A Study in Blue: Exploring the relationship between the police and academia

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Declaration

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied within this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award. 44,347 words.

Signed:

Ben Honey

Date:
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The last four years have required the unconditional support from my family, the wise counsel of my supervisors, Dr. Jane Creaton and Dr. Phil Clements, the supportive fellowship of my fellow doctoral students and the professional support of many members of the police and academic communities. To all, you have my sincere thanks.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACPO ……………..Association of Chief Police Officers
APP………………..Authorised Professional Practice
BME………………..Black or Minority Ethnic
CKP………………..Certificate of Knowledge in Policing
CPD ………………..Continuing Professional Development
HMIC……………….Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of the Constabularies
IPCC……………….Independent Police Complaints Commission
LGBT……………….Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual and Transgender
MOPAC…………….Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime
MPS………………..Metropolitan Police Service
NCALT……………National Centre for Applied Learning Technologies
NIM………………..National Intelligence Model
NPIA……………….National Policing Improvement Agency
NPM……………….New Public Management
POLKA……………Police On-Line Knowledge Area
SARA……………….Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment
SEPB ………………Society of Evidence Based Policing
SRAU……………….Strategic Research and Analysis Unit
SOP………………..Standard Operating Procedure
RCT………………..Randomised Control Trial
Many research papers have been presented by academics regarding their problematic experiences of working with the police. However, no comprehensive study has been conducted which explores the perceptions of the police towards the academic community. This study intends to fill this gap by exploring this alternative perspective. It is a qualitative study conducted between 2012 and 2014 wherein members from each rank from Commissioner to Constable in the Metropolitan Police Service were interviewed. In addition, interviews with academics in the current or past employ of the police and a focus group of middle managers were held. The resultant data provided strong thematic patterns.

The study found that although some excellent partnership work between police and academia has been conducted, their respective operational and organisational cultures remained a barrier. Within the police service, a difference in working practices, a changing demography, low educational standards and a preference for tacit knowledge present as tangible barriers. The police perceived the academic community to be internally focused, taking too long to produce unintelligible research, which often lacked utility in regards to operational solutions, accompanied by an unhelpful desire to publish their findings. The meta-themes of power, social identity and managerialism were identified as being key influential factors in the reluctance of the police to fully embrace the benefits of academic research. This study concludes with implications for practice involving formative training and ongoing development in academic research, the need for a bespoke research methodology which reflects the dynamic environment in which the police operate, a new formal relationship wherein trust is engendered by a shared pragmatism and the pivotal role of the College of Policing in supporting the concept of evidence based policing.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis begins with a short narrative to highlight my personal experiences and subsequent motivations to engage with this complex subject. Having introduced the research aims, it proceeds with a review of the relevant history of research about the police. It then assesses the current research environment, explains the conceptual framework and concludes with an explanation of the structure of the thesis.

In 2001, I was a Police Inspector working in Acton, a semi-inner policing area to the west of London. The South Acton Estate was a notorious area of high rise 1960s tower blocks with high crime, significant social deprivation and low public confidence. Street crime, involving drugs and violence typified the reputation of this area, which was well deserved. The policy of the local police was never to patrol alone and to inform the police control room when entering or leaving the estate. It was fast becoming a no-go zone, which in policing and political terms, was extremely taboo and a symbol of failure. Crime in this area formed a clear and undesirable proportion of the Borough crime statistics. The Borough Commander chose me, in his words to, “get it sorted”. I was provided with a team of police officers and a calendar year to achieve a noticeable crime reduction. In a chance encounter with an academic from a renowned London university, the Borough Commander suggested that the project was evaluated by the university with regards to my policing tactics and the overall effectiveness of the project.

So began a year of considerable frustration, tension and a lack of shared expectations. Meeting with the university on a monthly basis, I was required to produce an array of quantitative data to serve the new academic research requirements. I had no additional staff to collect the data, no collation methods for these requests, no skill in presenting them in the required format, and to be honest, no particular interest. This was accompanied each month by a rather challenging in-depth interview regarding my policing tactics.
My initial failure to understand and thus adapt to this regime caused particular friction. A shared huffing, puffing and tutting typified this monthly meeting. It was only when, by means of an extensive search, I managed to find an officer who could understand Microsoft Excel and had some numerical aptitude, that I could in some way meet the requirements of my somewhat robust and critical university friend.

Our relationship improved throughout the year as we adapted our behaviours. I endeavoured to understand her work and the reasons behind her unintelligible expectations. She began to treat me both as a police officer and as a student, appreciating the complexity and danger of my job and teaching me the basics of research methodology by explaining, in lay terms, the rationale behind her requests. We both became more personable and I believe she learned that it was important to demonstrate deeper understanding of my work and to get to know me as a person in order to elicit my additional effort. We concluded on good terms with a shared respect for each other and a greater understanding of each other’s worlds.

The project came to an end, crime was reduced by 30% and the team was withdrawn. The university produced an evaluation report with recommendations, which intended to inform future policing operations. It was provided to the Borough Commander who confined it to his bottom drawer, never to be seen again. A few months later, crime returned and another team was formed.

This story was one of a number of personal experiences in my 30 year police career during which I observed considerable tensions between the police and academic communities and a scarcity in the use of academic research. My initial motivation for this study was borne out of two frustrations. The first reason was the opportunities I had missed because I lacked sufficient awareness of the beneficial use of academic research when it was clearly available to me. The second reason was the enduring reluctance of the police to engage with academic research, whether presented to the organisation by internal staff or from external academics.
As my own academic learning increased through my first and masters’ degrees, so did my understanding of the potential benefit of good academic research in the policing environment. But there was also a disappointment that both officers with academic skills and the external academic community were not being listened to. I wanted to find out why this was, as the broader implications for professional practice were significant. If I could shine some light on what it was that prevented greater productive working relationships between the police and academic communities, then practical solutions could be proposed to address these barriers. As a consequence, this research may assist both these communities to more fully realise the benefits of implementing academic research in the operational policing environment. As will be expanded upon later, I discovered that a number of academics had written about the difficulties of researching the police, but there were few who had attempted to gather and assess the views of serving police officers regarding their engagement with academic research and the academic community. Only by unearthing their perceptions could more effective implications for practice and recommendations be made.

1.1 Research Aims
The study has three aims:

1. To investigate the relationship between the police and academic communities.
2. To identify and analyse the factors which impact upon the use of academic research within the police service.
3. To provide new knowledge which may enable academic research to be used more effectively within the police service.

1.2 Research about the police
This section deliberates upon the relationship between the police and academic research from the post-war period. The social and political history of the police service is inextricably linked with the type of academic research which has accompanied it. Although the topic is of considerable breadth it is important to review aspects of this history. This is because it provides a
backdrop as to why the police and academic communities may hold their respective positions and which also offers some context by describing the current research environment.

Gravelle and Rogers propose that policing is both a “dynamic and sensitive area for research” (2004, p.1). They contend that this is due to three main reasons, the first reason being the overt and distinctive power which the state imparts to the police service. The second reason is the challenge created by an idiosyncratic policing culture. The last reason is the effect of a political backdrop upon the operational business of policing which includes operating in an environment of finite resources and financial restrictions.

Police research originates from a variety of sources. Reiner (2010) identifies four broad categories:

1. Academic research undertaken primarily by universities within law, sociology and the criminal justice disciplines.
2. Official police research conducted by government departments, primarily the Home Office research departments such as the Home Office Police Research Group. Also research which was internally conducted and commissioned by the police either nationally, for example by the Research and Analysis Unit within the College of Policing, or locally, by individual force research groups such as the Strategic Research and Analysis Unit (SRAU) in the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS).
3. Think tanks and independent research organisations which include government funded groups such as the Economic and Social Research Council or those funded through charitable institutions such as the Nuffield Trust and the Police Foundation. Within this categorisation, sit pressure groups which remain mostly focused upon police accountability. Liberty and the Equality and Human Rights Commission serve as relevant examples.
4. Lastly, the work of journalists. Reiner considers that “the hallmark of much of the best journalistic studies has been the ability to probe aspects of police malpractice that academics have seldom dealt with” (2010, p.11).
But as Caless states, “the news media present the police in particular ways and are the primary sources for most people’s perceptions of the police, including their efficiency and legitimacy” (2011, p. 224).

Gravelle and Rogers further suggest private enterprise as a location of increasing research, driven by the increase in private security firms “providing services that were traditionally provided by the police” (2014, p.6).

**Post-war research context**

A number of authors have researched the social history of the police service and report upon their relationship with the public. Storch and Engels (1975), Gatrell (1980) and Ignatieff (1981), comment upon the resentment of the increasing visible authority over the population by punitive measures of social control. At one point the police were colloquially named as the “the blue locusts” (Storch and Engels,1975). More recently, a number of studies have narrated a post war history of the relationship between police and academic research (Weatheritt, 1989, Loftus, 2009, Reiner, 2010, Cockroft, 2012) which arguably commences with a partial lull in antagonism towards the police.

**1950s: Respect.** There was considerable public and governmental support for the British police in the immediate post-war Britain. The police held a symbolic role of helping to win the peace and as they seemed to do little to raise public controversy, there was no particular interest in the police service as a subject of academic research or political opportunity for the Conservative government or Labour opposition. As Weatheritt (1989) suggests, academic publications in the 1950s, such as those by Gorer (1955), were merely narrative descriptions of police work from a police perspective and “largely celebratory, which was reflected in the high degree of political census” (Weatheritt, 1989, p.xii). These works were informative but did not, and were not, intended to provide any critique, nor intended to affect cultural or structural change to the business of policing. The seminal work by Michael Banton, The Policeman in the Community, published in 1964, was the first notable sociological research into the police, not from a
critical outlook, but from one which sought a social definition of the policing role and the conflicts therein.

1960s: Critique. With growing reports of inefficiency, fraud and incompetence within the ranks of the police service, the halcyon days of the 1950s, during which police legitimacy and support which was almost universal in public discourse, began to decline. This deterioration brought fuel to the flames of critical criminologists, such as Jock Young (1973), Stan Cohen (1972), and Jerome Skolnick (1966), who had more radical left wing political ideologies and were prepared to contest the power of government. As explored further in chapter two, research is conducted for a variety of purposes (Correa, 2013). However, Reiner (2002) suggests that this particular period of academic research, viewed from a critical and reformist perspective, was designed to expose organisational failings. It can therefore be suggested that academic research of the police service originated within the critical research tradition which, with its broad structuralist approach, sought to find fault in governmental arrangements. As Bradley and Nixon observe;

As the police became caught up in fierce and often bitterly politically contested issues such as civil rights, race relations, anti-war protests, and industrial conflict, it was predictable that they would attract scholarly attention (2009, p.426).

The emergence of critical research about the police in the United States during the 1960’s was influential for criminologists in Britain. Cockroft considered that during this period, police research was increasingly influenced by labelling theory which “shifted attention away from those who broke the criminal law to those who enforced it, placing police research in the United States at the centre of legal, social and theoretical debates” (2012, p.2012). Stimulated by civil unrest and the civil rights agenda, authors such as Jerome Skolnick (1966) began to explore the working life of police officers, which he considered was unique and risk filled, in which their accompanying symbolic role and considerable authority created both alienation and social isolation. Another seminal author operating in the United States in the 1960’s was William Westley who was pioneering in his exploration of police identity and how it translated into policing practice. Akin
to Skolnick’s “working personality” of a police officer (1966, p.42). Westley found a conformity in the homogenous nature of the police culture which was re-enforced throughout their service through the process of socialisation and a through the prevailing nature of the dominant culture. He sought to understand the relationship between social forces and the police organisation:

The tension between order and change corrodes and destroys many people and their ways, while blowing life into others. It has a vortex of anxiety, excitement, fear, and perhaps of madness. In the center of this vortex, one finds the police (Westley, 1970, p. 192).

1970s: Conflict. The 1970s was a decade which Weatheritt (1989), defined as one of conflict. The legitimacy of the police was diminishing and a new period of accountability, and hence opportunities, for academic research emerged. Revelations of police corruption, increasing crime rates and low detection rates, accompanied by allegations of racism and targeted policing against the black community, began to alter the views of traditional supporters of the police and encouraged increased media attention (Holdaway, 1977, Mark, 1978, Cohen, 1979). The entrenchment of political battle lines played out on the streets of London at the Southall and Notting Hill riots brought a new use of paramilitary force to the policing of public disorder. Cockroft (2012, p.104) suggests that the increasing use of the police to control public protests and demonstrations, with the associated acts of physicality, was symbolically important because it engendered greater hostility towards the police and by default, towards the government within whose control they operated.

Reiner observes that many works during this period by authors such as Brogden, Jefferson, Grimshaw, Hall and Scraton were explicitly Marxist (2012, p.12) and many others, including those originating from Home Office research, criticised the presence of racial discrimination. Reiner however proposes that:
Uniting all the various causes of concern and controversy was a critique of the inadequacy of existing mechanisms for holding the police to account, whether as individuals, through the complaints process or the courts, or force policy and operations as a whole through the institutions of police governance.

1980s: Politics. It could be considered that during the 1980s, the study of police culture began to be recognised by academics as a new territory of fruitful enquiry, naturally developing into a more sociological interpretation of policing culture. It remains to this day, an enduring topic of academic research (Loftus, 2009, Reiner, 2010, Cockroft, 2012, Charman, 2014). Cockroft however, considered the diversification of research about the police during this period which was “fundamentally rooted in the need for research in to specific policy issues and was generally funded by the police or other state agencies and departments” (2012, p.105).

During the 1980s, the green shoots of collaboration between the police and the academic community began to appear. This was assisted by the Home Office programme of sponsoring academic research, which allowed academics access to the police service and their data. The damning findings of the public inquiry after the Brixton riots by Lord Scarman in 1981 left the Metropolitan Police Service battered and bruised, both physically and organisationally. This was a catalyst for the police service to enter into a long period of reform.

The 1980s was a very dynamic decade for police research and it was the decade when policing became party political. The tension between the right wing ideology of crime control and the left wing ideology of due process, dominated the political landscape (Garland, 2002, Sanders, 1997). The disempowerment of the trade union movement, the growth of neighbourhood watch schemes, informed by Wilson and Kelling's (1982) 'broken windows theory', and the increase in police powers, demonstrated most effectively used in the miners' strike of 1986, provided a fruitful environment for critical police research. Margaret Thatcher pursued a new right realist philosophy of crime control which challenged the collective societal responsibility of the Keynesian welfare state, which although had some right wing support, was
traditionally favoured by the left. Her statement in 1987 stating “there is no such thing as society” (Thatcher, 1987) was being supported with policies which pursued the notions of authority, individualism and self-responsibility. The penal theories of retribution and deterrence, which supported the punitive belief of a ‘prison works’ philosophy, was exemplified by stronger powers of imprisonment which were granted to the courts.

With the raised political influence in policing, greater accountability was being generated by the government’s policy of administrative criminology, focused more upon the analysis of crime performance and driven by the introduction of New Public Management practices. Allied with these practices, the Audit Commission for England and Wales commenced its work in 1988 with a bias towards police financing and budget allocation.

The 1990s: Reform. The 1990s witnessed the police service reach out externally to assist with their growing need to reform. They did not however consult broadly with academia, but with more commercially oriented organisations. And so saw the rise of the employment of consultants. The MPS serves as an example, for which substantial financial resources were invested in advertising companies such as Saatchi and Saatchi and Wolf Olins, who were commissioned to provide a refreshed branding of the police service. An array of smaller consultant companies were employed to advise upon projects large and small, from the design of local training curricula to larger projects such as leadership development, change management and diversity programmes. Few of these consultants used a robust academic methodology, but applied their knowledge, drawn from experience of working within the ambiguous fields of business consultancy, change management and leadership development. This relationship remains, when at the time of writing, the MPS are employing American consultants to facilitate a large organisational change programme, intended to increase professionalism within the MPS.

The 1990s also saw an increasing number of police and academic partnerships, helped in part by Home Office sponsorship, which produced the prolific Research and Analysis series of publications. Jones, Newburn and
Smith (1994) extol the success of academic work in the fields of crime prevention, policing responses to crimes against women and children, the use of civilians in the police service and the influence of community representatives in police policymaking. Academic research during this period also had a noticeable impact in the fields of deaths in custody (Norfolk, 1998), domestic violence (Stanko, 2001), and race relations (Bowling and Foster, 2002). It may however be a consideration to reflect upon the term ‘reform’ as for some carries with it the implication of improvement whilst for others, especially with the police service, an implication of wrongdoing that requires rectification.

The 2000s: Partnership. Beginning with the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, the ideology of partnership working during the 2000s became a statutory responsibility across the public sector and with it, more examples of police and academic collaboration began to appear. Partnership with other statutory agencies was a focus of the influential Policing for London Report (Fitzgerald, Hough, Joseph, and Qureshi). Published in 2002, the research concluded that managerialist pressures, information sharing and cultural differences between partner agencies presented as obstacles in effective partnership working (p.145). The study also reported upon a policing service which faced a number of difficulties; the public desire for re-assurance in an ever more diverse country, the pressure of growing political influence and the perverse effects of a quantitative performance focused environment. Fitzgerald et al considered that “this process of development needs to draw on authoritative research to ensure that what is regarded as best practice actually delivers the desired outcomes” (p.141).

However, work in the field of youth justice and anti-social behaviour began to increase. This was assisted by a greater volume and diversity of senior officers who, as academics themselves, had a more optimistic disposition to external research. In 2003, the MPS created the Strategic Research and Analysis Unit to co-ordinate external research into crime, policing and police practices and also to conduct high-level evidence based research according to policing priorities (Dawson and Williams, 2009). Speaking in 2010, Betsy Stanko, the appointed head of the SRAU, proposed that it:
…..has led to a massive change in the way that police deal with domestic abuse. Police take domestic violence seriously, far more seriously than they did ten years ago, let alone thirty years ago when I first started the work. Another example of social science research having an impact is in the area of confidence in policing, which is now a strategic priority, and the Met’s approach to improving people’s confidence is entirely wrapped around the research unit’s work (2010, p.1).

It can be argued that policing reforms have for the most part provided increased influence for the Home Office and less local autonomy to police services. However, Sharp (2005) observed that “many of the reforms are taking place with little apparent understanding of the potential long-term consequences and without proper evaluation” (p.449). He regards the historical evolution of British policing as a pragmatic response to dynamic societal change rather than well researched policy based on a policing philosophy. Thus he proposes that the “results have often been very different from those that were intended” (p.450), believing that the complexity of the business of policing is not matched with the necessary foundation of evidence based research.

For some, the term reform carries with it the implication of improvement, whilst for others, especially within the police service, an implication of wrongdoing that requires rectification. Lum (2009, p.4), proposes that decreasing police legitimacy in the latter half of the last century has led to the police operating with a greater transparency. Mawby (1999) cites greater transparency as the response to an increase in media attention, whilst the effects of public inquiries such as MacPherson (1999), Morris (2004) and Leveson (2013) continue to change practice and policy around accountability, external relationships and police professionalism. Successive MPS Commissioners have led on organisational change programmes, which although still often utilising external consultants from the commercial sector, have the effect of demonstrating a desire to be more open and accessible (see table 1).
Table 1: MPS change programmes since 1972 by Commissioner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commissioner</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Programme/Book</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Mark</td>
<td>1972 – 1977</td>
<td>Anti-Corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David McNeely</td>
<td>1977 – 1982</td>
<td>Community relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Imbert</td>
<td>1987 – 1993</td>
<td>Statement of Common Purpose and Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>2000 - 2005</td>
<td>Policing Pledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ian Blair</td>
<td>2005 – 2009</td>
<td>Values Based Leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Stephenson</td>
<td>2009 - 2011</td>
<td>The 5 ‘P’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard Hogan-Howe</td>
<td>2011 - present</td>
<td>Total Professionalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Engel and Whalen (2010, p.106), propose the benefits of external research into the police service in terms of operational effectiveness, external validity and co-operative transparency, they also imply that the tradition of critical police research has left a legacy which has resulted in a shared and enduring lack of recognition for the value of police-academic partnerships. It may be for this reason that Lum suggests that from the perspective of a police decision maker “it is not unsurprising that the influences that cause much decision making both at the front line and with senior staff are not based upon academic rigour” (2009, p.3).

