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Police and community in twentieth-century Scotland

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Police and Community in Twentieth-Century Scotland: the Uses of Social History

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Abstract

Drawing on archival research and oral history interviews, this article compares the characteristics of the relationships between police officers and communities in the Glasgow conurbation with those in the highlands and islands of Scotland in the period c. 1900–70. Rejecting the uniform or linear narrative suggested by existing historiography, it argues that these relationships were diverse, complex and shaped by local cultural, social and economic factors. By analysing the grassroots or everyday policing delivered by the urban beat officer and village constable, it reconstructs a social history of policing in twentieth-century Scotland. Moreover, the article identifies key constitutive elements that enabled or disrupted the forging of trust and legitimacy in Glasgow and the highlands in an era still associated by some with a 'golden age of policing'. The article focuses in particular on the capacity of discretion, 'insider' status and embeddedness within local settlements to deliver effective policing, enhancing conclusions about best practice that have been drawn from studies of more recently formalized 'community policing' initiatives.

Keywords: police, community, Scotland, history, urban, rural

Introduction

This article uses archival research and interviews to construct a social history of the relationship between police officers and the diverse communities they served in two contrasting regions of Scotland: the Glasgow conurbation in which population was densely concentrated, and the Highlands and Islands in which sparsity of population has led it to its categorization as 'very remote and rural'. We demonstrate that relationships between police and Scottish communities were social exclusion and social marginalization, the importance of masculinity in shaping policing styles and the benefits and problems associated with 'discretion'. Moreover, the past provides us with a rich laboratory for analysing positive and negative practices. By highlighting those aspects that weakened as well as strengthened bonds of trust between officers and communities in an era that has been nostalgically evoked as a 'golden age', it is possible to contribute to current debates on best practice that have been unusually prominent in recent Scottish public life (Henry and Fyfe 2012; 2015).

The question of how best to forge effective relationships between the formal police service and local communities has been influential in shaping policy, structures and practices for more than 30 years in the United Kingdom, United States and beyond (Rosenbaum 1994; Brogden and Nijhar 2005; Mackenzie and Henry 2009). The concept of 'community policing'—which, while complex and contested, implies decentralization, collaboration and preventative approaches—has been adopted and developed in the United Kingdom since the 1970s. It has also been used to generate and to brand a series of 'practices, initiatives and organizational reconfigurations' (Mackenzie and Henry 2009: 13). Since its genesis, 'community policing' has been presented in historical terms: as a response to the erosion of public confidence in police legitimacy since the late 1960s; as a critique of rapid response policing strategies that emerged in the late 1950s; and as a return to an ethos of 'traditional policing' epitomized in the 'village constable' or 'bobby on the beat' of the 1930s–50s (Alderson 1979; Schaffer

1980). Established works within police studies that focus on England or (broadly) Britain have debunked the idea that there was an actual 'golden age of policing' in the mid-twentieth century, in which police and communities lived in harmony, while pointing to the tenacity of this 'myth' (Loader 2003; Reiner 2010). This article is based on the premise, however, that more historical research is needed to enable clearer understanding of the changing social and political contours of the relationship between police officers and communities across the twentieth century.

This is particularly pertinent in the case of Scotland, where the social history of policing—entailing the analysis of grassroots and everyday policing—has been slow to develop. Writing in 1980 about Scotland, Shanks suggested that what was increasingly labelled as 'community involvement' had been practised unwittingly 'in various forms, since the institution of the police force – and most notably perhaps through the traditional village constable' (Shanks 1980: 4). In his 1981 James Smart memorial lecture, former Scottish Office civil servant Sir William Fraser said:

> There are those inside the police service and outside, who recollect nostalgically the constables of their youth – the picture is generally of big men from the Highlands and Islands who maintained law and order in city and village by judicious use of the kind word, the frown and the back of the hand. Of course such men existed, although they were not as widely recognised as we are sometimes told. (Fraser 1981)

To date, however, there has been little attempt to probe within and beyond living memory, and the more recent historiography of Scottish policing has done little to examine these assumptions about a benign paternalism. The limited accounts that do exist have shaped a narrative of Scottish particularity, which has also been woven into discussions of the earlier take-up in Scotland of more formal 'community policing' initiatives and organizational structures. Writing in 1980, Schaffer suggested that, in the UK context, 'community policing' had been pioneered in Scotland, where the police worked in close co-operation with communities and other agencies long before statutory legislation made it a requirement (Schaffer 1980; see also Donnelly 2005). In their recent overview of Scottish police history for a volume that has come to be seen as the authoritative text on Scottish policing, Dinsmoor and Goldsmith argued that, in contrast to England and Wales, 'the relationship between police and community in Scotland was founded on a policy of "public good"' and that the 'close links between the police and community were strengthened incrementally as police professionalism advanced' (Dinsmoor and Goldsmith 2005: 58). Yet, the overview they present is partial since it draws on empirical research that has concentrated on the institutional—rather than social—history of policing, on Glasgow rather than other areas of Scotland, and on the period before 1930.

Research Questions, Aims and Approaches

 Our research has focused on the years 1900–70: that is the period before the explicit terminology of 'community policing' was introduced in Scotland in 1971 as a result of the Scottish Office recommendation that Community Involvement Branches (CIBs) should be established in all forces. While CIBs and subsequent formal initiatives have been evaluated in a series of academic studies (Schaffer 1980; Shanks 1980; Monaghan 1997; Henry 2009), this period remains largely uncharted since existing historical scholarship on Scottish policing has focused overwhelmingly on the origins and development of Scottish policing in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Carson and Idzikowska 1989; Goldsmith 2002; Smale 2007; Barrie 2008). The social history of policing in twentieth-century England and Wales has been researched extensively (e.g. Brogden 1991; Emsley 1991; Weinberger 1995; Jones 1996; Klein 2010) but equivalent work on Scotland is limited to work on Glasgow gangs and youth justice (Davies 1998; 2007; 2013; Bartie 2010; Bartie and Jackson 2011;

Jackson 2014). Thus, the claim that a Scottish approach has 'always' been shaped by close links 'between police and community' remains untested. In particular, we critically examine the social positioning and policing styles of those who worked as 'village constables' and 'bobbies on the beat', and who have been seen as progenitors of 'community policing' in Scotland.

In 2013, a single service—Police Scotland—was created to replace the former eight regional or 'legacy' forces through which policing had been delivered in Scotland since 1975. The substantive research for this article is based on an earlier phase in which there was a proliferation of forces.[11] We focus here on materials relating to: (1) urban Glasgow, an area which until the regionalization of 1975 came under the auspices of Glasgow City Police (by far and away the largest police force in Scotland with a strength of over 2000 officers at any one time across the century) and (2) the 'remote and rural' areas of the Highlands and Islands which historically came under the auspices of the county constabularies of Inverness, Sutherland and Caithness (finally reconstituted as Northern Constabulary after 1975) as well as Argyll (which included the island of Islay and which was consolidated into Strathclyde Police with Glasgow City and a number of other forces in 1975). The Highlands and Islands (also referred to here as the highland counties) were characterized by small police forces (in terms of strength) but each covering a vast area; we show here how this affected strategies and style of policing.[2]

In terms of data, this article draws, firstly, on extensive archival research. Printed and manuscript sources consulted include personnel records (which have been analysed as large datasets in order to guarantee full anonymity), letters books and complaints books, police station occurrence books, minutes of committees, official reports, published memoirs and newspapers. Special permission was granted by the 'legacy' forces to access material containing personal data beyond the usual 75-year closure period: until 1950 for Strathclyde and until 1970 for the Northern district. Secondly, 40 oral history interviews were conducted with retired police officers, contacted through the Retired Police Officers Association for Scotland (RPOAS), who had served in the two legacy forces and their earlier constituent forces (see Figures 1 and 2 for their geographical coverage).[3]

Figure 1: Distribution of Interviewees (Northern Constabulary), by places worked during career (N = 17). Map data ©2014 Google.

