlight the idiosyncrasies of RCMP leadership while at the same time placing RCMP leadership within the larger scope of leadership theory. So, for example, we interpreted each interviewee's transcript with regard to

how comments conformed to the transformational leadership theory categories of idealised influence, individualised consideration, inspirational motivation, and intellectual stimulation. But we also noted how followers' values and needs were associated with the degree of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the police leader, as well as how various contextual features of the local community culture, the detachment culture, and the RCMP culture shaped and determined expectancies and valuations about leadership. In short, we also examined the systemic forces fostering and constraining the emergence of leadership.

The two researchers and a research assistant read and coded each transcript independently using the coding software (QSR) and manually by highlighting themes. A high degree of reliability was evident in the coding by virtue of the consistent manner in which each rater had coded a particular response.

Throughout the next section of the paper, we draw upon the words of interviewees to illustrate transformational leadership themes and to highlight leadership as an emergent social process.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

What follows is not a description of leadership behaviours (or traits) but rather what respondents told us they value and observe as evident by the behaviour of their formal and informal leaders. This data will allow us to describe how these dimensions are fostered, what are the critical elements of each dimension, and what other organisational outcomes can be achieved in the presence of transformational leadership.

Leadership as a social process

We contend that leadership is a social process between a leader and a follower, occurring within a particular context. As such it is a constantly shifting, negotiated target.

The RCMP uses the term 'shared leadership' to promote the notion that leadership can occur at all levels of the organisation. Shared leadership is consonant with leadership as a social process entailing interactions between people that result in change. It may even be redundant to preface 'leadership' with the word 'shared' because, as Bass (1990) points out, leadership can be exhibited by any member of an organisation.

Nevertheless, shared leadership captures this sense that leadership does not just emanate from the top of an organisational hierarchy. Leadership as a social process is distinct from the behaviour of individuals formally designated as leaders. One officer touched upon the importance of informal leaders. He stated:

You don't have to have rank. Rank means nothing in the RCMP when it comes to actual leadership because that person sitting in that chair may have 3 stripes, 4 stripes or whatever, but they will get bypassed to go to the person that actually comes up with the solid decisions. It doesn't really matter whether or not they're a staff sergeant or a corporal, or you can be a constable with 2 or 3 years service. I can see [leadership emerging] with people that I work with, you know, the younger officers, which we have a lot of in this detachment. You can see them emerging, because they're the ones that'll take the bull by the horns and realize that there is a problem. And I hate using the corny words but they take ownership of it and say 'yeah I care'. They're the leaders of the future as well.

Punctuating leadership in this manner is consistent with the empowerment of organisational personnel, the relational dimensions of respect, trust, and support, open dialogue and communication, and the subordination of one's personal goals for the good of the organisation.

Leader competencies are static markers, while leadership is a dynamic, nonlinear process that defies easy objectification. Competencies may say something about a leader at a given moment in time, but not about leadership because environments ebb and flow requiring different competencies or varying amounts of a given competency to meet the demands of the complex personal and social worlds we all inhabit.

The recent work of Kelloway and Barling (2000), and Kelloway, Barling and Helleur (2000) is suggestive of a more incremental view of transformational leadership rooted in the relational elements of trust, support, communication, transparency, genuineness, and morality.

Emotions have a motivational function (Schwarz, 1990) that is evident in transformational leadership. For example, a passionate speech might energise a group of individuals to achieve something far greater than would otherwise have been accomplished without the motivational effects of the emotions. In the case of the four I's of transformational leadership theory, if we consider that they require a pattern of behaviour that has value for others, then one of the keys to leadership is knowing what sort of behaviour has maximal value for others.