1.3 Conceptual Framework

Defining the conceptual framework

Miles and Huberman define a conceptual framework as “the current version of the researcher’s map of the territory being investigated” (1984, p. 33). In their comprehensive research into the nature of a conceptual framework, Trafford and Lesham suggest that conceptual frameworks are derived from three interrelated areas: “the works of writers and researchers; their own experience and observations and the act of reflecting on reading, experience and developing research assumptions”(2007,p.100).
Conceptual frameworks are individual to each study. In an inductive study, a conceptual framework may emerge as the research progresses, as opposed to that of a deductive study in which it may be a more explicit tool for data gathering and analysis. This was an inductive study so the conceptual framework developed as the research progressed. The emerging nature of the conceptual framework of this thesis accords with the technical, practical and conceptual aspects of doctoral research as described by Trafford and Lesham (see fig 1) where “doctorateness emerges for researchers as they progress ‘up’ the diagonal, coping with the different intellectual demands from description through analysis and interpretation and then to the conceptual (2007, p.102).

Developing the conceptual framework

My role as both a researcher and a police officer provided a synthesis of professional knowledge and an understanding of academic research. My professional experience, my observations of the behaviours of police decision makers, informal reading and conversations with police officers and academics provided the initial assumption that there were some barriers in the relationship between the police and academia which prevented the use of much academic research. The purpose of the research was to explore what they were and how they might be addressed. This position led to a broad exploration of the literature which identified the work of key academic writers in this field and of their experiences of working with the police service and their observation of its occupational and organisational cultures (chapters 4 &
Knowledge of the barriers between police and academia was almost exclusively derived from the academic perspective. The literature review identified that the police perception of these issues was largely missing and needed to be collected and combined with the academic viewpoint to provide a deeper understanding of the issues. From this position I considered the most effective research design options and decided upon the data collection methods of interviews and a focus group (chapter 2). Further analysis and iterative journeys back into the data and literature identified five themes of the police-academic relationship and seven themes, situated in police occupational and organisational culture (see fig 2).

Fig 2: Police occupational and organisational cultures.

Presentation of the conceptual framework
As illustrated in fig 1, analysis was conducted means of the increasing levels of the micro, the macro and the meta levels of thinking and research thus providing the doctoral requirement of contribution to knowledge and beneficial implications for practice (chapter 10). The final level of analyses completed the conceptual framework by establishing the presence of three meta-themes of power, managerialism and social identity which linked to the data (chapter 9), and which served to explain the underlying forces which maintained the barriers between the police and academic communities. The conceptual framework therefore is presented as a model (see fig 3) which illustrates the influence of the three meta-themes of power, social identity and managerialism, which in turn influence the occupational and organisational
cultures of the police service resulting in the barriers which exist between the police and academia.

Fig 3: Conceptual Framework

1.4 Thesis Structure

Chapter one introduces the research aims and looks back at the history of research about the police. The chapter also introduces the conceptual framework which underpins this research.

Chapter two explains the research methodology and methods, data analysis and some observations regarding the ethical considerations.

Chapter three situates this research in the contemporary organisational and political landscape.

Chapter four reviews explores the academic experience of working with the police.

Chapter five reviews aspects of police occupational and organisational culture.
The results are presented in three thematic chapters:

Chapter six: Results. The police perception of academia.

Chapter seven: Results. Police occupational culture.

Chapter eight. Results. Police organisational culture.

Chapter nine: Draws the results together in the discussion of a number of overarching meta-themes.

Chapter Ten concludes the thesis by proposing further research which has been identified from this research and concludes with the implications for practice and the contributions to knowledge this thesis provides.

This chapter has stated what this thesis intends to achieve and has provided the reasons why the research was conducted. To these ends, it gives a historical background into police research to assist the reader more fully understand the development of police-academic relationships which are important to this study. It has also provided a conceptual framework which explains the map of the territory that was investigated. The next chapter explains and justifies how the research was conducted.
CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces the research setting and the choice to use a qualitative research methodology employing the specific methods of interview and focus groups. It then explains my data collection and analysis methods and concludes with a reflection upon the research ethics that guided this study.

2.1 The Research Setting

This study was conducted with a range of individuals with a broad experience of policing. All of the participants had direct experience of working in the MPS. This police service was chosen for a number of reasons;

Firstly, during the period of the research, I held the rank of police Superintendent in the MPS and therefore had a good working knowledge of its structure, protocols and operating culture. My knowledge of how to navigate this large organisation allowed me to operate expeditiously as both a police officer and researcher. Secondly, it is the largest police service in England and Wales with the most diverse workload and a collective experience of the broadest range of policing scenarios. Thirdly, the policing priorities, political oversight and resource challenges are similarly experienced by the 43 constabularies in England and Wales. A further comparison can be made between some of the smaller constabularies and the larger London boroughs because of their relative size, structure and staffing levels. There are similarly organised police services in other capital cities across the world which share the same policing problems. Thus a study of this type may be of benefit to other police services who may wish to use it.

2.2 Literature Review Methodology

The scope of the literature search included identifying relevant published books and journal articles, locating mainstream media products, accessing the resources of the British Library and NPIA Library, material from the MPS
SRAU, the Scottish Institute for Policing Research, governmental output, university e-libraries and using internet search engines (e.g. Google Scholar). A number of texts were recommended during the interviews by the participants and during informal discussions with a range of academics and police officers with whom I discussed my research. The literature review served to ascertain the scope of available literature, locate my research in the existing literature, use the literature as a source of data in its own right and identify relevant individuals with whom to conduct semi-structured interviews. The literature encompasses a broad range of texts chosen because they provide an academic perspective upon the relationship between the police and academia. Many examples are taken directly from their experiences in the field, which reflects upon how both academic and policing cultures and practices may prevent meaningful research or research partnerships. The literature which identifies these barriers is both explicit, i.e. written directly about the problematic issues of research with or about the police (Gibbs, 2003, Dawson and Williams, 2009, Birzer, 2010, Rosenbaum, 2010) and implicit, taken from academic research in different areas and not primarily about police-academic relationships (Cope, 2004, Cockroft, 2012, Thomas, Gravelle and Rodgers, 2014).

The subject matter of this thesis has relevance to jurisdictions outside England and Wales. It could be argued that the idiosyncrasies of the British policing style, and associated police culture, may make comparative analysis of existing literature of limited value. However, the policing style and culture of westernised and democratised countries share many similarities. Akin to the equivalence of democratic policing arrangements, the literature which observes police and academic relationships across European, North American and Antipodean countries share remarkable similarities. Many academics who engage in research into policing have located and re-located themselves in more than one of these countries. Examples of such are; Maurice Punch in the UK and the Netherlands, Jennifer Wood in Australia, Canada and Argentina, Clifford Shearing in Canada, Australia and South Africa, Janet Chan in Hong Kong and Australia, Philip Stenning in the UK and New Zealand, Richard Ericson in the UK and Canada and David Garland in
the US and the UK. The claim for this study is therefore that it is credible to use work from such researchers, whether a UK study or one located in one of the western democratised policing countries, as similar comparators due to the value of the theoretical insights derived from the study of each country’s policing arrangements.

2.3 The Research Methodology

This study intended to assess the perceptions of three relevant groups of individuals: (i) serving police officers drawn from each rank within the MPS, (ii) academics with past or current experience of working for the police, and (iii) serving police officers who held middle management roles. Data from the first two categories was gathered by semi-structured interview with the last category forming a focus group.

The methodological focus of this study was interpretative, iterative, inductive and qualitative:

Interpretative: “An epistemological position that requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of a social action” (Bryman, 2008, p.649). This study is in part about people relating, by interview and focus groups, their subjective meanings through their experiences. It involves accessing, understanding and interpreting the narratives as they emerge.

Iterative: From the evidence presented in earlier chapters, from my own experience and from the academic literature, it is suggested that the police and academia may not work together anywhere close to their collaborative potential. The study was designed to be responsive to new data, with the flexibility to develop new insights and lines of enquiry as the semi-structured interviews were repeated and progressed.

Inductive: Moving from the specific to the general, raw data was collected and analysed by continual comparison and contrast, formulating clear links between the research aims and the data. The intent was to generate some explanatory conceptual frameworks with which to explain the data and consequently to address the research aims.
Qualitative: It was a qualitative study, based on the experiences and perceptions of the participants. Frankfort-Nachmias (2002), believes that qualitative researchers “gain an empathic understanding of societal phenomena, and they must recognise both the historical dimension of human behaviour and the subjective aspects of the human experience” (p.280). Sandelowski (2000) says “qualitative descriptive study is the method of choice when straight descriptions of phenomena are desired” (p.334). Powell and Single’s observation was pertinent in assessing the relevance of using a qualitative study. They felt that it was important to understand issues rather than statistically “enumerate their prevalence” (1996, p.399). Furthermore, Correa (2013, p.210) considered the variety of purposes for which qualitative enquiry was conducted. He distinguished between those which intended to develop a theory of the discipline under examination, those which intended to impact upon policy, those that looked towards the transformation of people and society and those which examined tensions within society. The majority of studies can claim allegiance to most, or all, of Correa’s four categories. As this research was conducted by a student who was also a police officer it was arguably duty bound to positively impact upon policy and practice.

Qualitative researchers must accept that all qualitative data are prone to partiality and piecemeal remembrance of narratives which are selected over and above others that exist in the memory of a participant. As Ravanek contends;

knowledge is always generated from, and exists within, a particular perspective and holds that people act in the world on the basis of their subjective knowledge (2013, p.439).

Thus, as people have selective memories, it was expected that the study would find many areas of both consensus and difference. My role was to translate the data into findings of academic integrity, accepting that data is processed into a version of the researcher’s truth, which is always prone to human subjectivities.
2.4 Research Methods
The data consisted of fifteen semi-structured interviews lasting between 45 minutes to an hour each and a focus group of four persons lasting 1 ½ hours. Each interview was recorded and transcribed.

Semi-structured Interviews
Semi-structured interviews were primarily chosen because of the inherent flexibility of the method for both interviewer and participant. A fundamental issue in deciding upon using the semi-structured interview as a research method was highlighted by Roulston who asked whether “the use of interview data is an appropriate means to inform the research questions posed” (2010, p.202). Having considered both formal and unstructured interview methods, I decided that the semi-structured interview was the most appropriate choice. My decision was influenced by Bryman’s observations of the flexibility in the semi-structured interview schedule, the broad manner in which questions can be posed and the potential of more insightful answers than other data collection methods (2008, p.439). Frankfort-Nachmias viewed this interview technique as “malleable enough to follow emergent leads and standardised enough to register strong patterns” (2002, p.234). Additionally, Gilbert found that the semi-structured approach was useful when dealing with sensitive topics (2001, p.126). I also wished participants to describe, in their own words, what was significant to them, rather than use the potentially restrictive categorisations within a questionnaire. This allowed for more reliability in their accounts and thus greater accuracy in the interpretation of the data.

Within the police service the word interview has a particular resonance. The usual experience of an interview for a police officer is during an investigative interview and thus accompanied by some element of coercion. There was also some potential apprehension from the participants because they knew their interview data would not be kept within police boundaries and that the transcript of the recording would be kept as a permanent record of the event. Reiner makes reference to the well documented police cultural trait of “an attitude of constant suspicion” (2010, p.121). As such, there was the potential for the answers to follow an official line with a potential reluctance to verbalise underlying attitudes. Although, as May (2008, p.137) believes, a
more general dislike by any interviewee to being taped can also be present, irrespective of occupation. However, no participant who agreed to be interviewed refused to be recorded, but the effect of being recorded on their answers cannot be measured. Robson (2002, p.68) considered the ethical issue of potentially placing a participant in a compromising situation by speaking their mind, for example by being critical of an individual or particular policy and thus being labelled as a critic. My attempts to manage this were by an affirmation of confidentiality and an assertion of the ethical code which covers this study, which states that “researchers should strive to protect the rights of those they study, their interests, sensitivities and privacy” (British Society of Criminology, 2006, p.1). The interview question schedules (see appendix 1) were approved via the ethical review process of the University of Portsmouth. As recommended by Gilbert (2001) and Bryman (2008), the interview was initially piloted upon a participant who had good academic knowledge of the construction of an interview schedule.

Many of the interview subjects were senior individuals and thus a healthy proportion would be considered by Harvey (2011) to be ‘elite’, by virtue of holding or having held positions at the top echelons of the police service. Evident throughout the interviews were three common characteristics of these very senior level participants.

Firstly, there was a difference in their management of time, typified by both quickly engaging with the business of the interview and setting time parameters for its completion. Secondly, a tendency to go off at tangents and speak expansively in connected, but not particularly relevant areas, was common and required sensitive re-direction. Finally, there was a greater volume of information within each answer in comparison to more junior participants. Harvey (2011) advises that the researcher acknowledges and accommodates the greater power and hierarchal status of the participant. I followed Harvey’s (2011, p.433) specific advice regarding communicating with elite participants; firstly, to provide comprehensive information about the study prior to the interview (appendix 2). Secondly, that “researchers must show that they have done their homework because often elites might consciously or sub-consciously challenge them on their subject and its
relevance” (p.434). I therefore researched each participant prior to the interview and I demonstrated this in the pre-amble to each interview by making reference to why they were chosen and why I considered that they were specifically able to provide considerable value to the study. Thirdly, Harvey advised researchers “to avoid asking elites closed questions because they do not like to be confined to a restricted set of answers” (p.434). This is common good practice in qualitative interviewing which was used with each participant throughout the study. All of these senior participants displayed supportive behaviour, with a number commenting upon their enjoyment of the interview with some encouraging requests to see the results of the study.

The choice of interview questions was important, as poor questions lead to poor data and hence, poor outcomes. The formulation of the interview questions was an iterative process and developed by a progressive ‘focusing down’, aligned to the research questions. They continued to be crafted and structured as the depth and breadth of the available literature was explored. A point came however whereby the initial interview schedule was completed. It was important that the questions were clear, understandable and had overt links to the research aims. They were separated into three different versions for the three groups of participants and although worded slightly differently, they all remained directly interconnected with the other interview schedules and the research aims. My use of primary questions and probe options allowed for the flexibility that a semi-structured interview allows.

Focus Group

There are numerous definitions of what a focus group is in the literature (Asbury, 1995, Morgan, 1995 and 1998, Kitzinger, 1995, Powell and Single, 1996, Krueger, 1998). Kitzinger and Barbour define them as “group discussions exploring a specific set of issues”, that are focused because the process involves some kind of collective activity (1999, p.4). Johnson also provides a simple but useful definition:

A focus group is a type of qualitative research in which small groups of people are brought together to informally discuss specific topics under the guidance of a moderator (2002, p.99).
The focus group consisted of Chief Inspectors from different departments within the MPS, all of whom were acquainted with academic research. I designed the focus group so that the participants were largely unknown to each other because I wanted to prevent familiarity, past histories or alliances which could potentially exclude other participants from their full involvement.

The choice to hold a focus group was made for three main reasons:

Firstly, I wanted to capture new data from the conversational exchanges. Focus group data differs from that of an interview due to the dialogue that takes place between the participants. Morgan states that “the interaction between group members is the source of the data” (1996, p.130). This is also supported by Gibbs, who feels that focus groups draw upon respondents’ attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way which would not be feasible using other methods (2007, p.2). Secondly, I wanted to observe competing perspectives by exploring to what extent the views were consensual, oppositional or modified as a result of the dialogue. Powell and Single see an advantage of this research method as enabling “researchers to identify quickly the full range of perspectives held by the respondents” (2000, p.504). Daymon and Holloway observe that “when participants hear about the experiences of other members of the group, they are motivated to expand on and refine their own ideas and perceptions of the topic” (2002, p.187).

Thirdly, I wished to see to what extent traditional views of police culture were evident within the dialogue. Krueger (1994) states that a positive aspect of a focus group is that what is said by the participants can be confirmed, strengthened or challenged by the participants themselves during the discussion.

Heine and Lehman (2002) considered the concept of group effect upon the reliability of focus group data in consideration of those participants who may be less assertive and find difficulty finding space to represent their views and acquiesce to a majority view. I was therefore vigilant for this occurrence, but found no evidence of acquiescence. On the contrary, I found that the focus group environment allowed members to reflect upon their answers and provide more considered responses, rather than those provided in an
interview situation, where there may exist an element of pressure to think quickly.

I was mindful of Noakes & Wincup's assertion that “the skills required of the interviewer will vary with the type of research undertaken” (2004, p.79) and also Sim’s belief that the interviewer must balance both an “active and passive role” and be “involved but not dominate or bias” (1997, p.347). Sim estimates that the activity of the facilitator should be evidenced by a 5-10% inclusion of interviewer presence in the transcript. It is not expected that a researcher who facilitates a focus group is an expert in group dynamics, but a basic understanding of the barriers that inhibit effective communication within a group was useful.

**Interview Participants**

The sample for the semi-structured interview was purposive (Bryman, 2008, p.458). My over-riding criterion for the selection of participants was that each must have a working understanding of the nature of academic research (see table 2). It was clear that by only interviewing police officers who had an understanding of academic research, there was a higher likelihood that they would be more appreciative of the topic than participants who had no knowledge of academic research. This is a logical and expected outcome of the research design as my research objectives required officers to provide an informed opinion upon a topic they knew something about. To choose participants who did not know anything about the research subject would not add value to the data or be an expeditious use of research resources both for myself and any potential participant.

The first category consisted of ex-police academics (XP). The five participants had all spent many years employed either as officers or staff members within the policing environment, and were now active academics or who work closely with academics. They were thus in a strong position to provide an informed and reflective opinion upon the research questions, both from a police and an academic perspective. In addition to the contribution of the academics interviewed in this study, the literature referenced throughout this study reflected the organisational and operational culture from within the
academic community. A gap in this field of study was the police perspective which this research intended to fill and which informed the choice of participants.

The second category was serving police officers (police participant – PP). This was a stratified and purposive sample, involving at least one interviewee from the range of Commissioner to Constable within the MPS. Each of these participants not only had direct experience of the rank at which they currently served, but of each rank at which they had previously served. Many had also served within a number of different police services in England and Wales. They were additionally chosen because they each had a knowledge or specialism pertinent to their potential exposure to academic work. For example, one managed a project concerned with the concept of professionalism and another being a Constable but also a Cambridge graduate. This sample thus had the benefit of each interviewee possessing multiple perspectives, and as Robson points out “stratification achieves an equality of representation” (2002, p.365), in this case a member of each rank in a single force, which was useful in considering the effect of seniority in the relationship to academic research.

The third category was focus group participants (FG). This group consisted of Chief Inspectors. They could be broadly described as middle management, and due to their status in the MPS talent pool, they were often employed to undertake work in excess of the expectations of their normal role on behalf of senior officers. With a foot in both camps, they were in a good position to reflect upon the elements of senior decision making and the journey of policy implementation. All had masters’ degrees which had been sponsored by the MPS and I therefore felt that they were able to comment upon their experience of the acceptance and credibility of their own academic credentials within the MPS.
Table 2: Participant rank and role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constable</td>
<td>Graduate working on borough policing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>Knowledge of evidence based policing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector</td>
<td>MSc Student working in borough policing with specialist experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Inspector</td>
<td>MSc student working on borough policing with specialist experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>Experience of high level academic study and MPS Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Superintendent</td>
<td>Experience of academia and organisational change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commander</td>
<td>Functional responsibility for MPS area commands and functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Assistant</td>
<td>Business group and functional responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner</td>
<td>Academic working part-time with the MPS on strategic projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>Ex-member of MPS responsible for large developmental facility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>Ex-ACPO officer responsible for large scale change programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>Ex-ACPO. Now working in academia and advisory position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>Ex Superintendent now full time lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus Group 1</td>
<td>Chieft Inspector – Talent Pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus Group 2</td>
<td>Chieft Inspector – Talent Pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus Group 3</td>
<td>Chieft Inspector – Talent Pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus Group 4</td>
<td>Acting Chief Inspector – Talent Pool</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My decision regarding the choice of focus group participants was assisted by Barbour and Kilzinger’s (1999) observations. The first observation was the benefits of participants who possessed the appropriate skills, qualifications and experience to contribute constructively to the group. The second observation was that the sampling was purposive. Although the participants were largely unknown to each other and came from a diversity of backgrounds, there was some connectedness due to their hierarchical position and level of responsibility. As Sims points out “the more homogenous the membership of the group, in terms of social background, level of education, knowledge and experience, the more confident group members are likely to be in voicing their views” (1997, p.348).
The focus groups provided a shared view of their personal accounts. Thus I considered a focus group to be entirely appropriate for the study as the group had a sense of shared experience and social identity which produced a substantial level of openness. The demographic profile of the participants reflected the diversity of membership of the police service. Within the nineteen participants, four participants were women. There was a broad range of age and service. From a retired officer in his late 60s who had served over 40 years to a younger officer in his early 20s who had served for three years. Two were members of cultural staff associations, three I knew to be gay and one was of colour.