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[1] The number of separate police forces in Scotland was reduced from 69 in 1900, to 48 in 1939, to 20 by 1968 and 8 in 1975.

[2] In 1970, the county of Inverness employed only 165 officers, Ross and Sutherland only 133 and Argyll only 113. See Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland, 1970. HMSO, Cmnd. 4754.

[3] The research began in 2012 prior to the creation of Police Scotland. The secretaries of RPOAS branches covering the Strathclyde and Northern Constabulary areas were contacted by email and asked to forward an advert to their members explaining the project's purpose and issuing a call for interview volunteers. The same advert was then published in the RPOAS biannual magazine. Interviews were conducted by Neil Davidson. Transcriptions and recordings have been deposited in the Sound Archive of the Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.
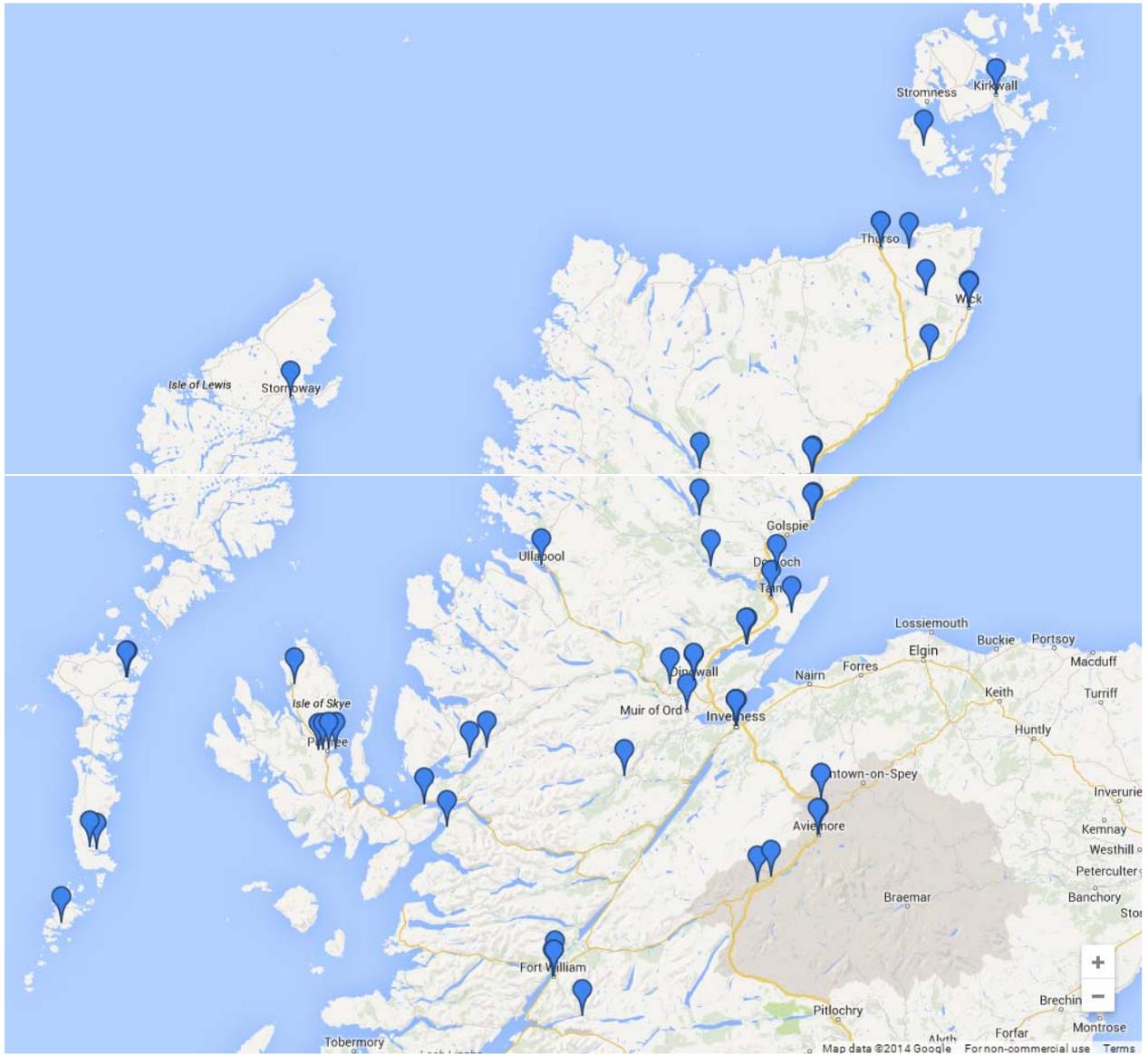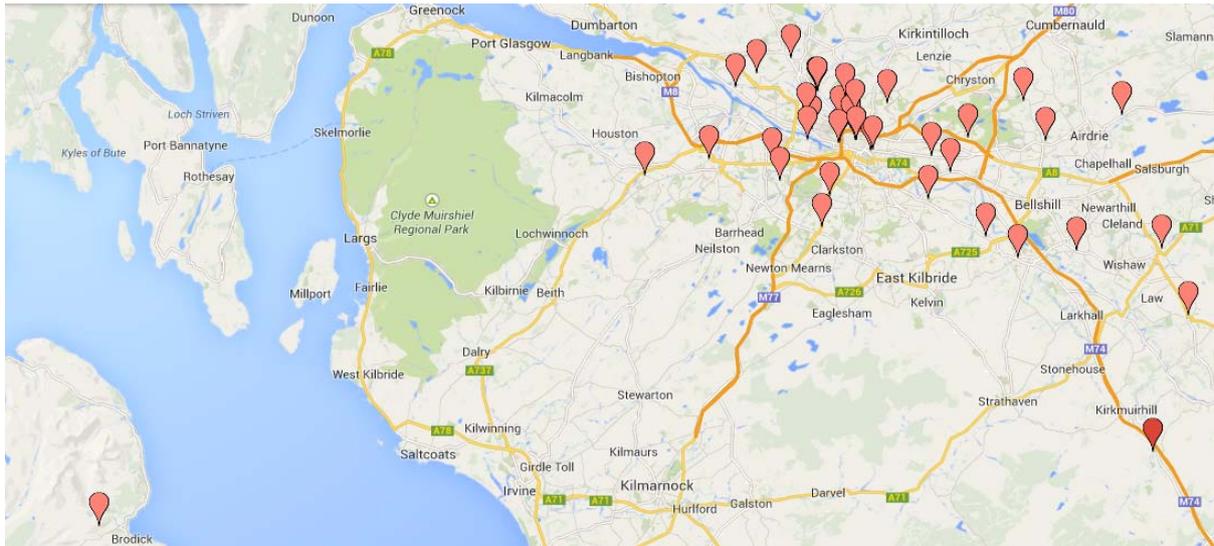
Fig. 2 Distribution of interviewees (Strathclyde), by places worked during career (N = 23). Map data ©2014 Google.