We refer to a pattern of behaviour that has value for others as an emotional orientation, such that when a leader taps into this shared emotional orientation there is a heightened possibility of being transformational in their leadership efforts (Drodge & Murphy, 2002). Most respondents in the present study alluded to shared values as the cornerstone of effective leadership, and some touched upon the need to make an emotional attachment with people in order to be an effective leader. One officer stated:

There has to be some kind of attachment to leaders. You have to attach to them. So

how do I get Constable 'x' attached to the detachment commander? An emotional attachment, you know, not physically (laughs), but an emotional attachment to them. And you [need to] get an emotional attachment through that to the commanding officer. I know I do that with [name withheld]. [The person] is very honest and open about those kinds of things, and hierarchy [doesn't get in the way]. So I think that I have an [emotional] attachment to [same person]. I know that [same person] says we're going down here to do this, I'll follow. But how does the detachment commander do that with the constables? That's the challenge. How do you make that emotional attachment to the leader? And it doesn't have to be face-to-face, [but] it has to be something that's real.

Individualised consideration

Transformational leadership is defined by the ability of a leader to motivate followers to transcend their own personal goals for the greater good of the organisation (Bass, 1996). Our case study revealed that an essential component of individualised consideration is ensuring that the right people are placed in jobs with opportunities to ignite their passions. This individual attention to placing the right person in the right job, was evident in both formal and informal leaders. One formal leader stated:

We've got ourselves all caught up in this rank thing, and you can't get to this level until you have this rank. If this was our business, I think we'd be spending a lot of time and energy in making sure that whoever's going to carry on for us, or run our franchise, is the right person. I've always said, I wish I could buy the franchise for the RCMP for [division name withheld]. You won't hear any bad things from us, as long as I can, in my

franchise, pick who I need to do the right job. End of story. It's as simple as that. Because if this was our business, and it was our make or break, we surely aren't going to let the wrong people into the job, even though they may be the greatest people and earned it through the old model of entitlement.

Avolio and Bass (1995) contend that the individualised consideration factor, what some organisational theorists describe as the relational aspect (eg Hall, 1996), first attracts followers' attention and transforms behaviour. Individualised consideration has also been described as 'exchange quality' (Basu & Green, 1997), or the level of support that individuals feel from their formal leaders. Respondents placed a strong emphasis on the importance of approachable, supportive and caring leaders. One officer cited a poignant example:

[We were] in a situation where [at the] last minute we get a call that we have to go to a council meeting that evening. So instead of expecting me to work a 15–16 hour day, the phone call that I receive is, 'I want you to take the rest of the afternoon off. I want you to go pick [name withheld] up for lunch. I want you to take her out because she's going to miss you at night at home for dinner'. . . . 9 times out of 10 when he does that I still stay and work the 18 hours (laughs). But, just knowing that he thinks enough of me and the well-being of my family to make sure that option is open to me; it makes me never think twice about what he asks me to do.

Individualised consideration is neither a constant feature of the leader, nor purely a perception of the follower, rather it is something that emerges in the space between the two. Another key component of individualised consideration for respondents involves

encouraging individual officer development. One officer cited her detachment commander as being inspirational in her own ambition to develop officers. She stated:

And to have the energy to put that into the officer, you know, it's back to developing officers. And it's a lot of work. I mean if you look at the [Detachment Commander] he's got a job, he manages a whole detachment, and he's basically a politician with the city, yet he still has the energy and the drive, and the desire, to develop officers under him right down to the constable level. It's gotta be difficult and you really have to want to do it. I think that's just something about being a good leader. You want to develop those people that work alongside of you.

Individualised consideration was also evident in recognising and rewarding achievements. Although appreciated, officers were not looking for praise for doing their daily jobs, but were very receptive to individualised recognition and reward. One officer captures the simplicity behind the meaningfulness of genuine praise. She stated:

And another good leader that I worked for. . . I recall one time he took me aside and asked me to come into his office and sit down [because] he wanted to talk to me about something. I right away thought I was in shit about something (laughs). And he said, 'I just want to tell you you're doing a great job, thank you very much, you're making my job easier as a result, and I really appreciate it'. And that stuck with me for the rest of the time I was working for him. And I thought that's something nice to hear, you don't hear that a lot, and it's good when you do.