2.5 Data Collection and Analysis

Audio Recording and Transcription

I decided to record each interview for two reasons:

Firstly, a verbatim account means that no data is lost. Gilbert tells us that a verbatim account of an interview means that nothing is lost and advises that “if you are conducting non-standardised interviews you will be joining in the conversation too, and without recording, you will inevitably lose data” (2001, p.135). Secondly, professional doctorates involve researchers who are also practitioners, often with time consuming and complex occupations. In appreciation of my personal time and occupational demands, the audio recording of the interviews were professionally transcribed. As Bryman states:

…in flexible design research the implications for amassing large amounts of interview data have to be thought through before you commit yourself to the data collection. It makes little sense to have mounds of data that you neither have the time or resources to deal with (2008, p.290).

When considering the transfer of transcribed data onto the written page, I was drawn to the work of McShane and Williams, (2008) who describe two methods of using quotations from participants. Firstly, a purist verbatim account including the filler noises such as ‘uums’ and ‘eers’. This is more appropriate in Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methodology wherein the author wishes to understand the narrative on a deeper level, such as used by Wingrave (2011, p.43). The second category, although not
diminishing the inherent meaning within the script, involves some cleansing of the data, some linking of statements from the same person into a single, but delineated quotation and juxtaposing similar quotes from other participants to add meaning and validity to the point being made. McShane and Williams believe that:

The advantage of this method is that it not only streamlines the material and may make it easier for the reader to get through but also makes it easier to focus on subtle points (2008, p.160).

This study uses the second method and as such, the reader will find shorter quotations than used in IPA methodology and often themed with the responses of other participants for comparative purposes.

Transcribing interview records can be particularly time consuming, but focus group transcription adds a further layer of complication when attempting to recognise and separate voices, especially where there is a prevalence of over-talking. Video recording was considered, however the inherent discomfort of police officers being recorded resulted in the preference of an audio only recording. Analysing the results of the focus groups was not as straightforward as the interviews and required more time in subsequently theming the answers. It had the same requirement to code, categorise and theme the responses but required additional analysis of the interaction and developing dialogue between the participants. Macleod-Clark, Maben and Jones discuss the uniqueness of focus groups as a data collection method:

Focus groups are different to other methods of data collection, and it is important to maintain a sense of the whole group within the analysis (1996, p.150).

Macleod-Clark et al also consider the difficulty in presenting the data and recommend that examples of discourse should be provided rather than just single comments (1996, p.151). Reed and Payton (1997) describe these as sequences of discussion which are used by the researcher to demonstrate how the discussion evolves as the participant’s views are revised during the dialogue. Therefore analysis of developing dialogue is demonstrated within this study.
Data Analysis

My position as a police officer and researcher was relevant when managing my response to the data. Jackson and Mazzei consider qualitative research to be an iterative process which requires due responsiveness to the data in order to reveal the codes and categories which emerge:

It is a constant, continuous process of making and unmaking….so to see it at work, we have to ask not only how things are connected but also what territory is claimed in that connection (2013, p.262).

The transcribed data from the interviews and the focus group was firstly subjected to analysis which Frankfort-Nachmias describes as “any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of a message” (2002, p. 324). I was however aware of the views of Jackson and Mazzei (2013) who warn against simplistic mechanistic coding of data which “do little to critique the complexities of social life” and which result in “transparent narratives” (p.261). I used mind map technology which enabled me to create maps containing the emerging thematic data sets, as well as retaining the original maps attributed to each participant (see appendix eight for a comprehensive description of digital mind-mapping techniques used in this research). The selection of data was guided by Robson (2002) who advised that when deciding upon the recording unit, whether it be a word, phrase or idea, the researcher must always start with the research question as a guide. As I used inductive analysis, whereby themes emerge from the raw data via repeated comparison and examination, I did not restrict myself to strict repetition of words, but also for the repetition of the same ideas. I was however aware of an inherent difficulty in this type of qualitative analysis. Bryman (2008, p.291) describes this difficulty as making invalid conjecture when dealing with content that is more subjectively inferred, as opposed to clearly manifested. The analysis involved the speculation of links that occurred within the data which led to identifying themes. This involved frequent re-reading of the transcripts and occasionally listening to the interviews again when the written transcription was ambiguous. This was an iterative process and as more interviews were
conducted, my awareness of particular themes became increasingly evident, which I was able to test during subsequent interviews.

2.6 Research Ethics

Scott, Brown, Lunt and Thorne identified the possible “tension between the two sites of practice within which the professional doctorate student is expected to work” (2004, p.56). Researchers who operate in their own workplace face particular challenges with regard to providing external credibility for their research. Intimations of researcher bias, coercion of, and by, the researcher and the consequences of breaches of confidentiality are the main areas which require particular control measures. There are a number of academics who have experienced the benefit of being both a police officer and a researcher within the police service. From the pioneering ethnography of Holdaway (1983) to the research of the role of detectives by Young (1991), to the ‘canteen’ cultural observations of Waddington (1999), all could be classed as insider researchers. It was a key strength of this research that my position, experience and access to staff allowed me to operate in a more informed environment than an outside researcher may have experienced. According to Brown’s (1996, p.180) classification of researchers, I could be considered an ‘inside insider’ researcher and thus prone to following the party line with regard to pursuing research outcomes that had already been decided upon. However this classification is more ambiguous as my primary role within this research was as a student of the University of Portsmouth which is formally emphasised within the documentation presented to the participants. It can further be asserted that some of the findings of this study cannot be said to follow the party line.

As this study involves a stratified sample of the ranks from Commissioner to Constable, the effect of hierarchy between myself and the participants was considered, irrespective of whether the participant was junior or senior to me. Hierarchy can be accompanied by the potential of coercion. To counter any potential coercive behaviour, the participant was fully cognisant of my position as a student of the University of Portsmouth and that the study was bound by ethical standards. No junior interviewees were in my direct line.
management and explicit attention was paid to the issue of power positions with junior colleagues by an open conversation. The information sheet contained information which enabled the participant to consider their position prior to accepting the invitation to be interviewed and was fully discussed prior to interview. Furthermore, to ensure that the participants felt they had a freedom of choice of whether to participate in the research, an informed consent form was given to each participant to sign prior to the interview, accompanied by a verbal re-iteration of confidentiality (see appendix four).

All types of interviews and focus groups have particular problems associated with them which may affect the integrity of the resulting product. As a police officer and a researcher, this study has strong elements of my personal introspection and intuitive interpretation of the data based upon my experience of thirty years as a police officer. However it is not an auto-ethnography and within this context it was important to understand the negative effects of bias. Ferber and Wales (1952), delineated bias into selection bias (e.g. a misrepresentative sample) and answer bias (the witting or unwitting manipulation of respondent’s answers).

With regard to selection bias, I decided upon a stratified sample. Clearly, the higher the rank of the potential participants, the smaller the pool of participants that were available for interview. Thus my decision making criteria changed as I sought credible participants, although some form of awareness of, or engagement with, academic research was a fundamental necessity. Thus within the choices at the lower ranks, personal knowledge and recommendation identified valuable participants. With Inspectors and Chief Inspectors, I looked towards the high potential talent pool, the members of which were most likely to have an awareness of academic research. As my search looked to the very senior ranks, my choices became limited as to who was both available and willing to be interviewed. However, most officers who are members of the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) now have academic qualifications and thus an appropriate awareness of my research field.
The issue of answer bias, wherein the interviewer overcompensates when trying to counter personal perceived bias, was more subjective. The attempt to counter answer bias was managed by careful consideration of the impartiality of the questions. As advised by Fielding and Thomas (2001, p.127), the interview schedules were proof read by a third person and subsequently piloted. A continual self-awareness provided a contemporaneous check on my behaviour as an interviewer, being careful to not lead the participant by closed questions, but to give space for thought and reflection by using open questions.

All data was stored as per the Data Protection Act 1998 which protects personal data of identifiable living persons. The data was stored electronically in a password protected external hard drive and then transcribed on a password protected computer. When not required for transcription or analysis, the data was stored upon a password protected memory stick and external hard drive in a locked cabinet and not otherwise held electronically.

Issues of confidentiality were different for each participant. Being a stratified sample it was understood by the Commissioner that, being the only one of his rank, that he would be identified, although his assigned code and associated comments do not logically lead to immediate identification. The initial introductory letter (see appendix 5), information sheet and a form providing informed consent authority provided sufficient knowledge for the participant and interviewer to negotiate an appropriate level of confidentiality according to the particular sensitivities of the participant. For example the higher the rank of the individual, the more likely they were to be identified, thus with one exception, all were provided with anonymity, the default position being not to identify any participant. They all had an opportunity at the end of the interview to reflect upon anything which they would have liked to contextualise further or which they felt was misunderstood. However, there was no need within this study to identify individuals.

No new data, other that primary interview and focus group data, was collected and all the literature I have used is available to any researcher with
Athens/Shibboleth access, although it was understood that I could access some data more expeditiously than an outside researcher.

Having explained the data collection methods, the next chapter describes the current environment of police-academic relationships. Awareness of this context allows for a greater understanding and interpretation of the research results and subsequent discussion and which informs the implications for practice.
CHAPTER THREE. RESEARCH CONTEXT

This chapter describes the current research context in four sections; collaboration, evidenced based policing, the College of Policing and crime control and managerialism. They illustrate the complexity and beneficial potential of organisational relationships involving police which are essential to addressing the research aims of this thesis.

It can be argued that our contemporary period can be identified as one of control, typified by the centralisation of policing functions, a strong governmental crime control agenda, the advent of Police and Crime Commissioners, the increasing influence of the College of Policing and an exaggerated application of managerialist principles in managing police performance. This period is also one of change within which the pace of reform continues to increase. It is a more intelligent and multi-faceted service than its previous incarnations. Within force websites will be found a range of publicly available topics which demonstrates this new sophistication, including diversity health checks, equality and diversity policies, statements of disability discrimination and professional standards strategies. It is an environment in which academic research is continually attempting to identify its place within a complex and ambiguous landscape.

3.1 Collaboration
This study acknowledges the wealth of effective research which has informed policing practice across the years, whether Holdaway’s study of police prejudice (1983), Goldstein's work on problem oriented policing (1990) or Stanko’s influence upon policy and practice towards domestic violence (2001). More recently, Alison and Crego’s (2008) research into critical decision making serves as a foundation for his innovative HYDRA and MINERVA training methodology. As Chair of the Institute of Psychology, Society and Health at the University of Liverpool, Crego has been able to use both the research facilities of the university and the considerable knowledge of operational police officers to develop virtual policing scenarios which
accurately replicate a critical incident environment. This serves as an example of a successful partnership between the police and universities. In addition to the core educational role of universities which now provide ever more diverse criminal justice and criminology qualifications, there are a growing number of research partnerships.

The University of Salford is working with Greater Manchester Police on reducing offending in crime hotspots in Manchester city centre. By researching a range of causal factors into the commission of crime and conducting analysis on relevant crime locations, they have developed over twenty design interventions. These include the pedestrianisation of particular public areas to reduce violence and anti-social behaviour (University of Salford, 2014).

Aston University is working in partnership with Warwickshire Police. They have researched internal organisational processes to improve internal communications within the force control rooms. Not only have the outcomes of the research delivered financial savings but have increased efficiency in the delivery of essential services and positively affected public confidence in local policing services (Warwickshire Police, 2014).

The University of Portsmouth is co-located with Hampshire Constabulary’s Scientific Services. This consolidation has had an impact in the capacity to engage in applied research, as well as teaching and knowledge sharing activities. The research parameters are broad including areas such as crime scene investigation, firearms investigation and the impact of technology upon policing (University Of Portsmouth, 2014).

Since taking over from the National Police Improvement Agency, the College of Policing has assumed a key role in nurturing a strategic framework for police and academic partnerships via the What Works Centre for Crime Reduction (College of Policing 2014). As well as the provision of grants to universities and other research establishments via the Innovation Capacity Building Fund, the college is attempting to create a research map of ongoing research and have appointed a Research Evidence Partnerships Manager to
provide greater coherence to police-academic engagement. This collaborative work is replicated in other countries across the world:

Administered by Griffith University in Brisbane, the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security (2014) is a multifaceted research collaboration consisting of police services, universities and partner organisations jointly researching a broad area such as vulnerable communities, organised crime and frontier security. In the United States of America, the National Police Research Platform (2014) is a broad alliance of over 100 national criminal justice agencies. Supported by the National Institute of Justice and managed by a team of leading police scholars from seven universities. They are engaged in varied research projects from measurement in police organisations and longitudinal studies of front line supervisors to police training and technology.

Although there is a growing canon of successful police-academic partnerships (Gibbs, 2007, Cordner and Shain, 2011), the contemporary landscape does not find the police and academic communities working anywhere close to their full capacity of productive collaboration. Much potentially valuable research about the police remains within academic or government circles and although there are numerous examples of useful alliances which have impacted upon working practices, this falls woefully short of the considerable potential that academic research could bring to the police service.

3.2 Evidence Based Policing
The growing enthusiasm towards evidence based policing (EBP) is an encouraging movement towards the greater use of academic research. The expansion of the Society for Evidence Based Policing (SEBP) into eleven regional areas with the overt support of the College of Policing, and the advocacy of a number of Policing and Crime Commissioners and Chief Constables provides testament to such enthusiasm. Although the term EBP is relatively new, it is not an original concept. Authors such as Sherman (1993), Ratcliffe (2008) and Matrofski (2010) have all been significant for over a decade in advocating an evidence based approach in policing.
Sherman contends that EBP is the activity which brings research into operational reality. Simply put, EBP:

uses research to guide practice and evaluate practitioners. It uses the best evidence to shape the best practice. It is a systematic effort to parse out and codify unsystematic “experience” as the basis for police work, refining it by on-going systematic testing of hypotheses (1998, p.4).

Herman Goldstein’s writings on Problem Oriented Policing (1979) and the subsequent research by John Eck and William Spelman (1987) resulting in the Scanning, Analysis, Research and Assessment (SARA) model, provided the initial foundation for EBP. However, Sherman observes that:

In the absence of pressure from an evidenced based approach to evaluating success and management accountability, problem-oriented policing has been kept at the margins of police work (1998, p.6).

Although EBP still sits as a minority interest within the police, it is, however, a growing movement, enjoying broad interest within a number of UK police forces. This may be for a number of reasons:

Firstly, the College of Policing is a strong advocate of EBP and with such a powerful influence, government mandate and considerable resources, it is an increasing influence in the use of academic research. Secondly, universities and colleges are increasingly working together in partnership, whether delivering the Certificate of Knowledge in Policing, administrating the growing number of serving police officers undertaking academic qualifications to the highest level or co-locating services such as the forensic facility at the University of Portsmouth. This cross-cultivation leads to further understanding of the respective operational and organisational cultures of the police and academic communities and thus the opportunity of more productive collaboration. Thirdly, the police enjoy senior sponsorship of EBP from the highest levels within the service and with an increase in the number of academically skilled officers, the realisation of the benefits of EBP are becoming more recognised. Lastly, the Society of Evidence Based Policing is a growing community, now in its fifth year. This society brings together members of the extended police and academic communities to produce,
increase and communicate research to the police, academia and the public. Recent work includes research on domestic violence (Briner, 2013), repeat victimisation (Brimicombe, 2013) and crime hotspotting (Ariel and Smallwood, 2013).

As Sherman (2013) indicates, external political and media scrutiny require a more solid justification for police action than ever before. The fact that EBP provides a greater chance of policing strategies to work also gives academic justification for the decisions made in pursuance of policing activity. However, it can be argued that although there is a strong case for the efficacy of EBP, some authors suggest that it is not the panacea for solving all policing problems.

Lum, Koper and Cody (2011) believe there are “cultural, ideological, political, financial, and practical barriers in policing that regularly block change, science, innovation, new ideas, evidence, and systematic information at every turn” (p.20).

Lessons may be drawn from the development of evidence based practice in medicine, which is considerably more advanced than the police service. Dollaghan (2014) makes two pertinent and translatable criticisms of research within the medical field. Firstly, that systematic research is not the only suitable foundation for making decisions and that the experiences of practitioners and the views of patients (or in policing terms, the public and partners) should be considered. The second criticism is that “our efforts to identify current best evidence should focus on the most contemporary sources” (2004, p.1). Although it is a laudable aim to be up to date with the most recent research, Dollaghan considers that a busy professional does not have the time, experience or inclination to complete regular and comprehensive searches for such research.

According to Ritter and Lancaster (2013) who when researching evidence based practice within the field of illicit drugs policy, found a discord between the enthusiasm towards EBP and the reality of policing policy. They consider that solely transplanting a medical model into the criminal justice field is
problematic because of “the unique policing context, with multiple and potentially conflicting goals, value conflicts and a complex operating environment” (p.466) and “it is only once research is fully embedded within the policy culture that critical reflections on the role of evidence become possible” (p.457).

Furthermore, Hoggett and Stott (2012) suggest that a key barrier to the use of EBP is found within the police service, by stating that “it is not that EBP requires the simple absorption of existing knowledge. Rather, policing itself needs to generate the capacity for knowledge development” (p.180). In this vein, Veigas and Lum (2013) believe that “scientific evidence will not stand on its own merits but will require senior leaders to fully grasp the opportunities and ensure the tenets of evidence-based policing are embedded at the grass roots level” (p.261).

It is suggested by Levi and Maguire that EBP faces an uphill struggle in the face of the ever expanding crime control agenda of the government in which “the ever present need to respond to immediate and unpredictable demands gradually squeezes out the luxury of longer term, evidence based planning” (2012, p.198). It can be proposed that the dynamic operation of a crime control agenda places barriers upon the development of police professionalism. Hoogenboom and Punch consider that:

…..law and order has become such a battleground in the UK between the two main political parties to see who can be toughest on tackling crime, that policy is sometimes not based upon research findings but more on public opinion and moral panics (2011, p.81).

Thus it can be argued that the government’s crime control agenda has considerable influence upon academic research agendas, which although they may be supported and funded through the College of Policing, may disregard the potential of more creative, critical and bold research. However, both as a concept and a practice, EBP is a vehicle which can continue to develop positive relationships between police and academia, but as Buerger (2010) suggests, there still exists a gap between the academic findings and actual police practice and implementation.
3.3. The College of Policing

The formation of the College of Policing and the increasing enthusiasm towards EBP are considerable steps along the way towards increased professionalism within the British police. Its stated purpose is to:

- set standards of professional practice
- identify, develop and promote good practice based on evidence
- support the professional development of those working in policing
- support police forces and other organisations to work together to protect the public and prevent crime
- identify, develop and promote ethics, values and standards of integrity.

College of Policing (2014)

Thus the College of Policing has multiple functions including the implementation of an ethical code, the accreditation of training suppliers, strategic liaison with the government and other bodies such as ACPO, the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) and Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of the Constabularies (HMIC).

The College of Policing has developed an array of peer reviewed and governmentally approved publications to “help put the evidence in the hands of police practitioners, and to make it available to academics and the public” (2014, p.14). Systematic reviews are used to sum up the best available research and provide an evidence base of what works. The research method of rapid evidence assessments are used, which allow broad evidence to be summarised and made available more quickly, which is a strong desire within the policing community.

If the police are to be considered as equals to the recognised professions such as law or medicine, a fundamental requirement is that of an authorised and consistent canon of knowledge to enable the associated professional practice to flourish (College of Policing, 2014). Academic research has an important position within this environment, but remains under-used. The greater use of academic research to inform and validate the work of the police will be of substantial benefit in the journey towards this desired professional status. Scott proposes that “the long march to police
professionalism has invariably been tied to research” (2010, p.95). However, although the route of this march can be easily re-traced through nine successive Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, there is no firm pattern that their activities were based substantially upon academic research. None of these large scale programmes has enjoyed the benefits of a robust academic footing. However the current Commissioner’s support of EBP is an encouraging and overt symbol of progress.

Neyroud’s (2011) proposals in his Review of Police Leadership and Training regarding the formation of a professional body for the whole of policing explained that there was an overwhelming volume of advice and guidance for the police emanating from an array of disparate sources. He also suggested that the now dismantled National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA) lacked professional independence because it belonged to the Home Office. The responsibilities of the NPIA were passed to the College of Policing, but the relationship between the new College of Policing and ACPO suffers from a residual complexity regarding the definition and authorisation of professional knowledge. The police have, across the years, conducted a range of projects regarding the collation of a body of policing knowledge aligned to the narrative of police professionalism. Many of these activities, which could be considered as collating doctrinal knowledge, are associated with previous programmes from the NPIA, ACPO and the Home Office. Through these programmes it can be suggested that the police service is on a continuing journey towards a shared body of knowledge, but has suffered from a lack of enduring consistency caused by ever changing governance and political agendas. Thus the crime control agenda has created difficulty and uncertainty for academic research to be exploited to its fullest potential.