Interviewees had joined the police service between 1945 and 1972, and mostly served a full thirty years before retiring between 1975 and 2002, enabling them to reflect on changes across their service. We focus here on the periods in their careers when they worked in uniform (rather than plain-clothes or CID) as a highly visible and everyday presence within communities: as beat officers (Glasgow) or as officers stationed within villages (highland counties).

Due to the legalistic nature of police work (which generates 'official' documents that are formulaic and procedural), oral histories are an ideal research tool to open up viewpoints that are normally closed or obscured, as studies by Brogden (1991), Weinberger (1995) and Cockcroft (2005) have demonstrated. Oral history interviews reveal subjectivities, attitudes and lived experiences; they not only provide insights on officers' perceptions of events, but may also lead to further understanding of why events happen. Finally, they enable researchers to explore personal and organizational relationships (including their power dynamics), helping us understand how personalities interact within the bureaucratic organization as well as through the everyday practice of policing. Interviews are used here alongside other forms of personal testimony, including police memoirs, to access police perceptions of the communities they policed and of their interactions with individuals and groups. These accounts are balanced against textual sources in which other perspectives (of 'the policed' and those viewed as 'outsiders') are glimpsed.

The police cultures, roles and identities that are reflected in the sources used for this article are overwhelmingly masculine ones, given the male dominance of policing until at least the 1970s. The first female officer was employed in Dundee in 1918, and Glasgow's first two official 'Policewomen' were appointed in 1919, but the number of women officers remained tiny until after the Second World War (a total of 37 across Scotland in 1939 or 0.5 per cent of entire police strength). Until the 1960s, women's roles remained restricted to clerical work, statement-taking in relation to women and child victims of crime, and preventive or rescue work with adolescent girls (Jackson 2006). In 1970, the entire Scottish police service still employed only 382 women who together constituted only 3.6 per cent of officers.[4] It was not until the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 that women were recruited on the same terms and conditions as men, formally integrated into the same line-

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[4] Annual Reports of His/Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary for Scotland: for 1939 see Cmd. 6193; for 1970 see Cmnd. 4764.

management structures in order to undertake similar work, and the restriction on the number of female officers was lifted.

This gender dynamic has implications for the research on which this article is based. The predominant male profile of policing across the period was reflected in the recruitment of our interviewees: 39 men and one woman came forward for interview as a result of our work with the RPOAS. It is important to note here the continued existence of a formal marriage bar across Scottish police forces until 1968 (although it was lifted in England and Wales in 1946), which meant that women were required to resign upon marriage (Jackson 2006: 73). Very few women saw policing in terms of career, many of those who were recruited in the 1950s and 1960s served for only three or four years, women were unlikely to build up a significant pensionable service and were thus also unlikely to be members of the RPOAS; they mostly saw their role as a specialist and feminized one rather than the generalist role of their male contemporaries.[5] Women were barely visible in policing compared to their male colleagues, and in the eyes of the public, policing was associated with masculinity. Moreover, as this article demonstrates, policing styles and encounters were gendered performances through which competing masculinities were constructed and played out (Barrie and Broomhall 2012). Thus, gender as an analytical tool is used here mainly to unpack and discuss the experiences and identities of male officers.

The term 'community' itself requires careful evaluation since it notoriously has multiple uses, meanings, effects and applications (Delanty 2003). We recognize that it is itself an 'evocative symbol' or 'complex of ideas', whose meaning has shifted across time but has tended to convey benign values of mutuality and reciprocity, and thus has had an ideological or normative function (Calhoun 1980; Crawford 1995; Bauman 2001). The rhetorical deployment of the term 'community' can itself serve to constitute or construct a set of social associations or responsibilities in reference to place. Lacey and Zedner (2000) have suggested that 'appeals to community' have become stronger in Britain in recent decades (and since the 1980s) because of a paradoxical weakening of co-operation and social integration (or, at the very least, concerns about the latter). This nostalgia (the romantic quest to reconstruct lost community) is absent from the historical record. Key word searches of the digital archive of the Scotsman newspaper for the period 1900–50 showed very few direct evocations of the concept of 'community' in relation to policing in this earlier period. Rather, local politicians and senior police officers were more likely to refer to the service offered by the 'police' to the 'public', which tended to be tied up with political ideas about liberal governance and accountability to municipal (or county) authorities rather than the interpersonal, the social or 'grassroots'. The fear for local elites was one of losing local administrative and political control, not the social ties of 'community', in the period before 1970.

As an empirical sociological category, 'community' can be understood as a geographical or spatial entity linked to neighbourhood (urban) and settlement (rural) and associated social-economic structures (Harvey 1989; Tilley 2003). Thus, the article examines the police-community dynamic in terms of social and spatial proximity. Did police officers live among the communities they served? Had they been brought up amongst them? How might we characterize their physical presence? Yet 'community' is clearly also a moral, cultural and social collective. The creation of this collective identity has, historically, involved inclusion of some social groups and the exclusion or marginalization of others (because of gender, age, religion, politics, ethnicity, status or poverty) who may also constitute groups that feel most disaffected with the police. Indeed, the rhetoric of 'community' can

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[5] Jackson (2006) used interviews with female officers across the United Kingdom. Transcriptions of interviews, including those with two women who served in Scotland, are available through the Women's Library, LSE, 8WPC, Acc. No. 2006/34.

be used to conceal internal conflict and tension. The problem of social exclusion is as much a facet of rural areas as the urban, in which individuals have been differentiated through processes of 'othering' that involve the attribution of 'insider' and 'outsider' status (Sibley 1995). Indeed 'rural spaces should not be seen as having ever been homogenous entities but instead as diverse and pluralistic settings with competing normative communities' (Mawby and Yarwood 2011: 3). It is necessary therefore to identify conflicts within and between collectives (including the positioning of the police in relation to conflict) and to identify who has been assumed by the police to represent 'communities' as stakeholders/gate-keepers, who has assumed the right to speak and on whose behalf, and whether these individuals were already prominent members of religious organizations, voluntary agencies or other private/public bodies. Moreover, our approach also involves examining to what extent 'police' and 'community' are at times overlapping and at other times contradictory identities. Existing studies suggest that police officers are likely to be located as both part of 'community' (as private individuals) and as separate from it (because of their official role as representatives of the state) (Banton 1964; Reiner 1978). The concept of 'insider' and 'outsider' status is as applicable to the police themselves as to the social groups with, against and among whom they have worked.