Individualised consideration also involved providing officers with the tools to perform

their jobs. Officers generally believed that their superiors supported their desire for the basic tools but that the RCMP was falling short in funding for operational contract policing. This theme was interesting as the attribution for the lack of resources was placed on the organisation and not the formal leaders within the detachment. Officers were quick to point out that the management team in this detachment was committed to fighting for the necessary resources for officers to perform their jobs. One officer contrasted the current management style from her past experiences. She stated:

Well, all we usually hear from managers is we have no money. You know, 'limit your overtime. We can't get that equipment for you — maybe next year'. And this guy's just doing it. And so you start thinking, well, if he can do it, why couldn't the 10 before him do it?

This officer's question is a very poignant one that strikes at the heart of creating an idealised influence on followers. By challenging the status quo, and seeing opportunities where others might see obstacles, the detachment management team provides an emotional orientation (in this example, the desire to feel as though equipment requirements are being given due consideration) that has widespread value within the detachment.

Idealised influence

The idealised influence component of transformational leadership concerns the fostering of trust and respect in the relationship between leader and follower. Idealised influence speaks to the issues of ethics and values, both the leader's and the followers', and has been the subject of some discussion in the literature on charismatic leadership (eg House & Howell, 1992). The qualities of subtleness, supportiveness, and stability

are low energy dynamic features of transformational leadership, whereas charisma bespeaks of high-energy interpersonal dynamics. We found that idealised influence manifested itself in detachment life in subtle, yet extremely important ways. In order for a leader to be valued, respondents placed a strong emphasis on the role of living and breathing the core values of the RCMP in a predictable, consistent, and fair manner. One officer spoke directly to the importance of authenticity in the values of leaders. He stated:

So I think first and foremost [leadership in the RCMP is defined] by living your life, both personally and professionally, by the core values of our organisation. Then as a manager, to ensure that your decisions are consistent with those core values, [as well as] our commitments to our employees and communities. So if anything [distinguishes effective leadership] I think it would be using our mission, vision, values as our true north. And living those in both word and deed. And ensuring that those around you see that, and are inspired to do the same. I think that our officers aren't fools; they deal with people that lie to them every day in the street. As a supervisor, if you're going to make a promise — it's [actually] the difference between supervision and leadership — as a leader, if you're going to make a promise, then keep it. And if you say that you stand for something then stand for it. And, it can't be situational ethics or situational leadership, it's gotta be 24-7. Because they're (officers) looking for you to fall. So you have to be prepared to live your life in a way that's consistent with those things.

The preceding perspective on leadership reflects the importance of authenticity. This stands in contrast to the notion of 'pseudo-transformational' leadership (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999, p. 187) wherein a leader

motivates others to achieve beyond expectations, but through means and towards ends that run counter to the values of the wider community or to the law. There are instances of police leaders who have the respect and admiration of their officers, but who nevertheless are corrupt (Punch, 2000). The key point here is that a police organisation's explicit values must reflect the core values of the broader society which the organisation serves, and that police leaders must demonstrate the utmost respect for those values both personally and professionally to be truly transformational. Such leadership establishes ideals for followers to emulate, creating the foundational conditions for inspiring others and motivating them for the public good, not merely the good of the sub-culture or the organisation. As Burns points out (Bailey & Axelrod, 2001), 'The more we emphasise the moral aspect of leadership . . . the more chance there is, at least to a small degree, that leadership will be viewed as not just power wielding, but as an expression of our highest values' (p. 119).

Idealised influence is more ordinary and more achievable than suggested by the phrase, though it raises the bar on ethical thinking and action. One of the ways we witnessed idealised influence being played out in the detachment was through the importance placed on fairness and trust in leaders. One officer elaborated at length on the importance of respecting leaders and the values required to have an idealised influence on subordinates. He stated:

You don't always respect those that you like, but you will always like those that you respect. And what I mean by that is if I [just] want to be liked as a supervisor, then I stand for nothing. 'Come in when you want; wear your uniform how you want; do sloppy investigations; treat people poorly; let's go for coffee; let's joke around; you're my

friend; I'll write you a good assessment no matter what you do'. Then you're liked. But you're not respected. I'm going to make decisions that are fair, and that are defensible in every case, I'm going to communicate to the stakeholders why the decisions were made. I'm never going to just make an arbitrary decision. But, at the end of the day, I want them (subordinates) to be able to walk away and say that they respected the type of leadership that I showed in the organisation, and that I was fair. So, the yardstick for me is about making fair decisions and being respected, and not about being liked. If I am liked as a result of that, that's a great bonus. But when I come to work, my selfworth isn't tied to how much the people I work with like me. I have my friends outside of work, [so] when I come to work my job is to be professional and to be a leader.

In order to have an idealised influence on detachment personnel the knowledge and experience of both formal and informal leaders had to be readily apparent. It was also apparent in our interviews that leaders have to prove themselves through knowledge and deed in order to gain the respect of detachment officers. The strong cultural norms surrounding promotion, for example, lead some officers to question if others are adequately prepared to take on the responsibilities that a promotion entailed.

Having an idealised influence on officers also included an understanding of the need for a command and control management style in certain limited instances, but balanced with empowerment and flexibility to fit the context. One officer spoke about the ability to judge a situation and apply the appropriate management style. He stated:

You don't throw out the command and control completely. I mean, you have

to have a combination of the two [command and control and participative management]. There were occasions when I had to have some very short, very succinct, clear and concise conversations with people in our office because their behaviour was inappropriate and had to stop. And I had to deal with it exactly then and there. You have to be able to judge those situations.

Inspirational motivation

Inspirational motivation connects with Yukl's (2002) point (in the definition of transformational leadership cited earlier) about individuals achieving more than they originally expected to accomplish. Leadership that is consonant with inspirational motivation somehow unites people around a common, desirable, and tangible benefit that can be accrued by all, through a variety of means.

A key ingredient of inspirational motivation at the case site involved communicating the vision to all officers and reiterating it often. One officer spoke of the importance of getting officer 'buy-in' into the vision of community policing acting as a paradigm for all activities. He stated:

Presently [the greatest management challenge facing the detachment] would have to be achieving 100% buy-in by everybody at the detachment with regards to community-based policing. We haven't had a whole lot of vocal resistance, but there isn't 100% buy-in yet. What we're seeing is that some of the people who haven't [bought-in] aren't comfortable with this method of doing business, and are asking for transfers. That's not entirely a bad thing. We're going to be able to build, then, a group of people here in the leadership roles that are going to be very good at their jobs, and it's going to improve this place even better than it is already. . . . And I don't

think you ever will get 100% buy-in, but it's the peer pressure from having the majority doing it in a certain fashion [that] is going to be very strong.

But getting officers to buy into the vision can be a daunting task in a culture where individuals have experienced a broad range of leadership abilities over their career, and bring a healthy dose of scepticism to new modes of doing business.

Inspirational motivation involves providing meaning to followers through collective action (Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000). That is, by providing an understanding of how the police officer on the street fits into the grand scheme of the organisation, the leader provides his or her subordinates with a unifying vision. We observed the cascading of the commander's vision at the case detachment when one officer spoke of the important role the daily briefings play in communicating strategic objectives. He stated:

We get [information] in our briefings. Our briefings are where people from different sections come together once or twice a morning, different watches, and we all sit and discuss what's happened over the last few days so we have a sense of cohesiveness. Everybody has the same message, all the way from [Detachment Commander] to the most junior people, such as myself, all sitting at the same table and listening to what's been going on and the direction envisioned.

The community based policing model requires a paradigm shift from reactive police enforcement to proactive community involvement aimed at alleviating some of the root causes of crime. In contrast to the 'professional model' of policing that reinforced cultural norms of detached emotional distance from the community, community policing called for building relationships with key community stakeholders. A formal police leader would be

acting in a transformational manner by encouraging officers to become more attuned to a community's emotional orientation through building relationships in the community. Police leaders have the potential to inspire and encourage individual police officers to work toward goals that have value in society beyond the rather narrow constraints provided by typical police work. The optimal emotional orientation to be achieved must bridge basic emotions that are deeply personal, and secondary emotions that have cultural and social significance.