3.4 Crime Control and Managerialism

With its origins in the New Public Management or managerialist, policies of the 1980s, the central government’s controlling reach continues to stretch further and further down into criminal justice organisations, dictating more than ever their organisational priorities. Successive governments have followed an overt crime control agenda where the prevention or reduction of
crime is an overriding aim and where “policing and punishment seemed shaped less by hard won knowledge and reasoned deliberation than by punitive passions and short term political calculation” (Loader and Sparks, 2007, p.96).

Garland describes this performance management as “a ragbag of techniques, models, analogies and recipes for action that are loosely bound up together by their appeal to economic rationality” (2002, p.190). These performance indicators are designed to measure outputs rather than outcomes. What the organisation does, rather than what, if anything, it achieves. De Maillard and Savage suggest that the current performance framework is not the easiest of available options:

It is arguably the case that Britain has developed the most elaborate framework of police performance management in Europe and one of the most elaborate frameworks of managerialism in the policing world (2012, p.373).

Garland believes that this has created a defensive organisation which is “more self-contained, more inwardly directed and less committed to externally defined social purposes” (2002 p.120). Punch proposes that this environment leads to police chiefs reduced to retaining an “executive function only, to deliver against a plan” (2009, p.196). It can be argued that the crime control agenda combined with a target driven managerialist approach, does not provide a fertile space for academic research to thrive where the search for ‘what works’ is over-ridden by stringent crime performance targets.

Dick indicates that bureaucratic work practices often result in negative employee commitment and leave officers feeling unsupported, with limited opportunities to contribute to decision making (2011, p.560). Fleming describes the environment as one in which the “police often operate in clearly defined silos that compete for resources” (2010, p.140). Butterfield, Edwards and Woodall suggest that senior officers lack a “specific professional expertise” and thus have to adopt a “more inquisitorial or directive approach towards supervision” (2005, p.331). This may increase feelings of antagonism towards senior decision makers. Marnoch (2010) believes that
these managerialist practices increase the internal divides within the police service, creating a sense of negativity, exemplified by the alienation of junior officers (p.7), the presence of “institutional politicism” (p.2) and “disincentives to enter into action that encourages shared ownership of strategic performance management targets” (p.7).

This chapter has described the complex and evolving landscape in which this thesis is situated. In doing so it has provided a back drop to understand the considerable presence in the literature from academics relating the barriers which exist in the field of police research based upon their personal experiences of working with police agencies. Although the structural considerations of this thesis require the literature to be distributed into the relevant chapters, the primary sites which review the literature are chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 reviews academic perceptions of the academic-police research relationship. This is followed by chapter 5 which explores the presence in the literature of relevant police occupational and organisational cultures.
CHAPTER FOUR: ACADEMIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

This chapter examines the array of texts concerning the relationship between academic researchers and police services, most of which are published by members of the academic community.

Although there are a number of seminal texts about this relationship, many works are now less useful due to their age. Although valuable, for example, in understanding the contemporary landscape, there is a question of relevance in consideration of the pace of organisational, political and cultural change within the business of policing. Also, there is no comprehensive literature which explores these issues by considering the experiences of current and past police officers and police staff regarding their perception of police/academic relations. Lastly, there are very few published insider works from serving police officers upon this subject. Thus by gaining a personal insight from individuals who have experience of the use of academic research within the police service, a fresher and deeper understanding of the cultural and organisational opportunities and the barriers which inhibit or allow beneficial information to circulate can be identified.

The literature provides a number of perspectives from academics regarding the difficulties of engaging in research with the police. Westmarland considers that just as academics have particular ways of working “so policing has to have some norms or commonly accepted ways of working” (2008, p.265). Engel and Whalen (2010) suggest that an environment may exist where the negative experiences of the critical research tradition remains in the memory of police decision makers when it comes to prospective research partnerships. Conversely, Marks, Wood, Ally, Walsh and Witboo (2009) feel that the police have historically not been involved in the writing about the police service and thus have little ownership of academic output, which may be symptomatic of the difficulties of the academic–police relationship.
The divergent organisational cultures of academia and the police are parodied by McDonald (1986, p.1) in what he terms “the dialogue of the deaf”, which is presented as a conversation between an academic and a police officer (see appendix nine). It light-heartedly summarises the key differences within the police-academic relationship, but contains some disappointingly accurate observations. The dialogue has proved to be a touchstone for many academics to anchor their views about the police-academic relationship. Rosenbaum (2010) uses it to reflect upon the levels of unmatched expectation, Bradley and Nixon (2009) to comment upon the scientific detachment of academics, and Scott (2010) to propose that academia underestimates the complexity of police work.

A number of researchers (Lum 2009, Buerger 2010, Gravelle & Rogers 2014) have commented upon the inability of police practitioners to apply academic research for two broad reasons. Either, because the research fell short of the means of implementation, or that the research was flawed due to a failure to understand the relevant policing environment. These misunderstandings can cause tension between police and academic communities. Neyroud suggests that “the police tend to want to know whether an intervention has produced a positive result, and the researcher may be more interested in why” (2010, p.91). For an academic, finding out why may be an end in itself, providing new knowledge in any particular field of enquiry and of publishable quality. The police service is also interested in the why, but need to develop research findings into tangible and measureable outcomes. It can be argued that there are few prizes in the police service other than those which result in a positive numerical achievement aligned to a performance target.

Fleming commented on the friction present when completed research cannot be translated into operational pro-activity, believing of the police that “what they want from academics and collaborative research projects is something they can use to drive policy in a practical way and evidence based data that can inform practice” (2010, p.142). Some of this may reside in the different bureaucratic arrangements of the police where getting research seen by the appropriate person, irrespective of its contents, may cause frustration when these inflexible administrational barriers are met. Like every other
organisation the police service has its own ‘way of doing things’ and this
does not include protocols to access decision makers and specific administrative
methods of approach to seek authorisation for a course of action. As
Wilkinson (2010, p.147) illustrates, there is considerable internal and cross-
organisational bureaucracy which accompanies the sponsorship of a piece of
work. These can be issues with selection, procurement, funding and shared
departmental responsibilities.

Birzer proposes that “that the transition from theory to practice may be as
vexing as one might realistically expect” but also that “merging policing and
practice increasingly becomes important in the 21st century due to the
dynamic and ever changing society that policing must respond to and keep
up with” (2010, p.153). Whereas Birzer considers that societal change has
impact, Geller (1997) asserts that whilst academics are good at
deconstructing and reporting upon policing problems, the re-construction into
guidance regarding implementation has been traditionally lacking. Perez and
Shtull (2002) support this notion, suggesting that academic work is too
theoretical for police use, devoid of real world pragmatism, and thus the
police have become ambivalent to academic scrutiny. This ambivalence may
be countered by work which gives more attention to promoting its beneficial
effect. It could be suggested that for the police service, quantitative research
has a greater resonance than qualitative research as they are used to a
numerically driven performance regime with its method and outcomes
expressed in more statistical terms. To these ends, Stanko advises that
“social scientists need to find ways to demonstrate their relevance and to find
ways of measuring their impact” (2010, p.1). More optimistically, Paoline
considers that “police and academics are not as alien to each other as they
sometimes believe. Although their methods and knowledge bases are
different, they are both investigators seeking to make sense of the world and
improve it if possible” (2003, p.110).

A number of authors suggest that the academic community does not deliver
research outcomes within the timescale that the police desire (Foster, 2010,
Buerger, 2010, Lum, Koper and Telep, 2010). Once the administrative
hurdles of costing, negotiation and official sanction have been overcome,
there still exists the lack of shared expectation of completion times for a police service which operates within a critical environment. Wilkinson states “by the time it is published, events may have driven policing agendas to change or the policing environment has moved on to focus on other priorities” (2010, p.147). Similarly, Foster reported her frustration about the relatively slow speed of change from the police perspective where in a ‘can-do culture’ the paradigm is all about getting the job done versus a desire to hold back and think more before acting from the academic perspective (2010, p.100). Fleming described a piece of research regarding workforce planning within a police force which took six months to complete but was considered to be out of date by the time the completed report was supplied (2010, p.142). Buerger also highlights this problem of the research agenda having moved on and refers to the timeframe of academia which “lies outside the cognitive map of a police officer’s world” (2010, p.136). Lum, Koper and Telep believe that the pressure created by these time frames results in academics feeling that “the quality of the science might be compromised” or it can even “sometimes result in either the researcher or the practitioner conceding defeat or simply avoiding the relationship” (2010, p.62). The inherent danger in police ambivalence and a researcher not becoming involved in the first place means that many worthwhile projects may not have even got off the ground and thus potentially valuable research could have been lost. This highlights a need for a researcher to focus upon the implementation methods when designing the research and accommodating the fact that within an ever-changing operational and political landscape the purpose of the research is sometimes made redundant by new policies, politics or priorities.

However, the turnover of policy is only matched by the turnover of staff within the police service. Although it can be suggested that this is well within the control of the police service, it is a situation which does not seem to affect the academic community to such an extent. Neyroud (2010) asserts that the building of personal relationships, with the attendant issues of trust, is a great enabler for a productive research environment, however the unpredictable movement of police staff can be injurious to research projects. The police therefore need to look towards their internal bureaucratic mechanisms, as
these may well act as a contributory factor to this particular barrier of productive police and academic relationships.

The Gunning Fox Index of Intelligibility (Gunning, 1952), suggests there are particular issues regarding the intellectual accessibility of some academic texts. Armstrong (1980) proposes that some publications, considered regular fare for the average academic, may be somewhat impenetrable for the average police officer. The lack of intelligibility of academic texts is highlighted by Armstrong (1980), Rosenbaum (2010) and Stephens (2010). This failure to comprehend research outputs results in the inability to translate proposals into practical applications.

Rosenbaum remarks upon the substantial cultural divide between police and academia, each operating with a separate notion of what kind of work is considered of value. An example being that the police may require specific and operationally applicable research and that an academic may feel that a suitable outcome is a publishable work which contributes to knowledge. Within this cultural framework she reflects upon police decision makers who “find it difficult to locate, read, and translate technical research findings into operational decisions” (2010, p.144). Buerger considers that “research results must speak in the language that the police understand if they are to be adopted” (2010, p.136). Stephens comments upon academic writing and re-enforces the notion that the “style of writing is very difficult for practitioners and those who make public policy to read and understand” (2010, p.152). Finally, Armstrong contends that “it might be argued that more prestigious journals discuss more difficult issues and this, in turn, might require more difficult language” (1980, p.2).

Armstrong conducted an experiment regarding the intelligibility of academic text:

A study of 10 management journals found that those more difficult to read were rated higher in prestige by a sample of 20 faculty members. Ratings of easy, moderate, and difficult versions of four otherwise equivalent passages were obtained from 32 faculty members: those passages that were rated easy in readability were judged to be less competent in terms of the research (1980, p.9).
It can be proposed that academia and the police each have their own shared language which to an extent is unintelligible to each other. Laycock observes that “academics have a language of their own. Insofar, as it is sometimes pompous and self-serving, it does not help practitioner understanding, but more positively academics are rightly concerned to convey the detail of their work” (2014, p.395). Bullock and Tilley also consider that “the evidence that is available may not be presented in a manner that is readily accessible ……officers may face additional difficulties in sifting ‘robust’ from weak or otherwise misleading evidence” (2009, p.386). However, Lum suggests that the police service also needs to look to itself regarding the potential inaccessibility of their own idiosyncratic use of language; “like their academic counterparts, practitioners also are challenged to avoid technical jargon and acronyms related to their position and profession in order to communicate with a wide and diverse audience” (2014, p.1).

One important measure of academic worth is the frequency and quality of publication. But publishing police research has some complications. Stanko observes that:

Researchers and academics are specialists in their areas. The way these professionals build their reputations, nationally or internationally, is by becoming an absolute expert, through publication, in everything to do with a particular subject, down to the splitting of hairs on a particular debate and critique (2010, p.2).

Armstrong introduces the issue of the relative academic standing of any particular publication proposing that “authors would be motivated to do a better job in view of the prestige of the journal” (1980, p.4). Referring to police derived articles, Lum also suggests that “the tenure and promotions process hardly rewards ‘translational’ or ‘practitioner-oriented’ pieces unless they unusually appear in very high ranked journals” (2014, p.1). However, as Bradley and Nixon (2009) observe, police officers are far more likely to read a trade magazine than an academic journal. Birzer states that “many of the police trade magazines provide a cookbook approach to policing and often, this is exactly the information desired from police practitioners…… but many police practitioners may ignore reading a research based article unless it is
required for a college related course” (2010, p.151). Therefore it cannot be useful for the effective communication of academic research between the two communities if academics have a preference to publish in an academic journal and police officers prefer to read a trade magazine.

Some authors indicate that a lack of trust between the police and academics is an issue. Young contends that “police tended to view academics as only interested in data and publications, and ‘academic’ was often used as a ‘derogatory’ term” (1991, p.38). Wilkinson similarly talks of the presence of a “lingering cultural mistrust” between police and academics which “maybe due to anecdote and some to actual bad experience” (2010, p.147). Finally, Grieco, Vovak and Lum consider that the “reliance on case by case experiences, traditions, and reactivity in policing, coupled with environments in academia that may not encourage activities beyond publication, can strain and limit partnerships between researchers and practitioners” (2014, p. 369).

A number of authors considered the cautiousness of the police in the publication of research. Wilkinson (2010) submits that the police have concerns over publishing for a number of reasons, including sensitivities in the community, dealing with diversity, community safety, information about terrorism, the intellectual property rights of the work or any political considerations in publication. She believes that “police may fear, rightly or wrongly, that research will be politically biased, of poor quality, or misrepresent their own perceived position” (2010, p.147). Lum proposes that “police researchers and practitioners also operate within environments that may not be conducive to these types of publications and which present a level of professional risk to contributors” (2014, p.1). Finally, Stephens talks of reputational issues by saying that “findings and conclusions may be embarrassing for the department or portrayed by the news media in a way that raises questions that must be addressed” (2010, p.152). It can be suggested that there may be a lack of opportunity or disinclination to publish due to police hesitancy or the concern that intended publications may be restricted due to a range of police sensitivities. This may lead to reluctance to engage in such research at all.
Such sensitivities may require compromise in what is published. But according to Foster and Bailey, academic independence is a clear issue and they suggest that any censorship by agreement between an academic and the research subject may step outside the narrow but well-understood confines of what is often seen as ‘proper’ academic endeavour and may be seen as career limiting for the academic (2010, p.100).

This chapter has described a number of perceived complexities in the police-academic relationship from a largely academic perspective. As described in chapter two, this study seeks to provide the police perspective by collecting data from participants with police experience and intends to identify and analyse the factors which impact upon the use of academic research within the police service. The literature in chapter four, accompanied by personal observations and review into the history and current context of police research leads to the necessity a deeper investigation into the occupational and organisational culture of the police service. The next chapter explores these cultures.
CHAPTER FIVE. POLICE OCCUPATIONAL and ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE

This chapter is divided into two sections, police occupational culture and organisational culture. Occupational culture can be broadly described as that which relates to behavioural characteristics, inter-personal relationships and how teams operate. Organisational culture is more structurally situated, residing in the traditions, policies and procedures which govern police activity.

5.1 Police Occupational Culture

Cultural typographies

The body of work that seeks to understand police culture is considerable. The introduction to this study provided a brief post war chronology into research about policing. However police culture as a defined research typology has a broad range of authors and has been subject to a continual development and re-interpretation as the ever changing demographic, political and societal forces continue to re-define the function and membership of the police service.

Cockroft (2012, pp.21-36) charted the development of research into police culture, asserting that it had three distinct periods of early, middle and late. Whilst the early studies observed some static traits (Banton, 1964, Skolnick, 1966 and Cain, 1973), the middle period was identified by the proposition of cultural variations (Reuss-Ianni, 1983, Hobbs, 1988 and Young, 1991). The later period is more concerned with situating police culture in broader societal frameworks (Chan, 1996, Westmarland, 2008 and Thomas et al, 2014).

The early sociological work of Michael Banton (1964) in the UK considered the power of discretion and the practice of under-enforcement of the law, whilst Jerome Skolnick (1966) in the USA proposed a working personality of police officers, formed by the operation of danger, authority and efficiency. The cultural characteristics highlighted by Skolnick were suspiciousness,
solidarity and conservatism. Maureen Cain’s (1973) study identified a different policing style in rural and urban areas and the function of easing behaviours as an exploration of the development of sub-cultural norms and relations with the public.


The concerns of senior officers have also been widely studied (Graef, 1989, Blair, 2009, Punch, 2010, Charman, 2011, Caless, 2011). Reus-Ianni (1983) asserted that police culture was not standardised, nor consistent, but contained considerable variation especially in the hierarchical divide of “management cops and street cops”. Manning (1993) later proposed three cultural stratifications in policing, those of command, middle management and lower participants. Additionally, Malcom Young’s ethnography in 1991 looked at the notion of internal cultural variation from three additional perspectives; the differences between police forces, (also Reiner, 1992, Loftus, 2009) the difference between detectives and uniformed officers (also Hobbs, 1988 and Innes, 2003), and the difference between those engaged in back office functions to those on the front line.

Punch (2009) and Cockroft (2012) recognise that the policing environment is particularly complex due to the changes in the police service which have prompted new and emerging subcultures. Butterfield et al, (2005) suggest that an ‘us-and-them’ character dominates police culture and that their “competitive masculinity that is at odds with the objectives of increasing workforce diversity and partnership with the community” (p.333). As opposed to an academic culture, Reiner suggests that police culture “reflects and
perpetuates the power differences within the social structure it polices and is generally based upon danger, authority, including the potential for force and the need to produce results” (2000, p.88-89). Foster and Bailey (2010) report a remaining scepticism from the police in their experience in the field whilst Wilkinson (2010) talks of a lingering mistrust and Loftus (2009) suggests that the enduring presence of solidarity still thrives within British policing.

It could be suggested that the sense of closeness and identity between police colleagues is associated with social isolation and an essential sense of suspicion of others. This can be linked with the classic demographic of the typical police officer as being a stereotypical, white, male, heterosexual and conservative. It could be proposed that within this group a certain world view predominates, characterised by conservative attitudes, a feeling of ‘us and them’, a sense of ‘suspicion’, ‘social elitism’ and a vocational desire to assert control through ‘a sense of mission’. Paoline reflects that “studies of police have noted that officers perceive their working environment to be laden with danger or the risk of danger……danger has a unifying effect on officers and works to separate them from the chief source of danger, the public” (2003, p.201).

Loftus (2009) explores the enduring nature of police cultural stereotypes and assesses to what extent the old clichés still exist. Although her findings emphasise that there is a certain endurance and continuity of traditional characterisations, she also considers a number of concerns which challenge the traditional notions of the closeted solidarity within front line police teams. A “less compliant and more demanding public” combined with the “external imposition of external performance indicators has arguably curtailed the autonomy afforded to officers” (p.2).

The cultural interface between police and academic relations is mentioned by a number of authors. Within this literature ‘solidarity’, a ‘sense of mission’ and ‘isolation’ can be identified. Laycock notes that “the police culture is often described as action oriented and decisive. The academic world, on the other hand, might be characterised as cautious, contemplative, and patient. The cultural equivalents of oil and water spring to mind” (2014, p.397). Fleming
asserts that “academia is a very public affair. Police do not always welcome the public spotlight” (2010, p.143). Additionally, Foster and Bailey observe that “police officers have little exposure to research and operate in an environment where evidence-based approaches are limited” (2010, p.95). This may be in part caused by Reiner’s contention that “police officers are concerned with getting from here to tomorrow (or the next hour) safely and with the least fuss and paperwork, which has made them reluctant to contemplate innovation, experimentation, or research” (2010, p. 132).

Charman (2014) proposes that “organisational culture is maintained and reproduced by the explicit and implicit values, codes, customs, rituals, language and storytelling of its members” (p.155) and that “research points to the enhancement of solidarity through the use of occupational humour” (p.156). Charman argues that the gallows humour of the police can serve to strengthen internal cohesiveness and social identity whilst at the same time serves to exclude and isolate others (p.163). Humour is a key constituent of storytelling which is included in cultural observations of the police by a number of authors (Holdaway, 1983, Fielding, 1994, Waddington, 1999, Van Hulst, 2013). Waddington believes that story telling serves as a release valve for the pressures of the working environment wherein “the rhetoric of the canteen is divorced from the action of the streets” (1999, p.302). Van Hulst (2013) re-visits the function of police story-telling and asserts that its function is not as straightforward as Waddington emphasises. Van Hulst believes that story telling is not always about the interesting parts of police work but also about the more mundane, which serves to nurture intimacy between officers who spend a considerable amount of time together not engaged with police work. She considers that story telling has a strong cultural influence, observing that “it is a practice that takes various forms and through which (over time) values and beliefs about the world are shaped and re-shaped” (p.638).