We present our findings in three parts. We begin by comparing the characteristics of police-community dynamics in Glasgow with those of the highland counties in the period c. 1900–60; we then analyse points of conflict and consensus in these two geographical areas; finally we briefly outline the transformations of the later twentieth century. In concluding, we seek to connect with current debates about improving relationships between police and communities by identifying the key constitutive elements that enabled or disrupted the forging of trust and legitimacy in these urban and rural areas of Scotland across the twentieth century. We comment specifically on the capacity of discretion, 'insider' status and embeddedness within settlements to enable the building of trust and reciprocity, our findings reinforcing those drawn from other studies of more recent formalized 'community policing' initiatives.

Policing in Glasgow and the Highland Counties c. 1900–60

While police cultures are multiple and heterogeneous (with variation within repertoires of individual officers as well as within forces), historical research enables us to identify trends and hence a typology for the village constable in the highland counties compared to the urban beat constable in Glasgow (see Table 1). The policing types we describe here (which we derive from looking across interview material and a wider variety of documentary sources) had been established by the late nineteenth century and remained in place until at least the mid-century, and in some cases (the Scottish islands in particular) beyond the 1970s.

In the highland counties police officers were small in number but were geographically embedded within village settlements. Married male officers were usually selected as village constables. Wives played an important role in the running of the police office, and police forces assumed they would provide their labour for free (see also Weinberger 1995). The 'one-man' police station/office was usually a room within or attached to the police house, and police wives regularly took messages when the police officer was out. Nevertheless some social distance was still maintained, effected by rotation to new police stations every four to six years, which was seen as necessary to prevent officers 'going native'.[6] Officers were expected to get to know the settled community— to develop social familiarity—but not too well. It was thus recognized that a careful balancing of insider/outsider status was required for optimal efficiency.

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[6] Interview Transcript 35.

Table 1 Comparison of highland counties and Glasgow c. 1900–60

	Highland counties c. 1900-1960	Glasgow c.1900-1960 (beat officer)
Factors		
Population	Depopulation (outward migration); sparse distribution	Growth (immigration); dense distribution
Communities	Distinction between: a) older settled population (partly closed with high levels of self-regulation and low levels of internal social conflict) and b) transient population (labour and military camps; 'tinkers' and vagrants)	More fluid and open, but also high levels of social conflict: sectarianism; class and politics.
Police presence	Officers and families embedded and visible; 'insiders'	Aloof but visible; migrant
Police role	Generalist Admin/advice/service/communication	Increasingly specialist (with movement into and between specialist units). Street constable: protection of property; street order
Characteristics of networks and relationships	Individualised and interpersonal; 'friendship'.	Individualised and interpersonal
Partnerships	informal	Informal
Outcomes		
Police discretion	Very high level of autonomy	High level of autonomy within tasks
Police claim to authority and legitimacy	Positional status / deference In practice highly personalised	Positional status / deference
Police tactics	Diffusive; consensual; moral force.	Consensual but with recourse to: confrontational; robust; physical force.
Policing whom?	Migrant males (navvies; labour; military; vagrant)	Political dissenters; house-breakers; the anti-social ('neds')
Policing for whom? Partisan?	Settled community. Perceived alliance with landowners in some areas.	State: national security. Property owners; 'Law-abiding'. Perceived association with Protestant community.
Crime rates	Low	High

In the highland counties those recruited into the police were 'local' in the sense that they had been born and brought up either within the county that they joined or in an adjacent highland area. Personnel records for Inverness County Constabulary from 1901 through to 1968 show remarkable continuity in that the vast majority of recruits were born either in the county of Inverness or in the

neighbouring counties of Ross, Moray, Sutherland or Caithness.[7] Personnel records for the county of Caithness and for Orkney and Shetland show that officers were even more 'local' with the vast majority born within the district itself and they thus moved very little.[8] The interviews attest that officers were unlikely to be stationed in their native village, and in the county of Inverness they were moved huge distances across their careers given the size of the police district. Nevertheless, cultural affinity was important. In Gaelic-speaking areas (Western Isles and Wester Ross), knowledge of Gaelic enabled officers to break down any initial suspicion or distrust. The social intimacy of police embeddedness within settlements was facilitated by civil society connections, such as church attendance and membership of local societies, as well as sport and youth club volunteering. In some cases friendships were established and are referred to. The policing function was shared with other entities and authority figures: the Church (elders and ministers); family (heads of household); and landowners (through factors and gamekeepers). It is evident that low levels of reported crime were a function of high levels of regulation through other authority structures within established settlements. Station occurrence books (which were effectively daily diaries) show that the police officer was consulted by these groups for advice, to assist and intervene when informal resolutions did not work, or when other structures of authority broke down. In many instances this advice remained informal, with charges not being pressed.

Given that officers were dispersed in the highland counties, their role was a generalist one. Amongst the settled population, policing was largely concerned with routine administration within an annual cycle of renewing firearms licences and attending sheep-dipping, which involved regular visits to local farms and crofts through which the protocols of sociability were maintained into the early 1970s. The police house acted as an advice, information and communication point, with messages for villagers (about births, deaths or the sudden illness of relatives) received by telegram in the early part of the century. The telephone did not reach more remote areas until the mid-1930s, and it was initially only the Post Office and police station that were connected, further cementing the police role as a communication node and a central focal point for village and surrounding areas. Thus, until the Second World War and beyond, where individual constables were often isolated from each other (particularly on the islands) but embedded within village life, it was the relationship that was forged though everyday encounters that was more important than formal structures of governance. Relationships in the highland counties were interpersonal and individualized rather than professionalized, but involved high levels of discretion and responsibility as in other rural communities in England and Wales (Weinberger 1995). Ultimately this created potential for significant strength in terms of the building of trust and legitimacy, but also weakness if familiarity was not balanced with the social distancing that enabled impartiality and the maintenance of authority. Officers who were interviewed tended to reflect on their own best practice, in some cases in comparison with a predecessor whom they had replaced. As one interviewee explained: 'The chief said to me, "I want you sergeant in Glencoe." He said, "I want you to do a good job for me down there. The police have fallen into disrepute." The sergeant that was there had done a lot of stupid things and he had lost his job'.[9] As another stated: 'the guy who was there long before me was bone idle; he never did anything'.[10] Within a relatively large geographical area the trust of local people in the police might rise and fall in line with the behaviour of one officer. From the perspective of senior officers, an officer

[7] Highland Archives, Inverness, R91/D/8.
[8] Highland Archives, Wick, R91/E/8.
[9] Interview Transcript 37.
[10] Interview Transcript 4.

who was too familiar compromised the police role. Thus, the high levels of discretion and autonomy accorded local police constables led to both best and worst examples of effective policing.