Intellectual stimulation

Intellectual stimulation, 'involves engaging the rationality of subordinates, getting them to challenge their assumptions and to think about old problems in new ways' (Kelloway & Barling, 2000, p. 355). This has direct implications for leadership in community policing, for example, because such organisational changes require a new way of understanding police work and a new approach to performing some fundamental duties.

To be intellectually stimulated involves questioning assumptions and finding new ways of doing things (Bass, 1990). In the detachment, providing an atmosphere of continuous employee development was paramount to officers' intellectual stimulation. One officer discussed his approach to developing officers. He stated:

Say for instance a sexual assault comes up. We have maybe three people on this watch that do a really good job on this type of issue. I don't need to assign them to that file so that they learn how to do the investigation. But, it would be a good idea to assign someone who hasn't done it, and to assign one of our three experienced people to help them through it, so both people are learning. One person is learning how to teach, and

the other person is learning how to do it. So, you can facilitate them that way. And we do that here.

CONCLUSION

At the start of this article we aspired to describing leadership as it emerged at a specific RCMP detachment in terms of the RCMP's core values in action. We also hoped to demonstrate that leadership is a phenomenon distinct from simply leader behaviour, as important as that factor is, that includes followers (their attributions of leadership) and the particular context in which leaders and followers function. But in reading the interview transcripts to derive key points about leadership that would be valuable to the RCMP, we also recognised that the story of this particular detachment is centrally about people's relationships and the manner in which we attribute certain motivations and beliefs to others, that leadership is essentially a projection of hopes, fears, expectations, criticisms, and beliefs. But if this is the case, how does leadership research, leader development activities, and the multitude of leadership books that proliferate each year alter this basic fact that leadership may largely be in the eyes of the beholder?

First of all, the consensus amongst management educators is that leader skills can be learned (Doh, 2003) and that they can have a positive impact on organisations. The key seems to be that individuals are taught such skills starting early in their career and continuing throughout their tenure in an organisation, that messages about leadership are consistent concerning organisational values and personal ethics, and that the training includes a great deal of personal feedback and support.

Secondly, we have reported the words and behaviour of individuals at this case site within the framework provided by transformational leadership theory because it

makes explicit the point that followers can be motivated to achieve beyond expectations when relationships are fostered by the leader. The relational skills of leaders, then, must be developed along with other skills if there is any hope of leadership emerging in the hearts and minds of followers. We have provided examples of behaviour at the case site that demonstrated individualised consideration, idealised influence, intellectual stimulation, and inspirational motivation — all grounded in relational skills. Transformational leadership theory, then, is a useful model for raising the level of discourse about leadership in policing beyond its current prosaic usage, and can serve to bring some unity to the manner in which police leadership development can be pursued.

Thirdly, it is clear that leader behaviour must be authentic, that there must be genuine concern for people's needs and aspirations. All of us are leaders and followers at various moments so we all share some fundamental human needs and desires concerning those roles: the need to feel trust in others, the desire for recognition when we do good deeds or perform well, a need for belonging to a group, goal or cause, and a feeling that we are likable and liked. There is an expression in psychology that says we see in others what we feel or believe about ourselves — this is the essence of projection and the attribution of something like leadership. If, as a leader or a follower, we can adhere to a consistent manner of relating to ourselves and others that is grounded in an ethic, then we increase the chances that a group's behaviour will be goal-directed and successful, and that leadership can get us there. Police morality, ethics, and values are all crucial elements of leadership.

Finally, we have shown that there are constraints on leadership that are often systemic and therefore difficult for either leaders or followers in a specific locale (detachment) within the larger system

(organisation) to control. Nevertheless, despite such difficulties that act to make a leader's complex function even more taxing, leader behaviour that is grounded in community values, expresses ethics consistent with the organisation, and genuinely exhibits a caring attitude towards followers, maximises the opportunities for leadership to emerge.

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