These values and beliefs are evident in the cultural trait of ‘us and them’, the definition of which is not straightforward. There exist different types of ‘them’,
labelled as such for different reasons, and which are allied to the cultural notions of isolation and solidarity.

There are the internal ‘them’, such as senior officers as examined by Reuss-Ianni’s (1983) study which differentiated between the dissimilar priorities of what they termed “street cops and management cops”. ‘Them’ can also be civilians working for the police, exemplified by Cope (2004) who found that the civilian status of analysts within the police service was a detriment to the acknowledgement of their expertise (p.198). Also there are inter-departmental divisions such as those explored by Young (1991) who looked at the divergent roles of front and back office staff and the differences between the Criminal Investigation Department and uniformed police officers.

There are also the external ‘them’. Politicians, whose target driven crime control agenda and subsequent performance environment serve to frustrate and antagonise police officers and, as Hoogenboom and Punch consider, make law and order a political battleground (2011, p.81). As explored more fully in chapter six, ‘them’ can also be academics whose research can threaten exposure of the truth and challenge personal and organisational reputations. For some, academic research is akin to other forms of inspection or inquiry. To these ends, Gravelle and Rogers observe “how protective the culture of the police service could be when it sees itself under scrutiny” (2014, p.24).

‘Them’ can also be those who are policed. Reiner proposes that the police differentiate between different categories of the policed population; “good class villains”, “police property”, “rubbish”, “challengers”, “disarmers” and “do-gooders” (2010, pp.123-125). Loftus (2009) considers that the most critical opinion from the police is towards the inhabitants of working class areas, where those colloquially labelled as “scrotes” reside (p.165). Linked to the associated trait of ‘a sense of mission’ the police possess, Loftus proposes that “their vision of themselves as bold adventurers into the seedier side of the world fed into their sense of solidarity and moral conservatism, also confirmed the demarcation of a common adversary” (p.165). Thus, some
members of the public become the enemy and subject to cynicism and aggression.

A number of authors including Reiner (2010) and Skolnick (1996) consider that police officers have difficulty mixing with civilians in their ordinary lives. Cockroft concludes that due to the insular nature and uniqueness of policing “police officers encounter difficulty in forging (and maintaining relationships) with those who belong to different occupations from themselves” and that they “withdraw emotionally from the wider world of the public” (2012, p.58).

Chan (2004) and her application of Pierre Bourdieu’s (1986) concepts of ‘field’ and ‘habitus’ help to further understand how occupational and organisational cultures operate. The field can loosely be interpreted as the organisational practice or the structural position of the police which “is a social space of conflict and competition which is structured by hierarchies of rewards (capital) and sanctions (negative capital). The policing field exists in a subordinate or dominated position within the field of power” (Chan, 2004, p. 330). Habitus however can be said to be the cultural dispositions of the police officers and the manner in which individuals navigate themselves through the field. Chan describes habitus as “a system of dispositions which integrate past experience and enable individuals to cope with a diversity of unforeseen situations, dispositions which agents acquire either individually, through family and the education system, or as a group, through organisational socialisation” (2004, p.333). She explains that the concepts of habitus and field “function fully only in relation to each other” (1996, p.115) and therefore it is suggested that comparisons can be drawn with the explicit relationship between occupational and organisational cultures proposed within this thesis.

Chan is useful for understanding how the process of socialisation requires new officers to undergo a “personal metamorphosis” (2004, p.327). The initial high ideals they possess upon joining the service are turned into the commonly recognised traits of disillusionment and cynicism, although “they remain firmly committed to their vocation and solidarity with their work mates” (2004, p.327). Bourdieu lends weight to the notions of officers being socialised into cultural norms to the extent where they can be unwittingly
acquired. He provides the concept of cultural capital as being the collective operation of embodied, objectified and institutionalised capital. He proposes that “cultural capital can be acquired to a varying extent depending on the period the society and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation and therefore quite unconsciously….it always remains marked by its earliest conditions of acquisition” (1986, p.84). The possession of cultural capital is linked with the operation of habitus. Chan believed that it “embodies what police officers often refer to as commonsense and what are commonly known as policing skills” (1996, p.115) and which are firmly aligned with the operation of tacit knowledge by police officers.

Tacit Knowledge

From an epistemological perspective, many proposed typologies of knowledge have strong elements of organisational inter-changeability irrespective of their originating discipline. Typologies of knowledge specific to policing have been examined by a number of studies (Chan, 2004, Holgersson and Gottschalk, 2008, Seba and Rowley, 2010). From such studies it proposed that the operation of tacit knowledge is a strong and enduring cultural artefact within policing. Having conducted considerable research into the defining characteristics of tacit knowledge, McAdam, Mason and McCrory provide a useful definition:

Knowledge in practice developed from direct experience and action; highly pragmatic and situation specific; subconsciously understood and applied; difficult to articulate; usually shared through interactive conversation and shared experience (2007, p.46).

Seidler-de Alwis and Hartmann provide a useful definition for explicit knowledge:

What can be embodied in a code or a language and as a consequence it can be verbalised and communicated, processed, transmitted and stored relatively easily. It is public and most widely known and the conventional form of knowledge (2008, p.134).

Luen and Al-Hawamdeh (2001) explore the nature of explicit and tacit knowledge within the context of policing. Of particular relevance is their support of the transference of tacit knowledge, which by various means, is
subsequently converted into the realm of explicit knowledge that consequently serves to enrich the existing canon of formal knowledge. This process of conversion can be continuous, ubiquitous and often unwitting. Tacit knowledge is sometimes both temporary and elusive with many innovative ideas formulated and lost as a consequence of the originator lacking the immediate means, context or willingness to capture the moment. As tacit knowledge is both temporally and geographically dependent, much knowledge could be considered as simply information, devoid of the associated meaning which provides utility. It can be reflected upon that when solving a problem, our future intentions for considering a particular course of action can only be referenced by paying attention to enacted events that have already taken place. Therefore, each new event re-defines the knowledge required to deal with the next event. Nonaka (cited by Seidler-de Alwis & Hartmann, 2001) comments upon the notion of innovation as a process “in which the organisation creates and defines problems and then actively develops new knowledge to solve them” (1994, p.14).

Reiner (1992), Marenin (2007) and Manning (2007) explore the existence of discretion as a barrier in the understanding of police behaviour. Marenin contends that “it has become an orthodox understanding that, despite all labours to articulate police behaviour, discretionary choices in the work of police officers remains” (p.108). Ericson (1984) describes the behaviour of patrolling officers who learn through the process of socialisation to identify indicators of abnormality which are tacitly obtained from peers in the course of regular and discretionary patrol. Luen and Al-Hawamdeh (2001) also discuss the development of these formative skills, proposing that this tacit knowledge is often slowly and sometimes unwittingly formalised, eventually becoming explicit knowledge and often integrated into formal policy, procedure and guidance. This iterative and virtuous cycle is recognised by Alison and Crego (2008) who advocate the need for greater specialist knowledge, which is necessary to counter the increasing complexity and sophistication of criminal methods. However, Connell, Klein and Powell (2003) discuss the complexity of both researching and unearthing this tacit knowledge, the barriers to which are broadly reported in the literature (Ogu

The literature reveals a complex relationship between the overt and accessible nature of explicit information which exists within the police service and the tacit information by which officers prefer to use in the daily tactical decisions of managing policing incidents. Klein (1999) discusses the success of experienced decision makers who use both formal and tacit knowledge from their experience of what has worked before. Cope (2004) researched the position of analysts within the MPS. She found that experience was preferred over and above their expertise by their police officer colleagues (p.189). She concluded that “irrespective of what explicit information may be available, cops still favour knowledge that comes from other cops” (2004, p.196). This assertion is supported by a number of authors. Charman considers that the workplace is “influenced not only by the culture and norms of the organisation, but also crucially by learning from and with others” (2013, p.106). Buerger, in relation to the development of partnerships with other organisations, reflects that “whatever new partnership actually arises will not replace the normative ‘learn from the experienced cop’ ethos of the police culture” (2010, p.142). Finally, Waddington contends that “practices are deeply entrenched in police culture and considered by officers to be unquestionably correct” (2010, p.119).

Anti-Intellectualism

Laycock (2014) considers that much useful academic material is buried within academic literature and therefore not readily accessible to police officers. Laycock also points out that “there is little room in busy police training programmes for advice on how to assess or access existing evidence on what works” (2014, p.395). Bullock and Tilley also comment about poor organisational support by stating that “organizations typically do not give practitioners time to search for and read the research literature that, if it takes place at all, may be confined to the weekend or the evening” (2009,
Dawson and Stanko regret the situation in which considerable time has been invested by academics in establishing ‘what works’ in police research but that this is not matched by organisational effort in creating the means of implementation. They propose that the “next steps should focus on training and embedding this learning within policing as this is the route that will ultimately deliver better outcomes through improved integrity” (2013, p.9). Additionally Manning, refers to the “common level entry and apprenticeship training pattern police” (2007, p.51) in which statistically few are promoted beyond the rank of constable and most remain within the same organisation for many years. Loftus (2009) supports this view by considering that as police officers have generally been selected from the white working class population, their experience and personal histories do not ordinarily provide the necessary motivation to attain any more knowledge than that provided within their initial training period.

However, Lum sees the employment of more educated officers as “fruitless if organizational structures and cultures of reactivity are stronger than abstract benefits that a previous education might provide” (2009, p.87). A pertinent example of this may be the strongly, outcome focused promotion system within the police service which does not recognise academic learning or qualifications. Lum believes that a “system of promotions that (only) focus on rewarding knowledge of procedures and reactivity also help strengthen barriers to using research that promotes proactivity or problem solving” (2009, p.65). Bullock and Tilley refer to career progression arrangements in the police which are “generally not based on the development of specialism and expertise in a chosen field and may be a disincentive to incorporate research evidence into practice” (2009, p.386). Roger Graeff’s (1989) extensive ethnography provided numerous examples of negativity by regular officers against graduate officers. Graeff reported the animosity of senior officers being “outwitted by younger officers” (p.102), attitudes to graduate officers being “soft” (p.231), their “incorruptible nature” (p.324), their desire to get “promoted too quickly” (p.466) and having “insufficient life experience” (p.477).
Dawson and Williams assert that successful research relies upon a tri-partite relationship between researchers, front-line staff and those involved in writing and implementing policy. However they believe this is complex “with each holding different expectations towards research, often not aware of each other’s skills, needs or pressures resulting in a strained relationship” (2009, p. 376). They further contend that the police service holds a dearth of valuable primary research material but that “the relationship between research and police may result in these data not being used to its full potential is a desperate shame for both parties” (2009, p.374).

5.2 Police Organisational Culture

The occupational culture of the police service is inextricably linked with the organisational culture. This section looks at the relationship between the structural considerations of the police organisation and how it affects the relationship with academia.

Educational Standards

The educational requirement for entrance into the police service is not of a high standard. Basic mathematics and English are assessed, but no formal qualifications other than the Certificate of Knowledge in Policing (CKP) are obligatory. Neyroud (2010) defines the service as a blue-collar endeavour because of this lack of a requirement for higher qualifications, requiring only basic educational skills in order to complete their work. Neyroud’s views are not unique.

A number of researchers have considered the effects of an apprentice class workforce (Banton, 1964, Reiner, 2010, Engel and Whalen, 2010). Engel and Whalen (2010) suggest that policing is a blue-collar undertaking because of the basic selection requirements. Although debatably more a case of perception than reality, Loftus proffers the notion that the educational distinction is also a class distinction between police officers and academics. This may serve to re-enforce anti-intellectual views whereby academics may be perceived by police officers as linguistically superior, more intelligent, and more wealthy (2009, p.44).
It could be proposed that the apparent general lack of educational accomplishment of police officers leads to a fundamental lack of knowledge of what academic research is, and therefore its potential value. Birzer observes that:

One problem may be that some practitioners may not immediately recognize the significance of a research based article and how empirical evaluations can assist them in more effectively conceptualizing the important alliance between research and practice (2010, p.151).

Buerger believes that police learn in a “trickle-stream fashion, not in the batch-data mode of researchers…..for an officer, a single incident is enough to validate the effectiveness of a particular course of action” (2010, p.136). Thus the police are more inductive rather than deductive thinkers, prone to reliance upon experience rather than a theoretical approach. However a contrary view resides in the increasing value of academic ability of senior police officers, the majority of whom are now university educated (Stanko, 2010). However, Cope believes that analytical work was, to a certain extent, inaccessible to operational officers because it was “constructed for managers and their information needs differed” (2004, p.193). However, Laycock comments upon the increasing output of academic work which is available. She considers that it is difficult enough for an academic to be cognisant of the contemporary literature and “thus what chance for a professional with a non-academic agenda?” (2014, p.395).

Demographic Change

Traditional recruitment policies have resulted in the enlistment of white, heterosexual, male, working class officers. However, with the growing need for the police service to be more representative of the communities it serves, more focused effort was placed upon the recruitment of BME and female officers. As a result, Home Office (2014) statistics reveal that across the last nine years, there has been a gradual percentage rise of BME and female officers across the 43 police services of England and Wales.

In 2005, 3.5 % of the police workforce was BME. In March 2014 there were 6,715 BME police officers, which represents 5.2% of the police officer total.
This is a percentage rise of 0.2% compared with a year earlier. In 2005 2.5% of all ACPO ranks were black or minority ethnic officers (BME) and 22.3% of the police workforce were women. In March 2014 there were 35,653 female police officers which represents 27.9% of the police officer total. This is percentage rise of 0.6 percentage points compared with a year earlier. 19.1% of all ACPO ranks were female (Home Office, 2014). With the introduction of austerity measures, forecasts by the HMIC estimate that by March 2015 there will be 16,300 fewer police officers than in 2010 (HMIC, 2014). Although the percentage count of BME and female officers is slowly increasing, the reduction of total police officer numbers reveals a consequential reduction in numbers of BME and female officers across a number of constabularies.

Foster (2003) believes that the demography of the police service is moving away from the white, male and working class profile and may therefore slowly moderate the dominant culture. This may result in a workforce which is more receptive to new ways of learning. Loftus observes that there exists an environment where the new values possessed by a more diverse workforce are challenging the more traditional values of the police organisation by saying that “the multitude of different outlooks and identities implies that the culture which has long dominated the organisational environment is becoming eroded” (2009, p.193). The effect of this is to broaden or dilute the stereotypical values of a dominant culture and to re-evaluate what knowledge is considered as useful knowledge. However both Loftus (2009) and O'Neill, Marks and Singh (2007) indicate that any such benefit may be tempered by a potential tension within the new emerging demographic. They state that “within any single agency ‘lines of fissure’ in the occupational culture can be detected between different sub-groups of police based on rank, race, function, religion and gender” (2007, p.250).

The nature of a diverse workforce also extends to civilians and the extended police family, including analysts, community support officers and the plethora of police support staff. Crawford sees a positive benefit in the recruitment of Community Support Officers as diversifying the workforce because it results in a greater number of women and BME employees. However he believes
that “this presents a challenge for the police organisations to avoid the creation of a bifurcated service with predominately male white policeman supported by a body of largely female and black or minority ethnic colleagues in less well paid civilian roles” (2009, p.156).

Whilst Newburn and Reiner consider that civilianisation creates “a more complex and fragmented policing division of labour” (2007, p.936), Cope (2004) commented on the lower league status of these individuals by the police. In referring to the treatment of internal police analysts, she observed that “police officers felt uncomfortable accepting recommendations from non-police personnel suggesting this encroached on their role” (p.191) and “products were described as wallpaper by both police and analysts and were ignored when planning operations” (p.192).

**Financial Constraints**

The growth and decline of the extended police family is inextricably linked with the financial concern of providing efficient policing services at the lowest cost and the financial constraints brought about by severe public sector spending reductions.

Financial constraints have considerably affected all public sector organisations and it is not surprising that investment in research suffers as a result. Cordner and Shain (2011) observe that investment in police training is negatively affected during an economic downturn. Stephens believes that a paucity of funding has detrimental effects upon police and academic relationships where “the available funding may be inadequate to focus on the priority that police see as being the most important” and thus “they work in areas that may not be the highest priority or value to the field” (2010, p.152). Grieco et al (2014) believe that the outcomes of police and academic research partnerships are more academically oriented, which results in “lopsided partnerships” with “scholarly outcomes” (p.377). They conclude that one reason for this is that “unlike academia, the trade of policing does not converge on research, and there are few incentives for participating in it” (p.377). A more optimistic view comes from Laycock, who notes that the
current tight budgetary conditions might lead to greater interest in innovation and experimentation that was hitherto not the case (2014, p.393).

Buerger (2010) suggests that academic sponsorship relies on political considerations, many of which are financially motivated. The performance requirements set by the government for the police include financial targets which add layers of complexity for senior officers. This is especially the case when trying to manage resource deployment in an environment of ever changing governmental priorities, which may affect the relevance of ongoing academic research. Fleming reflects that:

Police organizations are high profile and police leaders particularly are vulnerable to politics and indeed politicking. In terms of the research, the project will take a back seat when political or other contingencies arise (2010, p.141).

Fleming also considers that the advent of a more competitive environment wherein funding is governed by “tight time lines and stringent reporting requirements” (2010, p.140) has considerably changed the nature in which academics now work.

Hierarchy
Manning (2007) talks of the strict hierarchy of the police organisation which partitions officers’ experiences. Thus the differing priorities of the various police hierarchies can affect the relationship with academia in different ways. As Punch proposes, we live in the age of the ‘smart cop’ who is both academically qualified and aware of the benefits of academic research. He contends that a positive outcome of police research is the additional scrutiny which has “altered the thinking of police elites” (2010, p.158). However Punch also considers the influence of public populism in policy development where the interests of the broader population may take priority over the commission, or the subsequent findings of academic research, stating that “policy adoption is a political process related to flavour of the month themes in government” (2010, p.158).

As Handy (2009, p.119) suggests, within such an environment, senior staff must attempt to garner support and involvement from their junior colleagues
if effective policy implementation, whether based upon academic research or not, is to take place. Reiner (2000) proposed that an essential ingredient of successful policy implementation is trust between the ranks, which he considered was lacking. As previously mentioned, Reuss-Ianni’s (1983) study differentiated between the dissimilar priorities of what they termed “street cops” and “management cops”, but Brunetto & Farr-Wharton (2004, p.222) considered that middle management was also an influential group, which they believed bridged the gap between the top and the bottom hierarchies. Furthermore, Ford (1999) recognised the influence of the junior ranks in the implementation of police policy. Grieco et al concluded that “researchers who did experience implementation difficulties experienced them most often with mid-level supervisors”(2014, p.374), those being the officers with the direct responsibility of operational planning and deployment. But Marnoch considers that “a lack of imperative on the part of senior officers to communicate with operational officers over the thinking behind performance management schemes, was a marked feature of institutional life in the police services examined” (2010,p.6).

A senior police officer will ordinarily be the sponsor or nominated person to be responsible for a research project. Stanko (2010) believes that the success of a change in domestic violence policy attributable to the individual sponsorship and passion of a small number of senior individuals. Grieco et al supports this view by stating that “it is important having someone in the agency committed to the project who is able to oversee the day-to-day implementation within the organization” (2014, p.371). This level of commitment is seen as an important constituent in the success of any research project. However, Bradley and Nixon feel that as senior officers are the “gate-keepers” to the police service, researchers “have not been exactly welcomed with open arms” (2009, p.426). Additionally, Brunetto & Farr-Wharton identified that a factor for a failure of policy implementation was that “managers were not supportive of the proposed changes” (2004, p.222).

The literature tells us of a considerable range of difficulties for researchers navigating the concerns of senior officers. Fleming considers that with the busy and complex lives of senior officers with inconveniently short tenures
and unexpected staff changes, there are difficulties with “maintaining momentum”, “difficulties in data collection” and keeping an academic and police research team together (2010, p.141). Whilst conducting a focus group, Fleming experienced the deference of the participants to the senior voice in the room who seemingly answered on behalf of the group which may have subverted the data (2010, p.140).

The effects of a dynamic working environment upon police - academic relationships was also referred to by a number of authors. Foster explained that police officers partake “in working practices that leave little space for examining the merits of different types of approaches or developing strategies that reflect a broader knowledge base” (2010, p.95). McCarthy and O’Neill advocate that senior officers work in an environment which “favours a task-based response, as opposed to deliberation and debate” (2014, p.246). They also propose that officers struggle to adapt to working in partnership with external agencies where this deliberation and debate are the expected method of working.