In Glasgow rapid immigration and industrialization had created very different social contours including high levels of over-crowding, sectarianism and social conflict (Pacione 1995). Samples of personnel records demonstrate that at the beginning of the twentieth century Glasgow City Police was recruiting a largely migrant population of 'Highlanders', Scots from the north-east and Irish-born males, each group constituting roughly a quarter of recruits 1900–05.[11] In a city of high internal UK in-migration, migrants were nevertheless over-represented in police recruitment. In the years just before the First World War, however, the recruitment of migrant labour dropped off and by the 1930s the profile was very similar to highland counties, with recruits being drawn locally from (in this case) Glasgow itself, Lanarkshire and adjacent counties. Significantly, Glasgow police officers did not live on their beats (and thus were not spatially embedded as in highland village stations) although according to memoirs and interviews police officers prided themselves on gleaning intimate knowledge of those who lived and worked on the beat as a result of daily routine and conversation. Thus, the balancing of social distance and social familiarity was negotiated somewhat differently compared to rural areas. The protection of property ('pulling padlocks') and the prevention of street disorder were the main foci of the beat officer's work. As in highland areas, relationships and networks were individualized and based on significant levels of discretion, but the beat officer's duties were far less generalized. In Glasgow and other city forces, specialization (most obviously through the creation of criminal investigations and plainclothes departments) had already emerged by the early decades of the twentieth century. Legitimacy was claimed through the uniform (which embodied the idea of public office) and authority claims were to a large extent based on positional status that assumed deference to hierarchy; however, these claims were tested through daily encounters and thus also had to be won.

Conflict, Confidence and Consensus c. 1900–60

In Glasgow, high levels of social and political conflict meant that police authority was more likely to be challenged, and physical toughness had to be demonstrated to claim legitimacy in some quarters. Robert Colquhoun's memoirs described his early days in the St Rollox Division in the early 1920s: 'A man on the beat in the twenties had to be ready to use his fists and his baton at a moment's notice – especially after the pubs emptied on a Friday or Saturday night' (Colquhoun 1962: 20). If the stereotype of the Glasgow hard man was forged through the interwar gang culture that has been so carefully delineated by historian Andrew Davies (2013), the masculinity of police officers was often cut from similar cloth: 'An ex-soldier named Noble Dan, made a habit of approaching any uniform man who came his way and issuing him a solemn formally worded challenge to "single mortal combat." Every now and then some cop sighed, went with him into a tenement backyard and obliged. Noble Dan was invariably flattened' (Colquhoun 1962: 44). If the model of uncompromising policing was reinforced by Chief Constable Sir Percy Sillitoe in his much-vaunted counter-offensive to gang culture, a predominant style of Glasgow policing as tough and physical continued well into the 1950s and 1960s (Sillitoe 1956; Pieri 2010; McLaughlin 2012; Davies 2013;). As one interviewee stated: 'there was a lot of summary justice given out … Well, some of them were taken down a close and given a good belting, you know …. Some of the older cops, I mean they were hardy buggers'.[12] Rough justice was an implicit part of the city's police culture even for those who did not see themselves as fighters in dealing with a particular clientele: 'Did I assault him? No I certainly did not. That wasn't my

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[11] Glasgow City Archives, SR22/55/21 and SR22/57/22.
[12] Interview Transcript 13.

way. But his nice brand new jacket suddenly was ripped right up the centre vent up to his collar. He was in tears. I said to him, "Next time the same will happen. Mend your ways or leave the area"'. [13] Officers expected to be assaulted (although they stated they rarely reported incidents) but gave as good as they got: 'I've seen policemen deal fairly severely with the ungodly'.[14] The use of batons was viewed as weakness and officers stated with pride 'I only used my baton once in my service'. The ability to hold one's own in a 'fair [fist] fight' was seen as necessary in dealing with 'neds': 'I had the feeling that something was going to happen. I had this feeling. Being impolite, I hit one of them and knocked him flat'.[15] The physicality of Glasgow policing was possible given the critical mass of officers on the ground that enabled back-up, but it was also a response to the perceived problem of violence in the city. The robust style of Glasgow policing was forged in relation to the competing masculinities of those whom they policed. Officers presented this policing style as accepted and understood by 'neds', who are even described as defending their own 'polis' against 'out-of-towners'. Rough justice was also seen as a mechanism for dealing with wife-beaters, given the difficulties associated with bringing prosecutions, and hence in accord with working-class codes and values. It also reflected chivalric models of masculinity in which women and children were to be protected against the aggression of other men.

Nevertheless, Glasgow City Police were viewed as partisan by many in the interwar years in relation to politics, ethnicity and religion. During the First World War, police officers were involved in the surveillance of socialist agitators and anti-war campaigners, and into the 1920s in heavy-handed action against the strikers and Trade Unions activists of 'Red Clydeside' (Gordon 1980; Duncan and McIvor 1992). Sectarianism in the city (given the high proportion of residents of Irish birth) was exacerbated by the partition of Ireland in 1921, and Glasgow City Police gained a reputation for being pro-Protestant (although official police rhetoric and many officers themselves emphasized impartiality). Information about the religious beliefs of recruits was not given on personnel records in the first decades of the twentieth century (although it might be assumed that Irish-born recruits were likely to have been Protestant). Notably, this information was included from 1930 onwards, revealing a significant Protestant bias. Only five per cent of those recruited in 1930–31 declared as Roman Catholic, a figure that had reduced to two per cent by 1938–41. There was considerable improvement when recruitment began again after the Second World War, with the percentage of Roman Catholics rising to over 10 per cent across the period 1946–48, reflecting a dissipation of tensions within the city.[16] Given that some 27 per cent of the city's population were identified as regular attenders of Roman Catholic churches by the early 1950s (and some 29 per cent as regular Protestant church attenders) they were still significantly under-represented in Glasgow City Police (Cunnison and Gilfillan 1958: 725). Interviews with former officers relating to service in the 1950s–60s provided varied accounts. Some suggested that religion was rarely referred to, others suggested sectarian prejudice persisted at the level of jokes and black humour. Several stated that it remained a serious problem, with Catholics passed over for promotion until the creation of Strathclyde police in 1975 and the appointment of firstly Sir David McNee as Chief Constable and then Sir Patrick Hamill (himself Catholic) in 1978.

Even in the interwar period, however, there was a further complexity to the relationships between the police and marginalized groups. In September 1933, Labour Councillor Mrs Jean Mann received complaints from constituents who lived amongst the Irish Catholic community of the Garngad

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[13] Interview Transcript 9.
[14] Interview Transcript 10.
[15] Interview Transcript 15.
[16] Glasgow City Archives, SR22/57/22.

regarding the heavy-handed policing of Constable James Robertson, known by the local nickname of 'PC Hitler'. Robertson's critics claimed he had used obscene language, made anti-Catholic threats ('a bomb in that chapel would do no harm'), and harassed both men and women for standing in the street. For the police, however, his actions were a justified response to the 'annoyance' created by 'a large number of unemployed youths who loiter at street corners, indulging in horse play until the early hours of the morning'. There had been an extensive series of arrests for 'breach of the peace' and a 29-year-old man had been charged with an assault on Robertson himself, highlighting the escalation of violence between the police and young men in the area. It is noteworthy, however, that 44-year-old Patrick Byrne, himself a member of the Scottish Socialist Party, stated that 'there was [sic] not enough "Hitlers" and pointed out that it was only since this Constable had come to the District that we seem to have had any peace after midnight'. The complaint was investigated by the Inspector of the Northern Division who found that the constable 'appears to be a keen, energetic officer and I have no occasion to find fault with him or the manner in which he carries out his duties'.[17] The case demonstrates that while some members of marginalized communities experienced police action as victimization, others welcomed an 'energetic' style of policing because of real concerns about anti-social behaviour within the neighbourhood.

In researching the history of public trust in the police, we face an obvious methodological problem in that there are no longitudinal sets of quantitative data on which we can draw to assess shifts across the twentieth century. The first significant surveys emerged in the 1960s and, in particular, in relation to the 1962 Royal Commission on Police. Complaints books, where extant, provide some qualitative evidence (as above) but the sources that we have are largely subjective reflections. Norman Morrison, who joined Glasgow City Police in 1889, resigned three years later because the experience was so dispiriting. As a rookie constable from a staunchly Calvinist community on the island of Lewis, he was shocked by the 'opprobrious' behaviour of the drunken men and women who crowded onto the High Street at night: '"See that damned ass of a cabbage with the copper's clothes on? Wait until he runs up against Flaming Paddy and he'll make his cabbage leaves fly"'. In 1937, however, he wrote that: 'a great change towards sobriety and better behaviour has come over not only the people of Glasgow but the whole country' (Morrison 1937: 18–19).

Similar reflection on improvement in relationships between the police and the Irish-Catholic community are apparent in sources generated from other viewpoints. In February 1940, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Sir Patrick Dollan, was reported to have told the Central Committee of the Scottish Police Federation that 'the public now regarded the police as their best friends and collaborators' and that the police 'were evolving into the counsellors and guides of the whole community', a change in attitude that had taken place over the previous 15 years.[18] His comments were revealing because Dollan was the first Irish Catholic to become Glasgow's Lord Provost (in 1938) and, as a former left-wing journalist and Red Clydesider, he had been imprisoned during the First World War for opposing conscription (Knox 1984). However, his rhetoric of enhanced public confidence was not necessarily reflective of the views of all social groups in all parts of the city, although they are suggestive of the loosening hold of sectarianism and of anti-Irish sentiment as well as the changed standing of socialist politicians in the city. It may be, too, that his 'appeal' to a united 'community' was imperative given the need to sustain morale during a war effort that Dollan himself supported this time round. Working-class memoirs that describe experiences of growing up in inner-

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[17] Glasgow City Archives, SR22/63/18 Deputations and Complaints, pp.809- 81; for fuller discussion see A. Davies, '"Hitler" in the Garngad: police - community relations in Glasgow's "Little Ireland"', unpublished paper presented at the British Crime Historians' Symposium, University of Liverpool, 26 September 2014.
[18] Scotsman 23 February 1940: 11.

city areas such as the Gorbals as well as Glasgow's housing schemes (such as Blackhill) in the 1950s–60s depict a very clear 'us' and 'them' divide in which it continued to be unacceptable to 'grass' to the police who were viewed as a hostile presence (Henderson 1994: 53; Macfarlane 2010: 150).

Interviews with former officers suggest that the closest alliances were built up between the police and the proprietors of cafes, restaurants, shops and small business as well as their staff, who they saw routinely as part of their daily work on the beat and often provided them with tea and refreshments (see also Pieri 2010). Street policing was for the benefit of property-owners and those who saw themselves as respectable and law-abiding and was targeted against the 'ned'. Colquhoun commented on this rivalry in 1962, reflecting on his interwar experiences: 'the thugs and petty thieves called us, at the politest, "snouts". Our name for them, then and still today, was "neds"'. (Colquhoun 1962: 19) If the older animosities held by socialist, Catholic and Irish communities were eroding by the mid twentieth century, they were replaced with feelings of exclusion that were most obviously generational by the 1960s (Bartie 2010; see also Jackson 2014: 44). The Second World War may well have been a high watermark for trust in the police in Glasgow but the complexity of police-community relations in the city cannot be over-stated.

Yet this complexity was not restricted to the urban. A concomitant analysis of social and political tensions (including the dynamics of gender) in the highlands and islands— and the ways in which they effected styles of policing—is also necessary. The importance of popular memory and genealogy in older settlements contributed to lingering perceptions amongst crofting families in some areas that the police were the lackeys of the landowners. Interviews with former officers who had served in the Western Isles in particular suggest that police involvement in the forced eviction of tenants during the clearances of the mid-nineteenth century had neither been forgotten nor forgiven. Nor had their mobilization in support of landowners during the Crofters' Wars in Skye and Lewis in the 1880s (in which crofters had protested over the shortage of grazing land). As one interviewee who served on Skye commented: 'There was always this Highland clearances … there's a wee bit of suspicion of authority. They sort of held back a bit until they really got to know you. You had to gain their confidence. But there was always this cloud'.[19] Some rural officers cultivated contacts with the factors (who ran the estates for the landlords) and they often benefited from this: 'the landowners were friendly towards us and always would give us fishing permission, here there and everywhere'.[20] Undoubtedly landowners continued to expect the loyalty of the police with regards to poaching and trespass into the mid-twentieth. Yet for crofters and other local people the attitude that salmon poaching from the estates was 'social' rather than 'real crime' and hence a matter to be concealed if not condoned, lingered on:

It was an age-old tradition that they were poorer people and they saw the fish going past in their nets in the sea or in the lochs or in the rivers. They thought, and they'd [been] brought up by their forefathers before them, that they were entitled to the fish. Because who did they belong to? … The estates had ghillies and stuff but, really, the police had to police it under the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries (Scotland) Act.[21]

The police themselves would not always be drawn: 'if someone complained that someone was working a monofilament net for catching cold iron – salmon – you'd have to do something. But it's not a thing you would chase after'.[22] Highland officers like those in urban areas were drawn from

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[19] Interview Transcript 36.
[20] Interview Transcript 37.
[21] Interview Transcript 40.
[22] Interview Transcript 30.

working-class (or similar agrarian) backgrounds but were employed to uphold the protection of property. Similar tensions between plebeian values and the rule of law were expressed in memoirs produced by police officers with regard to the theft of coal from Lanarkshire pits in the 1940s, seen as a necessary part of an economy of makeshift (Muncie 1979: 29). Interestingly Glasgow officers had no such qualms about arresting men for street-betting, which they argued obstructed footpaths, encouraged rough behaviour and upset household economies when much-needed earnings were gambled away (Muncie 1979: 18; McNee 1983: 40).

In the highland counties there was a clear divide between the 'law-abiding' settled population and itinerant 'outsiders', who, across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries largely consisted of transient male populations moving into the area for work as a result of industrialization. These included 'navvies' involved in rail and then road-building projects, the construction of hydro-electric schemes and aluminium industries, and the influx of a male labour force associated with Dounreay nuclear power development in Caithness (from 1954) and the development of the oil industry. It also included the large number of military personnel stationed in the Highlands or moving through it in the First and Second World Wars (although this will not be discussed in depth here). In effect the police, embedded within the older shrinking residential settlements, were policing a transient male population (who were outside the ties and checks of familial structures) on behalf of a settled population that was concerned about external threats. First published in 1913, Patrick Macgill's semi-autobiographical novel, Children of the Dead End described the outcast status of the Irish 'navvy' on the tramp in rural Scotland: 'The children hide behind their mother's petticoats when they see us coming, frightened to death of the awful navvy man who carries away naughty children, and never lets them back to their mothers again' (Macgill 1999: 166).