However in addition to difficulties caused by the pace of organisational change, aspects of a more occupational culture were evident. McCarthy and O’Neill believe that “police officers are socialized into a distinct set of cultural values associated with command–control and hierarchical leadership” (2014, p.248). They name these traits as trust, hostility towards outsiders and difficulty in moving beyond task orientation. Lum, Telep, Koper and Grieco consider that although they may not always reject new ideas, police officers are suspicious if they originate from outside experts (2012, p.81). Laycock recalls numerous anecdotes on “how unreceptive senior officers are to news that their pet project did not work; messengers are wary of being shot” (2014, p.396). Lum considered that the rules oriented nature of policing has created and environment which is “highly risk averse to critical assessment” and in which due to its potential critical outcomes “research can be very risky to police chiefs” (2014, p.2). Lum additionally observes that if senior officers take a chance on “bringing science into their practice” (2014, p.2) they can fall out of favour and risk their own reputation.
Chapter five has reviewed the literature into the occupational and organisational cultures of the police service and provides a platform upon which to analyse the results of this study contained in chapters six, seven and eight. Chapter six links to chapter four and establishes a more police oriented view of the police-academic relationship, as opposed to a largely academic perspective. Chapters seven and eight link to chapter five in seeking to understand more clearly the effect of occupational and organisational cultures of the police service in relation to the research aims.
As evidenced in chapter four, the literature contains a range of texts which provide views upon the relationship between the police and academia. Many examples are taken directly from their experiences in the field. However there are no comprehensive studies by a serving police officer, with an insider view, as to the police perceptions of this relationship. The data in this chapter are presented within the categories of the benefits of research, usability, a difference in working practices, timeliness, intelligibility and publication. The volume of participant comments are not replicated in their entirety, but act as relevant examples of the range of responses to the interview questions and pertinent points made in the focus group. To re-cap, PP is a serving police officer, FG is a member of the focus group and XP is an academic who was employed by the police either as an officer or in an academic role.

An analysis of the views between police practitioners and ex-police academics revealed three main differences. Firstly, not being in the maelstrom of the intense policing performance environment allowed the academics to have a more detached and reflective consideration of the issues. Secondly, they could talk from experience of being an academic and therefore their perspective was based upon a more sophisticated knowledge of academic research. As a result they were more insightful of some of the more technical barriers, such as of publication and timeliness. Lastly, having had a foot in both camps, they were able to comment from first-hand experience upon the contrasting occupational and organisational cultures of police and academia.

6.1 The Benefits of Research

Although the participants overwhelmingly considered that academic research was under-valued within the police service, a good proportion also commented upon what they perceived to be the benefits of academic research. These fell into two broad categories. The first category concerned
the efficacy and authenticity of academic research. There were numerous comments regarding its beneficial nature:

“An academic defines the problem more clearly……the question that needs answering is always a better question than applies to problem solving in the police” (PP2).

“I just think it gives you a better understanding of the problem that we’re trying to address” (FG3).

“Their results had more certainty than other types of evidence” (PP4).

“….a balanced view…a diversity of thinking…with subtle flavours….and different tones” (PP3).

“When some of the processes around experience based policing aren’t necessarily easily translatable into other areas, it might be and that’s when academia can actually help you to understand the processes that have led to that good outcome” (FG3).

The second category described how academic research could help justify police activity to external bodies such as partners, politicians, tribunals and inspectorates. There were numerous comments which supported this notion as exemplified below:

“Research enables us to negotiate borough decision making, particularly in a political sense of why you are taking a particular approach” (PP4).

“….provides validity in explaining to the outside world” (PP1).

“……serves to stop us making so many mistakes” (PP4).

“…..helps to arm ourselves against tribunals and to arm ourselves against over inspection” (PP1).

A single but noteworthy observation came from PP8 who reflected upon academic research in the light of cost efficiency:

“We might be doing things in very costly ways, but there might be ways that we could do it cheaper ………..whether it be looking at risk, or other things comparing us with other countries, there might be better ways we could do it”.

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Participants were asked about the extent to which academic research was valued within the police service. Although XP2 and PP4 felt that there was “*mixed*” and, “*variable*” value to academic research, which was “*sometimes used in strategic settings*”, overwhelmingly the answer was that it was not valued. PP2 did not believe it was valued or used “*to any extent*”. PP1 felt that where it was used it was “*only discrete and in one area*” and XP2 considered that it was “*not mainstreamed*”. PP5 supported this view by believing it to be “*pocketed in enclaves which do not filter down into practice*”. PP2 concluded that academic research was “*only NPIA doctrine, usually commissioned by the police for the police*”.

From these comments, it can be inferred that the participants are aware of the benefits of academic research. The notions of credibility, flexibility, clarity, support, efficiency, balance, certainty and rigour are all present within the responses. However there was a greater proportion of more negative views, mostly involving the practical use of the research rather than the authenticity of the product.

### 6.2 Usability

There were a significant number of opinions from the participants regarding the usability of research. They fell into two main categories:

The first category was those that felt that a fundamental lack of understanding by academics of the policing environment contributed to a product that had limited use. PP1 was critical of “*people who don't understand our business giving us suggestions without understanding the complexities of the business*”. PP4 believed academics need “*to understand the (policing) environment and to operate at speed*”. PP8 felt that academics have problems “*replicating the real world life of your average cop .......being bricked in a riot cannot be replicated in a lab*”.

The second category was those who felt that the outcome of academic research fell short of, or did not translate well enough into, policing reality; PP4 felt that, “*some academic studies give you insight into particular solutions that work in a particular way...it prompts thought but does not give*
you a readymade solution”. PP5 believed that that the end product of academic research was more of a “formulisation of collective experience” but “correlations of collective experience do not always satisfy individual circumstances”. PP4 contended that academic research is “too narrow” and that small scale studies do not generally translate into the large scale. PP2 discussed the presentation by academics to the police of their research or proposals stating that “academics are unable to emphasise what the police want on the front line and vice versa”. XP3 considered that academics produce what the police would consider an output rather than an outcome, indicating that the academic product, although credible, falls short of the practical applicability the police requires.

One reason for this disconnect may lie in the performance based environment of the police which is biased towards quantitative as opposed to qualitative research. XP3 alluded to the fact that many researchers who are interested in policing are more motivated in qualitative research, whereas the police themselves are “much more likely to be interested and intrigued in the first instance at least by the quantitative in the outcome evaluation because that’s practical, it tells you what works”. XP3 further reflected upon the view that police and academia are “two worlds separated by an uncommon language, one which is the language of the craft of policing and the other is the language of the science of policing”. XP2 believed that whilst “police understand crime as an individual thing happening to an individual person, policing doesn’t look at the aggregate”. Academics were assumed to engage in broader sociological enquiries as opposed to the police service who respond to daily statistical changes in crime patterns. However, there were some contrary views regarding the credibility of academic research.

PP9 indicated that there can be a blind trust in the efficacy of academic work by stating that “I don’t need to know the research methodology, that’s for the peers…. if the peers have allowed them to publish it, I assume their methodology is alright and if it’s not, probably I’m not going to spot the flaw”. Conversely, XP4 was critical regarding the fact that there was a lot of “lousy” research which had progressed through peer review and into publication. XP4 cited one example in which the published findings of an ethnographic
study in a small county police force was extrapolated into cultural assumptions and generalisation for the whole of the British police service:

“I think the methodology was really weak and I thought it over claimed that in terms of the value, and yet once it’s published, once it’s a book, it’s likely there are police HR departments all over the country will look at that and see that as an authoritative source for altering perhaps their recruitment strategies or changing their training regime around diversity”.

PP4 said that too much faith can be placed in academic research, believing that “it can lead you into a false sense of security” and warned against “applying things that are half understood”.

In summary, factors that may create barriers in the usability of academic research are the lack of understanding of the police environment by academics, the lack of ability to translate research into operational reality, the potential of poor research and the subsequent danger of blind faith in the efficacy of academic research.

6.3 A Difference in Working Practices
There were a number of observations regarding the different working practices of the police and academia which fell into three general areas. Firstly, some believed that although the communities had distinct differences, they both had a desire for an outcome that sought the truth:

“They share the desire to gather evidence in an open minded and transparent way without any preconceived ideas using the evidence available” (XP4).

“We are both professional” we both “want to do the best thing” and have “similar drivers for what we want to ……we are like a train track, with parallel tracks, never going to meet” (PP3).

“Both are open to corruption either for financial gain or gaining research, recognition, ego or noble cause corruption, but corruption aside, both are trying to generate a forensic methodology to establish the truth irrespective of what the truth is” (XP1).

The second area was that the desired outcomes were founded on differing intentions for the research:
“….academics search for truth whilst police research is to get to a point they have already decided” (PP1).

“…the target product of the police is different to that of academics. Academia was about research and development whilst policing aims were about crime detection” (PP5).

“……academics don’t like doing simplicity, the whole purpose of their endeavour is to push the complex boundaries of knowledge a little bit further and you have to be very careful and subtle about your definitions and how you describe it all” (PP6).

Lastly, some participants saw cultural differences between the two communities:

“Academics always want to be independent, police always want to control” (PP8).

“Culturally you know I think it’s obvious, there are great differences and there’s a great deal of suspicion between the two camps….academics tend to disagree...they make their livings by disagreeing with somebody else, each party believing that they are right” (XP4).

The data therefore provided a range of views. There was some agreement that police and academics both search for the truth. In this and in other sections however there are contrary views about research which is sometimes used by the police to support a pre-determined view. Academics were seen to engage in a complex environment in which finding new knowledge was required and where debate was a necessary part of the academic culture. Different ways of approaching a problem was also evident as were the police cultural notions of ‘us and them’, ‘control’ and ‘suspicion’.

6.4 Timeliness

A strong theme identified from the data was the amount of time it took for a piece of academic research to be produced, which was at odds with the police preference for a timelier product.

PP9 believed that “you’d be lucky if you get any piece of research done inside a few months, possibly a year”. This lack of shared expectation results in the police wanting a research product in days or weeks but which may be
provided by a researcher in months or years. XP3 was more specific, by exemplifying the complexity of conducting a randomised control trial (RCT):

“There are just different timescales. So for most police officers the time horizon is fantastically shorter than the time horizon for researcher. I mean you just know, you cannot do an RCT and get the results out in 12 months. Most RCTs are 18 months’ worth of field work, 12-14 months to the result and actually if your measurement is re-offending rates, you really should leave the measurement for two years”.

PP3 considered the police to be “short-termist” operating at different speeds to academia and it was proposed that whilst the police are forward looking, academia looks back at history and therefore needs to look more at “predicting the future”. PP5 supported this by defining the environment as a “knee jerk culture”. The participants’ comments contained a strong consensus:

“….waiting for results is the problem” (PP2).

“…..research is forgotten about and we move onto the next thing……it may take 6 months or 2 years to work something out that I need tomorrow or today… even if you are commissioned, it’s out of date” (PP5).

“I commissioned a good piece of work from university….six months later when it was produced we were onto something else……they have time to ask all sorts of interesting questions …….whereas I have to get out there and nick someone, making decisions at speed” (PP4).

These comments identify a friction between a more contemplative academic environment and a dynamic policing environment where a piece of research may meet all of the complex demands the police service requires, but be produced too late to be of use. However, PP9 proposed that there are advantages to some pieces of work taking a longer period of time to allow for sophisticated reflection and to avoid police officers, politicians and civil servants giving it a contemporary swing:

“What politicians want is to do something now or they want a judgement now, newspapers don’t want to wait a year for you to do a piece of research to prove that what you just said in the headline is true. So I think for me it
certainly plays a part if you are able to publish at the end of the year and that’s when you make the comment”.

6.5 Intelligibility

This section considers how the manner in which academic texts are written may prove an impediment in their understanding and therefore acceptance by the police. It suggests that the common presentational style of an academic does not easily lend itself to ready acceptance by a police audience which operates in a more practically based environment.

The participant responses indicated that academic work was often unnecessarily complex for police purposes. XP1 felt that the two communities did not have “a shared language” and contained “over complex descriptions” which the regular police officer “cannot understand” resulting in “cops feeling intimidated and close to humiliated”. XP1 also said that the complexity was sometimes intentional, commenting on the fact that academic work was “deliberately impenetrable” and “written to meet academic expectations of peer review”. XP1 referred to an academic who was commissioned to look at the criminal use of social media, but although it was considered a well-researched piece of work it was “no use to police as there was no way of engaging with the findings”.

XP2 advocated that academics need to change their language by engaging in public policy debate and using a sound evidence base as a catalyst for involvement. Referring to academics, XP2 felt that there was;

“…a need to change your language. Going between substantive research and public policy is something that I haven’t seen being taught in academia, opening debate about either why you should participate in the policy debate, or how you can participate using an evidence base as the spring board for the conversation”.

There was one noteworthy view by PP4 who did not criticise academic work per se, but reflected that when it was re-packaged by the police for police consumption, it resulted in an over simplistic product. He believed that “anything internal tends to be dumbed down” and “very tabloid”. As
previously said in this research, unless an officer has academic experience they are unlikely to be provided with the skills of academic interpretation within the police service.

In most cases, the acceptance of any research into the police service is likely to require the authority of a senior officer. The participants of this study commented upon the format in which they would like to receive academic research which supported the view that it was too complex for police purposes, (see table 3). ACPO officers answered the question from the perspective of academic research being presented to them in their role as a key decision maker in the sponsorship of the research. To these ends, simplicity, brevity, method of implementation and access to, but not overt presentation of the methodology, were common requirements. It was generally agreed that a useful report was one which contained a short one or two page executive summary, in the format they were used to and which extolled the benefits of the research and which could be accompanied by clear appendices containing further information.

One respondent recalled that a previous Commissioner’s requirement was an executive summary on one page that he could read in no longer than 60 seconds. When staff officer to the Deputy Commissioner he observed the high volume of paperwork and back to back meetings and reflected that “I then realised why people needed things very succinctly and quickly because they haven’t got the time to read a lengthy document”. Non-ACPO officers answered the question from the perspective of how they would like access to existing research. A common desire was for an easily accessible and navigable website with an effective search engine.

It was clear that unless the initial format was appropriate for a police audience, the research would not achieve access. XP5 pointed out that most senior officers were always busy and under considerable time pressure. PP9 supported this observation stating that senior decision makers had challenging jobs and that there was a necessity to “be brief, to the point and deliver”. Furthermore PP9 considered that the question “what can you do for me?” must be quickly addressed. Having work presented with an executive
summary was essential to “get the sense of it” but also with some depth and justification.

TABLE 3: Preferences in the presentation of academic reports

| PP1   | Good resource on the intranet. “Could be a lot more informative stuff on there”/ Have a department distilling the salient points using the SRAU as a filter Everything is “dumbed down for us in this organisation...very tabloid”/ Have to target the audience for academic work...those it affects/ “Cops want the findings not the research methodology”. They look for the value |
| PP2   | A website accessible to all (internal / external) with a google based engine Reports At the top the academic stuff then underneath, sharing practice, reports/ reviews etc.... |
| PP3   | “In a format I am used to with hyperlinks and appendices”. “Academics who understand the (research) and do the sales pitch as well” “The intranet is poor because it shares information not knowledge and the knowledge is well hidden”. |
| PP4   | “Leadership presentations looking at a particular topic and conferences and the like give you space to think. I would start with our performance framework”. |
| PP5   | Police Library / SRAU / Virtual Crime academy. But it is more guidance than research. |
| PP6   | “Simplicity is the key.....telling us what has worked” |
| PP7   | “You have to go looking for it. It’s found in obscure places......I would go to google as a first point of call if asked to do academic research or find stuff on the MPS / Cannot access journals” |
| PP8   | “It depends what the subject area is, but if it was any more than five pages I’m probably not going to read it”. Context specific case studies A bit of an overview about the academic background Not a work full of referencing. Diagrammatic / A presentation Real world examples “Showing me so I can understand” |
| PP9   | “It’ll be short.....It’s got to make it’s point early.....it’s got to show where it could have some practical application..... If it’s too exclusionary in its language then it’s unlikely to be read”. “But bottom line is they’ve got to follow some fairly simple rules, limited number of words, limited number of words in sentence, limited number of sentence in paragraph, one idea per paragraph”. |
| XP1   | “Exactly the way it is not presented to them now” |
| XP2   | “Pick out the three most important points” and “maybe a follow up with more information”........... “you need the idea to twig it” |
| XP5   | An executive summary / “I love an appendix, I want to see for myself what it’s based on!” “It must have justification!” “Don't think I am not interested in the depth of it” |
6.6 Publication

The publication of peer reviewed research is a universal measure of worth within the academic community, providing both a real and symbolic credibility within the profession. Value is also placed upon which particular journal research is published in. Associated activities are also given value, such as the editorship, co-authorship or solo authorship of a book, invitations to guest edit publications or to write for broadsheet newspapers. The Research Excellence Framework is a system for assessing the quality of research in UK higher education institutions. This is an important standard not only for an individual academic to achieve, but is significant for the academic credibility of the university with whom the academic is associated. PP3 emphasised the crucial importance of publishing to an academic, observing that it provides credibility, re-numeration, greater employment opportunities and reputational standing within the community. Unfortunately, very few of these works are known within police circles and if they are, it is usually by a discrete academic unit or a police officer undertaking a university qualification.

The data revealed some nervousness amongst the police participants with regard to the potential publishing of material that may be injurious to their personal or organisational reputation, or alternatively, research which may reveal police tactics. A need for clarity between researcher and sponsor at the outset of a project may be called for, but there is a risk that if a publication is prohibited or restricted, it may dissuade the academic from engaging in any research agreement in the first place. XP3 commented upon the standing of academic research about policing within journals:

“if you look at the journals on policing firstly they’re low rated on the whole they’re not amongst the highs, there’s no single academic journal on policing which is in the high rank. The top ranked journal in criminology is Criminology, it doesn’t publish that many articles about police”.

XP3 was disappointed that the combination of a lack of articles about policing coupled with a low level of input into academic journals by police officers has
led to a serious problem, that being “a complete separation between practice and academic work in terms of the production of knowledge in policing”.

There may be different expectations regarding the publication of police sponsored research. Academics may prefer to publish in peer reviewed journals but a police officer may be happier with a more confidential report, especially if it is a sensitive piece of research. XP1 stated that “the end product has to mean something to the practitioner, otherwise it’s a means to generate and publish papers”. However PP2 did not want to be involved in “petty debates that are drawn out in journals” saying that “policing doesn’t want to become a part of that”.

PP3 told of an unauthorised publication of a piece of research which was commissioned from an external academic. The research was sensitive because it involved the recruiting of BME officers. PP3 believed the study “didn't work because the researcher had a fixed view……it was wrong on different levels……I thought it would be balanced but it was critical”. PP3 concluded that they were personally naive by not having a documented contract and working purely by verbal agreements. This experience may have resulted in the diminishment of trust which may well have affected future external commissioning of research by this officer. If accurate, it would no doubt be subject to rebuttal by the academic in question. However it does point towards a lack of shared expectations of how findings are disseminated, the relevance of formal contracts, the need for publication agreements and an awareness of the potential restriction of publication due to confidentiality.

The effects of the Leveson Inquiry into phone hacking and Operation Elveden regarding inappropriate press relationships, continue to re-define the association between the police and media. As referred to earlier in this study, the cultural trait of ‘I know best’ by the police may have had detrimental effects upon the relationships between the police and academic communities, especially where publication is an issue. PP6 believes that there is a particular desire for academics to publish “when things are sensitive or go wrong”. PP8 considered that:
“We always worry about they’ll want to publish a book, so we need to decide what are they going to do with the material, where is it going to end up, what’s in it for the police officer. You know what’s in it for me by giving you access to what is a wealth of information and knowledge isn’t it”.

PP8 was also concerned about the consequences of publication, believing that there was a risk in publicising police tactics and methodology because it informs offenders of police methods and thus could cause them to alter their modus operandi:

“The more you tell people about what's happening the more it ends up in the public domain, the more people then know your methodology and your trade craft, so that then would concern me”.

Once the publication is in the public domain, further interpretation, analysis and publication is uncontrolled and subject to the gaze of a global media, which reaches far beyond the often cautious reserve of the academic journal. It can be argued that the lines of engagement are now redefined and as a consequence the environment is now increasingly one of managed relationships and considerable nervousness with those who may publish information about the police. This may well affect access and publishing agreements regarding how research outcomes can be communicated.

Thus, whilst academics were keen to release their work into the public domain, the police retained a nervousness of the reputational effects of a piece of work that may be considered critical or which may contain ‘trade secrets’. In such an environment, adverse relationships of suspicion and mistrust can form. Additionally, there was little evidence of any enthusiasm on the part of the police to publish work, or read journals upon policing matters.

This chapter has established that the police service can understand the benefits of academic research but it is clear that there are differences in their respective working practices. These lead to four distinct barriers of usability, timeliness, intelligibility and publication.
CHAPTER SEVEN: RESULTS. POLICE OCCUPATIONAL CULTURE

This chapter is divided three thematic sub-sections of cultural traits, anti-intellectualism and the use of tacit knowledge. Each of these themes is presented as inhibiting factors in the police–academic relationship and the use of academic research.

The interest in the police service as a topic of research is described in the introduction to this study, but police culture as a theme of examination in its own right is well anchored in the literature (Sherman, 1998, Smith and Gray, 1983, Reiner, 1992, Chan, 1996, 1997, Waddington, 1999, Lofts 2009, Cockroft, 2012). Engel and Whalen (2010) propose that the legacy of the critical police research tradition continues to be detrimental to police and academic relations. This may be exacerbated by the traditional observations of police cultural studies with regard to the perceived police predisposition which may define academics as outsiders, even before a word is said or written.

For definitional purposes, Schein (1986) sees the term culture as consisting of group norms, informal rules, habits of thinking and linguistic paradigms, and Cockroft, who states that “culture, after all, is an abstract concept, an elusive entity that is experienced as much as witnessed” (2012, p.8).

7.1 Cultural Traits

The existence of an ‘I know best’ attitude was evident in a significant number of participant comments:

“Police culture is about challenging others as opposed to challenging ourselves …..we are so focused on our internal changes we don’t want others coming in telling us what to do” (PP3).

“We are an organisation which is incredibly insular, very unforgiving of anybody who thinks they might know differently about what we might do and we’re not very receptive to it, the constant trait which is the ‘us and them’ mentality” (PP8).
“The arrogance of policing is unique, it’s about experience and tacit knowledge… difficult to tell someone how to do it” (PP1).

“…arrogance, self-centred, inward looking……walking past a ringing phone when it maybe someone in crisis…..we understand public service when we are on the streets but forget it in our offices” (PP3).

“…if an academic is asked for advice about what we should do, I think police officers in the police service are historically sceptical around that because they’ll challenge their experience and their knowledge” (FG4).

The ‘I know best’ attitude was also evident in the way that research was used to prove a point rather than positively affect practice:

XP1 felt that the police “values research when it supports the position they wish to take” which was supported by XP4:

“Sometimes, the police want to do research to validate what they’re already doing or what they think they ought to do…It really depends whether they are serious about wanting to find out whether something works or whether they just want cover for an idea which they’ve got anyway”.

PP3 additionally commented upon his use of academic research stating “if it proves my point it’s valuable, if it disproves my point, I don’t use it….where I don’t like the result, it stays on the table where I left it”. In one circumstance, PP3 was certain that the conclusions to a particular piece of research by an external academic were predictable prior to its being commissioned, but felt that the academic validity would assist in “proving my point…if it helps me I love it, if it doesn’t I ignore it, it’s my arrogance”.

An additional point was made by PP9, who indicated a lack of organisational grip around academic research with regards to considering the evidence in making policing decisions:

“I think following the evidence has been patchy and anecdotal at times and I think we’ve all been guilty of that, where somebody’s heard about the latest development, done it for a while and then within the year someone said “we used to do that didn’t we” and then it’s got lost”.

Reiner (1978, 1992, 2010) has over a long period, commented upon of a ‘sense of mission’ within police officers. Loftus (2009) considers that this
‘sense of mission’ is still a trait which remains present within the police service. This was evident in a considerable number of statements:

“The police are the last resort at picking up the pieces” (PP1).

“….we get embedded, we deal with people the rest of the world doesn't want to get near” (PP8).

“I think policing is a complete unique way of art really, you speak to members of the public, you deal with violent confrontational situations, you don’t have to be an academic to do that” (FG1).

“….we get in there and sort it out, where everybody else is talking, we’ve got boots on the ground, so we’re going to resolve these things” (PP9).

A ‘sense of mission’ engenders ideas of ‘solidarity’ and notions of group cohesion which were discussed in the focus group. There was a feeling that the sense of mission was still strong and that the organisational identity of being a police officer was important. There was however evidence of a reduction of the once strong internal cohesion. The focus group gave a number of different perspectives:

“.... as a whole I think that cohesion is very much weaker and there are lots of reasons for it, shift patterns, demographics” (FG2).

“...because people don’t socialise outside of work so much, there’s less of that family culture inside work now I think as a consequence” (FG4).

“....it’s not going to be the same as 50% of my team, the other 50% are going to have a degree, however that’s viewed, educated individual, however that’s viewed. And I think that creates for less of that gang cohesion” (FG4).

“...there’s a more competitive back biting culture as well ....because people who come into the job with degrees, they have that inbuilt aspiration that they got a degree and so they must get promoted quickly or specialise quickly and advance more quickly than they would have done historically, which is unhealthy and divisive” (FG4).

7.2 Anti-intellectualism

The higher a police officer rises in rank within the police service, the greater the exposure to academic research and the necessity to understand the benefits of a more evidenced based approach. Many officers are studying at the highest academic levels both in their own time and with their own funding
or with police sponsorship and there are more graduates joining the police service than ever before. However much of the data from the participants indicate the presence of an anti-intellectual culture, much of it focused towards academically skilled officers. Whether there was anti-intellectualism in the police was one of a number of issues discussed in the focus group. A summary of one conversational exchange between focus members proceeded as such:

“So on the one hand if an academic is asked for advice what we should do, I think police officers are historically sceptical around that because they’ll challenge their experience and their knowledge…..it’s cultural roots I think, because of the perception of police officers as lower middle class, not educated…… there’s a legacy of perceptions around who police officers are, which goes back years” (FG4).

“….it’s certain aspects of the policing which has that reputation. You have certain aspects of, or specialisms within the Met, that you may look at and think well they’re wrongly or rightly more educated than other aspects, depending on what you want to do and the skill sets that you have” (FG1).

“When I joined 24 years ago you had very active, good coppers and they would not have an ounce of a certificate between them. But they were good street coppers. They knew what was right, knew what was wrong, they had a sense, they had a feeling, they had a sixth sense. They would go out there and they’d nick the bodies and the good bodies as well”. (FG2)

To highlight the contrasting and complementary views relating to anti-intellectualism, two personal narratives are presented as worthy of consideration, one being from an interview participant (XP3) and the other a focus group member (FG4).

FG4, now a middle ranking officer, was at Oxford University in the late 1980s reading Philosophy, Politics and Economics. He joined the police service in the early 1990s and made a deliberate decision at the beginning of his police career to hide his educational prowess from his peers and supervisors for as long as possible. He stated that for better or worse during the subsequent 24 years, he “got found out”, and that it had changed his career at certain points. He gave four substantial reasons for his decision to keep his educational ability under wraps:
Firstly, he believed that a good education bore no relevance to his vocation as a police officer, because whatever his educational opportunities, he always wanted to be a police officer. He felt that the police service did not traditionally give academically experienced individuals the opportunity to use their academic abilities. FG3 used the metaphor of a militaristic model in response to his observations:

“The military will often plan things out very, very carefully for people, particularly around careers and if you come in with a specialist piece of knowledge they might well make considerable use of that. The police service has never done that”.

Secondly, FG4 alluded to “the cultural fear of the place” implying that individuals with academic skills were inhibited from actively trying to use them:

“People would stereotype me as an academic and pigeon hole me for that reason and not be comfortable working with me for whatever reason because they thought for some reason I might think I’m superior to them, which was quite the opposite”.

Thirdly, he felt that he would be prematurely seconded or attached to other departments or staff officer roles where he would not get sufficient opportunity to learn how to be an operational police officer prior to any promotional ambitions. This linked into his perception of his colleague’s attitudes:

“The other thing I found frustrating from the early stage of my career is that academic qualifications were linked in a lot of people’s minds with an assumption that you want promotion and advancement before everyone else, before you’re ready for development”.

Lastly, he referred to a perceived cultural habit of “cops only listening to cops” and the subsequent detrimental effect to his potential contribution if he demonstrated academic ability:

“I’m nervous to declare my hand around that cause I sort of had that same sense that cops listen to grass root cops, if all of a sudden I change and become an academic cop, am I going to be listened to and viewed in the same way?”
The interview participant, XP3, had a different perspective. Also an Oxford graduate, he thought that having an academic aptitude was similarly not helpful amongst his immediate peers, but was conversely pleased to be recognised and used throughout his career for his academic abilities. He considered this to be a strong contributory factor in his extremely successful career both in the police service and in academia.

Significant moments for him were the personal sponsorship of two chief constables whom he considered were “not the rule”. When the participant was a junior officer, he was used by one of these senior officers to aid his understanding of the outcome of a complex piece of research. However the senior officer did not feel the need to possess a great depth of understanding of the methodology of his work, commenting to the participant “why on earth should I have a dog and bark myself”. As the participant rose in the police hierarchy, he felt that fellow officers were instead threatened by him, especially the closer in rank he became to them.

Both officers experienced the animosity of their peers. One embraced his academic skills, and the other did not. Although the idea of success is a personal matter, the interview participant who embraced his academic ability has seen a far greater advancement than the former focus group member who chose to remain a “regular cop”.

Many officers enter the service with relevant degrees or have taken first and further degrees within the service, either by self-funding or with police sponsorship. PP1 felt that there were a sufficient amount of officers with academic ability to engage in relevant academic research, but not the organisational will to use them. As the holder of a masters’ degree he had been asked to conduct some complex research, but this request was not based on his academic ability, as the sponsor had no awareness of it, but because he was at “the right place at the right time”.

The interviewees were asked about the extent to which the police used staff with relevant academic qualifications. Almost all of the participants agreed
that the service did not in any meaningful way identify nor utilise these skills. Some apposite comments were:

“**We probably don’t know what skills they have, we think of people purely in terms of police officers and their police training skills…...**we are busy recruiting graduates but we have not looked inside which is indicative of the failure to exploit the very considerable talent that exists in the organisation” (PP8).

“You know the Met isn’t really looking within, it’s looking for outside isn’t it, what experience you’ve got. If you got an academic qualification, great we’re going to put you on this acceleration promotion” (FG1).

“There are people stuck in the dark ages. It’s probably not about being academic but being academic about what…… you can be pigeon holed as an academic which is a disadvantage and almost an insult in some policing circles”. (PP4).

“The police want a monopoly of knowledge and limits employees developing knowledge” (PP5).

“Cops feel intimidated by cops with degrees. My qualifications have always hindered me and never helped me progress. I have even lost out to a job because I was overqualified” (PP1).

A discussion in the focus group displayed negativity towards the value of an academic qualification. Referring to the High Potential Development Scheme (HPDS), FG3 stated:

“You know I’ve been in 20 years and during that time at various stages you’ve seen it many times, you know the high potential development scheme, the sort of jealously around it, you know they spent 5 minutes here, 5 minutes there, why do they get to do that. They get to the top, they don’t know how to make a decision”.

“I have not heard anyone say well I really rate them because they’ve got a degree in this or not. Do you see what I mean? I rate that person and I will follow them to the end of the earth because they’re a bloody good copper” (FG1).

“... they’re no better than me just because they’ve done this qualification, but if you have a qualification I don’t think you sound better than them but you
just have an academic mind and you are sold on that concept of evidence base” (FG2).

FG1 responded “but that qualification could be on anything…unrelated to policing or anything to do with policing”. FG1 later spoke in critical terms of a new graduate scheme officer coming to a borough with a sports science degree.

The nature of academic research was also discussed in the focus group:

“You could have very conflicting ideas and views in academic world but what will teach you your own skills is your life skills, your own life experiences” (FG1).

“I do think a little knowledge is a dangerous thing most definitely and sometimes that can be self-serving” (FG2).

“Policing in my humble view is very hands on and just all about experience and how you deal with people. You don’t have to be an academic” (FG1).

Reflecting upon academic disagreement with research into public order, FG4 commented “academic knowledge is not one uniform body is it? ...... there are internal divisions and conflicts within academic knowledge, they provoke radical views about problem solving and cause and effect” (FG4).

7.3 The Use of Tacit Knowledge

Although there is greater accessibility to information from a broader range of sources than ever before, it does not automatically mean that police officers choose to engage with new sources of knowledge. Although arguably a nostalgic view, police officers pride themselves on having the ‘coppers’ hunch’, which can be described as an intuitive sense that something is wrong, learned by experience from walking the beat and dealing, on a daily basis, with the those they perceive as suspicious. This section explores the extent to which the use of tacit, as opposed to explicit knowledge, is still valued and how this may affect the relationship between the police and academic research.
The data reveals a complex relationship between tacit and explicit knowledge with contrasting views amongst the participants. Although the product of academic research most comfortably sits within the category of explicit knowledge, the data suggests that successful policing relies on tacit knowledge to operationalize academic research and other forms of explicit knowledge. To these ends the comment of XP5 is apposite: “Knowledge is only information until you have done it” intimating that as tacit knowledge is often relevant, being both time and place dependent, much knowledge could be considered as simply information, devoid of the associated meaning which provides value and the subsequent transference of such knowledge into policing activity.

The question “how would you describe the types of knowledge that police officers find most useful?” was asked to the interview participants. There was both a broad and compelling bias in the responses towards the beneficial use and relevance of tacit knowledge and the recognition that experience and learning from their police officer colleagues was generally seen as the primary educating force for police officers. Academic research was rarely mentioned by the participants in their initial responses, PP6 being the only participant who mentioned the beneficial use of reading academic papers. The following comments summarise a substantial number of views:

“Academic knowledge for a police constable on the street…. you might say that’s no use whatsoever…. we need basic street skills, street coppering, which is based upon innate life skills, an ability to communicate, it’s very simple stuff” (FG4).

“Experience is a huge part of it………this is the major one… it’s learned from colleagues, role-modelling behaviour” (PP1).

“…they learn to police out on the streets by grandfather rules” (XP2).

“Most neighbourhood Inspectors in solving a problem would go from experience or phoning a mate rather than use evidence” (PP6).

“And we got these sort of leading lights academics, they said to me, it’s always useful to have a cop present because their experience from an outsider is that cops only listen to cops” (FG2).
There were a number of participants, who although they accepted that the police had a preference for tacit knowledge, did not agree that it was of greater value than more formal alternatives. A number of comments displayed a belief that there was a danger of continual repetition of poor practice. Some felt that a healthy mixture of tacit and more formal knowledge was useful, whilst others felt that the reliance on tacit knowledge did not allow the service to change quickly enough to accommodate new technological innovations.

PP9 highlighted the danger of aligning length of service with being a good role model for new officers stating “I’d argue that we value experience too much…..You could be doing it badly for 16 years, could have got some damn good anecdotes, that have carried you through…..doesn’t mean to say you’re any good at it, just means to say that you got through”. XP2 both supported and expanded this view by stating that “you cannot have a profession which is totally built upon experience because sometimes experience is wrong, skewed through the lens of being a police officer. Things get filtered through the uniform that don't get filtered through normal people, they see danger where others don't, they see a violent offender where others see mental health”.

XP1 suggested that as the police service becomes ever more complex, further and more specialised knowledge would be required according to the needs of particular specialisms, for example, murder investigation or fraud. Existing within these fields of criminal investigation is a vast amount of potential knowledge, or evidence that can be collected from the physical environment, forensic collection, human recollection, electronic surveillance and criminal intelligence. Detectives use this evidence to try and create sense from inadequate, abstruse and conflicting data. PP7 referred to detectives who develop a craft model of detection based upon their own ideas and previous experience:

“Now the danger is of course that this can be very much based on the idiosyncratic ideas of individual detectives and if that becomes the basis for our knowledge about what works, you know I think that’s quite dangerous because these people could actually be wrong, they could have ideas which are potentially unlawful or sailing close to the wind”.
In support of this view, XP2 made a fundamental point that “the crime academy is not based upon an academic footing, the SRAU have done the baseline assessment, they decide someone is an expert and bring them in to teach the course”.

The next chapter moves away from data that reflects occupational barriers to data that explores how organisational arrangements may affect the relationship with academia.
CHAPTER EIGHT: RESULTS- POLICE ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE

The emergent themes of police organisational culture in this chapter are presented in four sections. It starts with the educational standards of police officers, focusing on the fundamental blue collar nature of their work. The second section considers the effect in the change in the demography of the police service. The third section explores the effects of financial restrictions and the final section assesses the particular issues of officers who hold high rank in the police service.

8.1 Educational Standards

This section is inextricably linked to the identification of an anti-academic culture in chapter seven, but it is situated in the organisational culture rather than the occupational. It proposes that relationships between the police and academia are affected by the employment of a blue collar workforce which has little experience of academia and the emerging realisation by officers of the value of academic skills when they reach higher rank.

PP8 stated that “I don't think the police either internally or externally are viewed as an academic or an intellectual body of people” and although unanswered, pondered upon the question “is it that we are such a practically based organisation that we've failed to see the value of intellect?”

PP6 highlighted a view that training in the police is based upon “process and not evidence”. Although officers have to complete the CKP prior to joining the service, the effects are minimal due to its mandatory introduction in 2012. As a trainee constable, a limited amount of skills based role play is provided and followed by an on the job training programme and is thus very much focused on the ‘how’ and not the ‘why’. PP9 felt that on a basic level the police had not trained its people to do their specific role, especially in neighbourhood and response policing. PP3 highlighted the polemic in the differing views of police training by saying:
“I think we’ve done too much training by experiencing and then ironically we claimed that experience means that it has got to be better than people who’ve been trained”.

It may be a reflection of a broadening of opportunity after the post 1992 transition of some colleges and polytechnics into university status, that the trend towards degree qualifications has resulted in greater numbers of graduates now employed as police officers. Although it seems to be the case that the police service is still not well served by an abundance of academically skilled police officers, the proportion of graduates in the police has grown. However, as previously described, the data reveals that their academic skills are not effectively used. PP4 proposed that the increasing percentage volume of those entering the service with degrees may, over time, provide a greater understanding, value and use of academic research, stating that there are “more and more people who are university educated and thus focused upon research based methodologies”. FG4 was also optimistic about the increase in the volume of graduates:

“I think a significant proportion of people nowadays are graduates, they pursue further education outside of their work, additional qualifications and have far more sound, solid academic background, which is a very different case to perhaps fifty years ago”.

However, PP5 commented that “degrees are prolific now” and believed that having a degree did not automatically mean that one had “an academic way of thinking” nor may an “academic way of thinking be needed for the majority of roles the police require”.

It could be proposed that the apparent general lack of educational accomplishment of police officers leads to a fundamental lack of knowledge of what academic research is, and therefore its potential value. PP3 reinforced this view by saying that they had “never been taught anything that has academic links”. PP1 additionally reflected that they “cannot think of any (academic) papers that have been presented to them”. Additionally, XP4 recalled that when a serving police officer, nothing whatsoever to do with
academic qualifications was neither available nor offered to him and certainly not, “on his radar”.

Although all police officers have access to the growing collection of academic research available through the College of Policing and the Police On-Line Knowledge Area (POLKA), the interview data suggests that there is no corporate will to encourage officers, and especially junior officers, to seek it out. On the other hand, the data also revealed the growing necessity and expectation for senior officers to be academically accomplished, with some participants intimating a regret of not engaging with academia earlier in their police career.

XP5 commented upon the long standing expectation of an academic grounding that is required to become a member of ACPO. He believed that not having an academic qualification was a vulnerability in his attempts to be promoted to the rank of Commander. He was however successful by demonstrating that he was academically well read. Reflecting upon when he joined the service in the 1960s, he was not required to sit the entrance exam because he had ‘O’ levels and was asked at his interview, why if he had ‘O’ levels would he want to become a police officer, indicating that he was overqualified.

Aspiring ACPO officers are now required to attend and pass an intensive course at the College of Policing prior to promotion to Commander. XP3 did not think this sufficient, commenting that “you know there are an awful lot of folk out there who think it’s just good enough to do the usual management courses within the organisation and not invest in your own wider understanding, that’s a serious mistake”. This can, to some extent, be observed in the current requirement for senior staff, who sit below the ACPO level, to understand and interpret complex quantitative performance statistics. In the MPS, the scrutiny of borough policing is conducted via a process entitled ‘crime-fighters’ and is replicated in various formats within other constabularies. On a monthly basis senior officers are brought together and held to account for the performance of their police area. The February 2013 edition of the Crime-fighters monthly report (MPS, 2013) ran to 60
pages and contained 43 charts and a wide variety of diagrammatic representations of performance. This requires a core skill of understanding quantitative analysis and provides considerable advantage for those who have such an appreciation. Many of these officers will have used the services of an intelligence analyst to translate these documents into a format they can understand.

PP8 questioned whether the average educational standard of the police service was reflected in the senior team and hence inhibited this group from recognising the worth of academic research. As far as ACPO officers are concerned, the majority of these officers are university educated, and thus have an informed view of academic research. Neyroud (2011, p.192) recommended that attainment of higher rank should be aligned with academic qualifications. However PP1 felt that as there are a high percentage of officers who are not academic and that there exists towards Neyroud’s proposals “a natural bias against these recommendations”.