The living conditions of the migrant labourer, sleeping in sub-standard dormitories in which beds were shared between day and night shift workers (and thus constantly occupied), seems to have changed remarkably little by the 1950s from Macgill's day. Moreover, interviews with former officers make it clear that a very different style of policing was reserved for the male labour-camp workforce:

> So I had two types of policing. I had these very tough men, who lived a very sparse and very hard existence building these things on the one hand. I had a local, domestic population, who were quite couthy and quite gentle on the other hand. So I found very quickly that I really had to vary how I did my job with each …. I would be very gentle with my own population whether it be a domestic dispute or, perhaps, a neighbourly dispute.[23]

> We were hit out of the blue by hundreds and hundreds of workers who didn't necessarily behave themselves at night… there were lock-ups, nine or ten people locked up every night… it was just a huge shock in everybody's system when the industry [aluminium smelter] came.[24]

> I remember the first crowd of Irish labourers who arrived at the railway station to start work there [Dounreay], the very first. We went up and looked at them. My word, what a tough-looking crowd they were. Very nice blokes but mercy, they were tough. They were taken out there and I remember their first pay day. A whole mob of them in the town in their working clothes, and they in with money and they were…well, the cells were full.[25]

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[23] Interview Transcript 26.
[24] Interview Transcript 37.
[25] Interview Transcript 30.

> They'd fight over anything; fight in the billets or fight, even in the bar …it was quite rough, yes at times. It was the only time I ever drew my baton in 30 years….[26]

The interviews clarify that a 'gentle' and diffusive approach was used with the settled population and that differing tactics were needed with the male labour force. While this was characterized as 'tough' and might entail physical force, officers needed to be aware there may not be back-up and that non-confrontational tactics were still necessary. Thus, the relationship between masculinity and policing styles played out very differently in the highland counties compared to Glasgow.

It has been argued that the establishment of county police forces in nineteenth-century Scotland was largely a response to concerns about vagrancy in rural areas (Carson and Idzikowska 1989). Well into the twentieth century, station occurrence books demonstrate that the completion of the biannual 'vagrancy census' (a head count of all vagrants after full search had been made in the area) was part of the cycle of duties of the village constable (although very few in fact were located through this process). Station occurrence books suggest that 'tramps', 'hawkers' and 'tinkers' were scapegoated as thieves and arsonists in the early twentieth century. For example, after a hay stack was destroyed by fire near the village of Ardersier, Inverness-shire, in March 1923, it was recorded there was no trace of 'tramps or suspicious persons having been about'; when clothes were stolen from a washing line in November suspicion fell on 'a man of the hawker stamp' who had been asking if he could borrow old clothes for his wife.[27] Recent studies of rural crime and policing have highlighted how travellers have been constructed as 'folk-devils' within rural societies, a situation that was exacerbated by the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, which tightened the laws of trespass (Sibley 1995; Mawby and Yarwood 2011). In Scotland, the term 'tinker' was used widely to refer to gypsy-travellers. There was undoubtedly some romanticism connected to the gypsy-traveller community in the years before the Second World War, and its members often performed an important economic function as pedlars and traders. Nevertheless, they were accorded increasingly 'little legitimacy in rural space' (Halfacree 2011: 129). On Skye in 1923, the Dunvegan police constable received reports from a crofter that 'tinkers' were camped on common grazing and 'that as he had a quantity of peat in the vicinity of said camps, he wished the tinkers removed by the police'. The group (nine adults and ten children) was warned by the officer and agreed to move on when the stormy weather had cleared, suggesting that a compromise solution was reached.[28] By the 1950s occurrence books for other areas of Inverness county show that 'tinkers' who were known to be scrap-metal dealers were regularly visited by police in the search for stolen goods. One church minister wrote in 1965 about social attitudes in his Inverness-shire parish: 'The owners of "basket" caravans and dealers in floorcloth were frequent summer visitors … [but] the few tinkers who remain have degenerated into beggars, with a decreasing number of housewives having compassion upon them' (Darroch 1985: 211). Always separate from and viewed as outsiders by the settled community, gypsy-travellers were stigmatized as they struggled to adapt economically. For the most part, gypsy-travellers were viewed with suspicion by the settled population when items went missing. Some police officers attempted to mediate the distrust that arose between the two groups: one officer interviewed spoke with pride of learning to speak the 'tinker's' cant and of befriending and assisting travellers.[29] Yet those referred to as 'tinkers' were easy suspects who were routinely visited in relation to enquiries regarding property.

In highland counties, therefore, just as in urban Glasgow, 'communities' should be viewed as multiple and heterogeneous across the twentieth century. Policing tended to take place on behalf of and in

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[26] Interview Transcript 22.
[27] Highland Archives, Inverness, R91/D/B/5/1/4.
[28] Highland Archives, Portree, R91/D/D/5/3/2.
[29] Interview Transcript 30.

the interests of the settled population, amongst whom officers were stationed. The police were involved in a careful balancing of their own insider/outsider status but the drawing of this line affected whose interests were represented. The ability of many police officers to gain acceptance in rural areas, as well as the dispersed nature of both the population and police presence, also facilitated the recruitment and use of Special Constables (police volunteers) by the 1960s (see also Gill and Mawby 1990). It is noteworthy that former Glasgow City officers described attitudes towards the Special Constables with whom they sometimes served as overwhelmingly negative ('not proper police') while those who served in Highland counties saw them as an invaluable support. Arguably, those who worked as village constables were more likely to see being a police officer as a very particular job or role amongst that of others within a wider settled community. In urban areas (such as Glasgow), policing was a group identity that was constructed in opposition to 'the policed' (with the latter categorized as either the 'public' or 'neds') as ethnographic work has established (Young 1991).

Regionalization and Technological Change: The 1970s

Table 1 does not, of course, adequately encompass the dynamics of technological and social change across time. The variables that form its contents have been frozen to indicate a predominant type (although our commentary has sought to suggest ways in which the precise co-ordinates were in constant flux). The pace of technological change (including the rise of auto-mobility and the communications revolution) was most keenly felt in the 1980s and 1990s, although key moments were experienced earlier. Interviews with former highlands officers suggest that the potential for a close (insider) relationship with the settled community was most compromised by the introduction of the drink driving limit and the road-side breathalyser in 1967. The enforcement of legislation relating to motor offences had, from the 1930s, brought the police into contact with a new group of 'offenders' (the middle classes and the otherwise 'lawabiding') who had previously escaped scrutiny (Emsley 1993). In rural areas the drink-driving clamp-down from the late 1960s had a similar effect in terms of an ordinary 'law-abiding' settled population. Given concerns about serious accidents and fatalities caused by drink-driving, the legislation was not something around which officers were able to exercise discretion. As one officer commented: 'Starting to breathalyse drunk drivers: that was extremely unpopular, I suspect. It was never, that sort of information was never fed back to you, but you got inkling'.[30] Another stated: 'At one time nobody ever reported a drunk-driver. In my early days it was just rife … but if you did somebody in the early days for it, you were a sod of a cop'.[31] In the quest to reform behaviours and cultural practices that were widespread amongst local communities (however dangerous), the police were firmly identified as being on the side of the centralizing state.

Table 2 aims to chart shifts in the factors that shaped the police-community dynamic in the highlands and islands by the 1980s, as well as their effects. Based on our interviews it also accords to some extent with Young's ethnographic work on a rural force in England which charted the rise of reactive policing from great distances and the central imposition of 'community' initiatives in place of informal ties and the use of discretion (Young 1993). The older focus on settlements (as nodes of communication through which individual officers were embedded within networks and localities) was replaced with a focus on the policing of highways as vectors for movement of traffic (and indeed criminality). The opening up of tourism from the 1960s, and attempts to encourage resettlement created a more fluid population. With the consolidation of the county constabularies of the highlands and islands into Northern Constabulary after 1975 (regionalization), greater specialization and

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[30] Interview Transcript 26.
[31] Interview Transcript 37.

professionalization was possible. Nevertheless, it remained the case that the role of the 'village constable' continued much as previously into the late twentieth century, particularly in some of the more remote island settlements.

Table 2 Changes in highland counties by the late twentieth century

	Highland counties c. 1900-1960	Highland counties c.1970<
Factors		
Population	Depopulation	slow growth
Communities	Older closed settlements	Fluid and more open
Police presence (geography)	Embedded – key node	Coverage of large areas; trunk roads
Police role	Generalist Admin/advice/service/communication	Generalist supported by specialist
Relationships and networks	Individualised and interpersonal	Professionalised
Partnerships	Informal	Becoming more formal
Outcomes		
Police discretion	High level of autonomy	Discretion in some aspects but increasingly procedural
Police authority and legitimacy	Positional status / deference	Professional

In many respects 'local' police officers continued to be generalists (often covering large distances) but were now supported by a range of specialist units to provide technical back-up; they were thus less isolated than previously. Moreover the development of specialism and professionalization within the larger police district created career development opportunities that for many made policing a more attractive occupation. Interviews with police officers who served in the highland and island areas that became Northern Constabulary thus present its creation as optimizing the benefits of both discretionary policing and professionalization (in combining both). For those who served in the more rural areas of what became the new Strathclyde Police after 1975 (e.g. Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and Argyllshire), however, the experience was of a negative pull towards bureaucratization (seen in terms of 'one size fits all') as the model that had been crafted for Glasgow City was effectively rolled out everywhere.

Table 3: Strengths and weakness of earlier model of policing for building trust and legitimacy (highland counties)

	Early twentieth century	Late twentieth century
Strengths	Embeddedness: Potential for deep qualitative relationships based on mutual trust	High levels of professional training
	Role as generalist: builds up trust	Emphasis on structures and procedures: impartiality
	Discretion: response is personalised and bespoke to meet individual need	Improvement in resources and working conditions (resilience)

weaknesses	Discretion: too dependent on character and personality	Emphasis on structures and procedures: less flexibility
	Embeddedness: potential to be viewed as partisan and partial	Less embedded; emphasis on coverage/movement; loss of social familiarity and local knowledge
	Lack of professional training	
	Lack of specialist knowledge	

Conclusions

This article has suggested that the history of the relationship between police and community in twentieth century Scotland is far from a uniform or linear narrative through which already close links were simply strengthened. Relationships between police officers and communities were diverse and complex, shaped by a range of local cultural, social and economic factors. In Glasgow a policing style that relied on physical force was forged and replicated in a city where there were high levels of social and political conflict. At best, life was tough and policing was tough too. It is significant that the one former policewoman interviewed, who served in the west of Scotland for four years in the mid-1950s commented that: 'We [women officers] were certainly well-respected, and I think on some occasions, we were more trusted. Especially wives and mothers felt they could talk to us if they were having problems with their family'. [32] Their numbers as we have seen remained extremely low in the years before integration. The styling of a hyper-masculine model of policing was ultimately limited in its ability to build trust across social groups and these comments simply reinforce arguments about the importance of diversity (including the representation of women) in policing.

In the case of the village constable (highland counties), a more complex picture emerges in any assessment of strengths and weaknesses for building trust and legitimacy (see Table 3). High levels of autonomy and discretion could be productive, leading to the creation of deep qualitative relationships, but these were also highly dependent on the individual and could lead to ineffective policing (from the perspectives of both the police authority and the local community) given the remoteness of many rural police stations. As other studies have shown, the effectiveness of discretion is optimized if it is combined with the structures of professional training and supportive line management as well as processes for the selection and retention of motivated and committed individuals (Rosenbaum 1994; Fielding 2002). Arguably, structures that enable the careful balancing of discretion and procedure have only become meaningful and possible in rural areas as a result of the communications revolution of the late twentieth century. Low morale was common amongst officers in the first half of the twentieth century on account of low pay that was accentuated in highland areas by the severely substandard accommodation in which village constables lived with their families in old, damp and leaking police houses; 'modern' conveniences of electricity and plumbed bathrooms were slow to arrive because of restricted police budgets.[33] There were few opportunities for promotion in these small constabularies and little in the way of reward for long service other than the police pension. The high levels of satisfaction that officers reported in relation to the setting up of Northern Constabulary after 1975 were a result of improved resources (and working conditions) that resulted from economies of scale that made policing more resilient.

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[32] Interview Transcript 37.

[33] Highland Archives, Inverness, R91/D/10 Inverness Constabulary police station maintenance files.

This study has also shown that different policing styles were delivered in highland areas in relation to 'insider' and 'outsider' communities in the first half of the twentieth century. Policing tended to take place on behalf of the settled population whose values it shared (although some officers also attempted to use discretion to dilute the demands of the settled majority with regards to gypsy-travellers). As other studies have argued, recognition of cultural difference is needed to engage and encourage dialogue across multiple social groups or plural communities (Crawford 1995; Topping 2008). The geographical embeddedness of the rural officer within his locality had the potential to optimize the securing of trust and legitimacy amongst the settled community, since it maintained police visibility and enabled both social familiarity and the sharing of local knowledge. To deliver effective and impartial policing, however, a certain level of intimacy had to be balanced with the performance of authority. The positive aspects of embeddedness may not be easily applied to vastly differing and complex current contexts, but the principles that it suggests are worthy of scrutiny. The embeddedness of the early model was physical and geographical, and was also a characteristic that was possessed by the police officer. In a current context in which (plural) communities may be diasporic or virtual, the social proximity, familiarity and knowledge that it implies need not necessarily be a characteristic of police officers themselves, but might be maintained through the agency of volunteers, community representatives or other civilian personnel.

The official rhetoric associated with Police Scotland has continued to emphasize the need to 'keep policing local'.[34] Yet concerns emerged amongst rural populations in 2014 that the closure of counters in small police stations (Scottish Borders region) and the presence of armed units (Highland region) as part of a 'one-size fits all' approach were eroding the ability of police officers to respond to the needs of local communities (Henry and Fyfe 2015; Terpstra and Fyfe 2015). This article has highlighted the heterogeneity and complexity of relationships between police and diverse communities within the historical account (and thus across time) in Scotland. In so doing it suggests that, however the institution of police is formally structured, localized differences that are cultural, social and economic need to be acknowledged in the operational delivery of policing.

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[34] Police Scotland, Annual Police Plan 2014/15 (2014), http://www.scotland.police.uk/assets/pdf/138327/150739/policescot-landannualpoliceplan2014-15?view=Standard (accessed 6 September 2014), 4.

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