XP3 provided a deeper analysis of this issue by explaining that throughout his lengthy police and academic experience, he had worked with specific individuals who had driven considerable change by the use of academic research. He felt these individuals fell into three categories. The first category was police officers with academic skills. These individuals were sometimes recognised from an early stage in their career as being academically able and seconded onto projects where their skills were used. The second category consisted of officers with longer service who had, through experience and education, come to realise the beneficial nature of academic research and who had subsequently gained academic skills. The third category was senior officers who may not have possessed academic skills themselves but realised the potential in good research and therefore provided appropriate sponsorship. These officers would often seek out those individuals in the first category. Stanko (2010, p.2) talks of the beneficial influence of committed senior officers, especially when an issue is a personal crusade for such an officer, referring to the management of domestic violence and the introduction of neighbourhood policing as pertinent examples.
Although XP4 was not exposed to academia in his early police career, as he became more senior, he experienced both the pressure to attain, and the subsequent value of, an academic qualification. The Chief Constable criticised XP4’s lack of academic profile when he was promoted to Superintendent. As a result he embarked on a masters’ degree. Since leaving the police service, becoming further qualified and now being a full time university academic, XP4 was able to reflect:

“I had no idea of the different analytical tools that were available, the different software that you can use to do qualitative research analysis and the peer review process. Now I actually respect good quality academic research, but I didn’t before because I didn’t know anything about it.”

XP3 warned that if ambitious officers fail to engage with external sources of policing knowledge as their career progresses, there is likely to be a predisposition towards bias against academic information stating that “there’s an awful lot of police officers who have no significant post-secondary education, it’s out of your knowledge zone and therefore out of your comfort zone”.

XP5, upon a change of role after many years in the police service, sought academic research to assist in a new responsibility in the field of people development. Using the work, amongst others, of James Reason (1997) and Jake Chapman (2004) regarding organisation failures and systemic thinking, he was able to use their work in new developmental programmes. Although operating with this new knowledge towards the end of his policing career, he was clearly enamoured with his new discoveries:

“This was a completely new world for me, it was like going into a toyshop, finding all these lovely things we could talk about and do, that are forensic in the way you apply them...and they really, really work”.

XP4 reflected optimistically upon the changes over time by making the case that as many new officers join the service from other occupations and have academic qualifications, there exists far more acceptance and understanding of academic research; “it’s changing dramatically from say 30 years ago when it would have been a different story”. PP4 also thought that the police
would benefit from valuing different perspectives and gave specific mention to younger officers who were more educated, believing that over 50% of new entrants were now degree qualified.

It may be that a blue collar workforce is undesirable and that the police should pursue an increase in the proportion of its workforce with academic skills. However this view was not universally held. XP2 considered that a variety of intellectual and skills profiles were needed to do the job of policing. But whatever the current make up and academic portfolio of the police, it is clear that the demography of the police is changing. The next section reviews how these changes may affect the relationship with academic research.

8.2 Demographic Change

As previously stated, traditional recruitment policies have resulted in the enlistment of white, heterosexual, male and working class officers. Home Office statistics reveal a gradual rise of minority ethnic and female officers (Home Office, 2014) and due to the increase in graduate recruitment, those of middle class origins. The changing numbers of officers from the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community is less certain, but from an observation as a police officer, it is clear that there have been an increasing number of LGBT officers willing to define themselves as such and thus add to the diverse demographic profile.

Interview participants and the focus group were asked ‘to what extent does a more diverse police service help or hinder the relationship with academic research?’ Responses to this question caused a mixed reaction. PP4 believed that a more diverse workforce “makes no difference whatsoever…. it won’t hinder the mission” and PP6 believed “the risk is not much”. There was criticism of the organisation by XP1 who observed that there existed considerable and diverse talent within the police service, stating that “when you actually look, the prism of colour is immense” but nevertheless “the top of the organisation were pretty much still white”. Irrespective of the ethnic profile at the top of the organisation, PP5 thought that there was a general regret and pessimism at senior levels about the inability to recruit enough new officers from a diverse background. PP2 reinforced this observation,
maintaining that “if we don’t reflect the London population we will get isolation and an inability to understand”. PP6 however felt that “anti-intellectualism crosses all boundaries”, irrespective of individual categorisation.

PP1 provided a contrary view stating that “those within the seven strands of diversity have a greater propensity to be more accepting (of academia) because of the issues they have faced” and “they deal better with people who are not the norm”. PP5 believed that with “different people, there is a difference in how people think and interact”. Yet XP2 suggested a tension existed between the different cultures within the police service, with different cultural groups belonging to individual staff associations to promote their cultural identities under the banner of equitable treatment and mutual support. XP2 felt that although the basic mission had not changed, the police were still working out these differences in an environment where the existence of exclusive staff associations, based on cultural similarities, may cause an enduring friction, especially where positive action or positive discrimination policies affect selection and progression opportunities. However PP9 stated:

“If you look at the academic population, it’s over represented with women and people from minorities. Not all minorities, but a vast majority. So therefore if we are able to select from that pool, we will get better representation”.

A different conceptualisation of diversity came from PP5 who submitted that we focus on the wrong elements of diversity stating that “diversity should be a diversity of minds, it’s about actually trying to get the people that have different views to the point by which they can contribute”. This was however shaded with pessimism with an observation of new entrants, saying that for them it was “difficult to hang onto the principle they first joined with because of the strength of the dominant police culture which may overwhelm them”.

8.3 Financial Constraint

As is the case with both public and private organisations, economic recession and subsequent austerity measures reduce sponsorship of external research. PP3 believes that the financial climate directly affects the commission of
academic research by stating that “the austerity measures are causing a bit of a desert regarding academic research”. XP2 highlights that in such an environment there is a greater need to prove the impact of academic research. One reason for this is in order to justify the cost of research as there is an “issue of no research fund and that you are not going to get academics to work for free anymore”. XP4 warned of economising too much, and that you get what you pay for by saying “so maybe there’s something around trying to get this on the cheap and then you know, what do you expect if you try and get a research project done on the cheap don’t be surprised if the actual methodology is a bit weak”.

If therefore the opportunity for external academic sponsorship has decreased, the view of PP1 becomes apposite, when in summarising a number of views, he contends that we have “cheaper and highly intelligent people in the MPS and we do not have to go outside”. If PP1’s observations, that in times of financial constraint “academic sponsorship is one of the first things to go” is correct then it may provide an opportunity for the greater engagement of internal staff with academic skills. However PP4 believed that under such circumstances, internal people would only be used if “they are singing our song”.

Although PP4 contends that, “academics do not make the cost - benefit decisions”, Stephens (2010) makes reference to funding as being a fundamental issue in the life of an academic. But as funding often follows the police and government research agenda, the potential of funding for other independent research projects is limited. XP3 additionally believes that “the public’s desire for greater public sector transparency coupled with a dis-investment in policing results in a reduction in funding of external research”. These two factors involve political choices “and when you get those political choices, politicians want to make them” (XP3). To these ends it could be proposed that the police service may not prefer politicians to make such choices on their behalf.

However, the assertion byXP3 that academic partnership was “more than something that was nice to have” was supported by XP5 who said:
“There are no alternatives to the police, so it behaves policing to be outward looking at the world and the operating context, particularly given the political nature, the increase in the use of media and the scrutiny of social media has transformed the way we have to operate, so you work in policing without academic support at your peril”.

Table 4: Participant responses to the question, “under what circumstances would you now commission academic research?”

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP1</td>
<td>“When there is a big project to get added value for problems we keep coming up with but never get right”, citing gang culture as a particular problem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP2</td>
<td>“To ascertain why recruits who start off positive become cynical” and “why we have to increase our BME representation”?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP3</td>
<td>“When we haven’t got a bloody clue what to do”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP4</td>
<td>“When there was a critical problem that demanded an external view and that the expense could be justified but only, when I am sure it is not covered elsewhere and there is nothing else in place”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP5</td>
<td>Promotion processes, professional development, criminal investigation, offending behaviour, criminal psychology, investigative interviewing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP6</td>
<td>Girls, gangs and sexual abuse (exploitation and sexual violence), policing disorder, developing POLKA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP7</td>
<td>“When you want an independent view that isn’t skewed by the culture”. “Victim care...because we have a preconceived idea of what they need”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP8</td>
<td>“Crime reduction especially around behavioural activities”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP9</td>
<td>“If you got something you believe is a success you’ll want to test to see whether that’s true.....if you’ve got a novel problem, which is proving complex and hard to understand”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP10</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP1</td>
<td>Work needs to be commissioned “to generate the internal (academic) capability” and to do so it needs to link in with a university.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP2</td>
<td>Customer service, behavioural insight work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP3</td>
<td>Commissioning purely external academic research was not needed because of the increasing successes of partnership working between the police and academia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP4</td>
<td>“So I think that whatever the climate, you know financially or otherwise, if the police generally want to find out if something works or not, then true independent evaluation is necessary and you know really depends whether they are serious about wanting to find out whether something works or whether they just want cover for an idea which they’ve got anyway, if that makes sense”.</td>
</tr>
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| XP5 | “Policing doesn’t happen in isolation its very complex”, therefore, “to get a bigger picture of the wider world”.


It was generally acknowledged that funding for the external commissioning of academic research was severely restricted or non-existent. The majority of the participants however still felt that there was value in commissioning academic research and were asked under what circumstances they would now commission research. Their responses, displayed in table 4, fell into two broad categories. Firstly, those that wished for more research about specific crimes or policing issues. The second category reflected the need for academia to help with complex problems that they considered the police could not solve alone.

There are however positive signs of a greater level of sophistication in funding academic research. Contrary to ad hoc funding by individual constabularies, PP2 referenced the College of Policing as having begun to fund academic research from a dedicated combined fund, as discussed in chapter three.

8.4 Hierarchy

In the environment of hierarchal control, with a cultural leaning towards the notions of ‘I know best’ and a ‘sense of mission’, there may exist a wariness of full co-operation with an academic researcher, especially when organisational and personal reputations are at stake. PP1 proposes that, within the junior ranks it is “more them and us internally, but as you go up the ranks it is more about partners and external influences…..them and us with outsiders”. PP2 considers that “rank is a strong feature, but a manager loses touch quickly”. It may be noteworthy that the most commonly used descriptive word used by the participants in this entire study in relation to police behaviour was “arrogance”. In addition to some previous examples, this is typified by PP3 who said “we are rather arrogant and have fixed views around how things work…… the further up the organisation you rely on your wit”.

It is clear that senior officers have a complex political environment to navigate and that political considerations are a key constituent in strategic decision making. The police service reforms created Policing and Crime
Commissioners and for London, the Mayor’s Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC). Together they wield considerable power and influence over the strategic direction of the police. PP6 believed that there were more politics and community issues in London than in other constabularies, quoting Operation Trident as an example, but “not to the extent which tied the hands of senior officers”. PP6 believed that when compared to smaller forces such as Lancashire and Kent, the MPS seemed to be at the lower end of the experimental scale with regard to academic research, although they possessed greater flexibility of resources and finance.

PP6 saw one particular benefit of using academic research, saying that “being more evidence based gives more influence over politicians” and when politicians play the “what the public want” card, playing the “academic research” card seemed to trump the former. XP3 also thought that academic research provides a good foundation for winning political arguments:

“When chiefs are in a position where they’re trying to influence democratic choices that are making huge difference to the organisation and you’re looking around for an arsenal to be able to win the arguments with treasury people, then research is a sodding good arsenal.”

With regard to a piece of commissioned research, PP3 was less positive in stating “I knew already what the result would be but it gave me a stronger point to argue for change”. Similarly, XP4 felt that:

“Some police hierarchies will see academic research as a nuisance and an irritation because it isn’t going to actually validate what they want to do anyway…….the police see academic research as a tool to use, to sort of confirm what they already think rather than to open mindedly check out whether what they’re doing is the right thing or not”.

XP1 proposed the presence of “accountagenic” decision making within this senior group, defining the term as “decisions based upon an anxiety about not being held accountable”. Speaking specifically about the MPS, PP6 spoke of the “brutality of the Met environment” it having received “kickings over Stephen Lawrence” which “leads to a siege mentality” and that “the Met is watching its back”. XP1 considered that such an environment stifled more
creative and courageous behaviours because “the Met is in the furnace of observed failure” and that it “cannot look outside the blows”.

PP1 felt that “ACPO protect their interests and stick together”. Somewhat disparagingly, PP8 rued the past by saying “looking back on the good old days when you could do as you damn well please and get on with the job without being lettered”. In the focus group, FG3 talked of the necessity of senior officers to work together in following a corporate direction and not wanting “egos bruised” if a piece of academic research indicate that they may be wrong. As a result it could be argued, that as PP6 submits “the Met controls knowledge so that it’s digestible and damage limiting”. PP1 who was internally commissioned to complete an academic report felt that the resultant product had “gone through the cut & paste machine and come out the other end and made it their own in a different format”.

Recruitment policy was discussed within the focus group. FG4 Commented on a single point of entry service as being:

“Unhelpful because it creates this bottom up attitude towards the way we deal with things that means that there’s a suspicion of anyone who comes in at more senior level with perhaps academic qualifications” and who “retains a resentment of an incursion upon a profession that had pride in its roots in being street cops”.

FG1 believed graduate recruitment was not perceived well amongst the junior ranks, saying that the police service should look internally for suitably qualified officers and proposed that with graduate recruitment came the assumption that “you need to have an academic qualification if you want to be a senior leader. So are you saying to people who haven’t got that academic qualification you’re not good enough to get up there?” FG4 observed that “the training for managers in the Met is very, very poor” and did not address the higher level skills required for senior leadership. This point has resonance with the fact that most academic qualifications are taken in officers’ own time and with little organisational support with regard to financial assistance or study leave.
The role of the Commissioner was also discussed. FG3 considered that the reputation of Police Commissioners was based upon policing ability and not academic ability and gave an interesting contrast between the reputations of Sir John Stevens and Sir Ian Blair. ‘Coppers copper’ was a complimentary term assigned to John Stevens, however, “the intellectual was obviously applied to Blair and it was a derogatory term”. This was also commented upon by PP4 (chapter 7.2) in describing that academic prowess maybe considered an insult in some policing circles. This evidence of anti-intellectualism is further supported by the experience of FG4 who, as previously discussed, decided to hide his academic skills for fear of being ostracised (chapter 7.2). FG1 was critical of the desire for each new Commissioner to brand the organisation with their ‘signature’ presence by saying “well for goodness sake, how old is the Met? What are the values of the Met? Why are they so inconsistent? Why is it that every time a new Commissioner comes in we have a new set of strap lines?” Lee and Punch provide a potential rationale for this by suggesting that “successors in organisations are often inclined to savage their predecessor’s pet projects simply to establish their authority” (2006, p.92).

PP2 believed that the police service “needs a strong leader to say, hang on we’ll test this for the right thing to do and ensure we are not doing harm”. Additionally, PP4 concludes that “the expectation of police leaders is to make more intelligent and informed decisions based upon what learning exists out there, but leaders often don’t have the time”.

In conclusion to the three chapters of results, fig 2 (p.23) is presented as a diagrammatic representation of how the inter-relationship between police occupational and organisational culture combine to produce the police perception of academia. The next chapter takes this model a step further by discussing the findings in relation to the emergent meta-themes.
This chapter identifies three meta-themes of power, managerialism and social identity as over-arching concepts to draw together the previously identified themes. They help explain the barriers which exist between the police and academia and provide the final level of conceptual analysis and hierarchy of ideas of this thesis. The meta-themes are inextricably linked and can work singly, in tandem or all together to explore the complex issues this research presents.

These three themes link to the data in the following ways:

Power: Power was demonstrated in the presence of observable authority and control of knowledge in making decisions with regard to the efficacy of academic research which sometimes led to the perverse use of academic research to prove a point already decided upon, or not to use it at all. Power is present in the nature of the transactional relationships between the ranks which creates a coercive environment based upon hierarchy which does not allow for the free flow of information up and down the rank structure. Power is also evidenced in the control of resources. Under staffing of academic units and a lack of support for officers undertaking academic study, including the product of their research, was clear. The lack of recognition for qualifications in selection and promotion systems served to support an anti-academic culture.

Managerialism: The performance based, target driven ethos of managerialism sustains a working culture which is increasingly controlled and directed, stifling creativity, experimentation or opportunity in developing professional practice based upon academic research. The short-term requirements of managerialist practices create a desire for usable and timely research which is often outside the time-frames of academia. Financial restrictions reduce investment in what can be seen as non–essential services which is to the detriment a range of learning and development provisions.
Social identity: Early socialisation introduces police officers into an occupational and organisational culture which creates and maintains a feeling of separateness from those who are not police officers. An anti-intellectual culture is evident within the service which serves to prevent the acceptance and use of academic research. The prized use of tacit knowledge serves to exclude other forms of more explicit knowledge. Whilst separateness based upon hierarchy and demographic diversity both serve to dilute internal cohesiveness, the external shell of solidarity remains strong.

9.1 Power

Holding a pivotal position in the maintenance of law and order, the police wield considerable power. The history of political independence, accompanied by a strong pseudo-militaristic culture has created a service of assertive individuals with a bias and aptitude for a pro-active and dynamic working life. From their first days of patrolling the streets, junior officers experience power and learn quickly how to manage confrontation. They are in control of their immediate patrol environment and possess a broad range of legal powers, most notably the deprivation of liberty and the use of force, which French and Raven (1959) would describe as legitimate power. Most members of the public who come into contact with police officers during the course of a day will demonstrate deference to the legitimate power the police possess.

It is proposed by this study that the dynamics of power relationships within the police service affect the relationship with academia. Academic definitions of power propose that it resides within an individual and deployed in its various ways to impose the possessors will upon another and therefore to ensure compliance with something they may or may not want to ordinarily do (French & Raven, 1959, Scott, 2001, Lukes, 2005). Alternative definitions consider it to be a more distributed entity shared amongst the members of an organisation (Foucault, 1991).

It is proposed that a hierarchal culture of coercion and deference exists in the police service which maintains internal divisions and which does not support nor encourage the use of academic research.
The police service is an organisation where the signs and symbols of authority are clearly evident. I saw, through my attendance at the workplaces of at least one member of each rank in the MPS, the presence and significance of observable authority. Obedience to orders and respect of the rank structure are expected from each member of the police service. In the MPS, 32 borough-based professional standards departments are considered necessary to maintain compliance with the discipline code and to investigate internally or externally reported indiscretions. In such an environment, a proportion of officers will conduct their working lives strongly influenced by the notion of compliance with the instructions given by supervisors. Rewards in the public sector are not the financial bonuses presented in some private sector organisations, but based upon the attempted maintenance of motivation by supervisors, manifested by good work reports, commendations, annual appraisals and personal praise. It can be argued that compliance within the police is more commonly achieved by the coercion and the fear of sanction. This results in poor communication between the ranks within the police service whereby the rationale behind strategic decisions are not explained and thus potentially not understood. Poor communication can also exist between the police and academia. One reason for this may be that the police working environment exists in stark contrast to that of academia. Universities also have hierarchies and discipline codes, but operate at a far more discrete level than in the police service where the currency of power, control and authority are ubiquitous. It can be suggested that in comparison with academia, which operates in a more collegiate setting, the existence of a coercive environment within the police service is a clash of cultures which does not lend itself to a productive working relationship.

Another type of power described by French and Raven (1959) is coercive power. Combined with legitimate power, they form the most common types of power that are used by senior officers within the police organisation and are brought to bear to achieve compliance with instructions. However power is also held by middle ranking and junior officers. According to Foucault (1978, 1991) power is pervasive. He talks of the possibilities of resistance, including at an individual level, afforded by a diffused understanding of power.
Therefore using the police service as an example, power can be distributed everywhere, across departments, within specialisms and throughout the rank structure. Contrary to the views of French and Raven, Foucault believes that power is not a personal possession, rather an activity in which individuals participate.

Academic research has most commonly influenced practice at the strategic and policy making level. As is clear from this study and evidenced in the literature by Reus-Ianni (1983) and Elias (2008), the middle management tiers of the police have a responsibility to interpret and translate strategy into tactical activity and deployment. Although it seems unlikely that academic research in its unfettered form would reach the middle management level, there is a risk that if this were to be the case, its re-interpretation may not accurately reflect the academic intentions of the research, unless the individual has academic understanding themselves.

For junior officers, the concept of compliance is open to interpretation, especially if the success of an intended policing tactic relies on strict compliance with instructions. Resistance to a new policy or procedure is easily achieved unless accompanied by appropriate regime of supervision accompanied by the threat of sanction, which is common in performance related environments such as the police service. However, the thoughts of Foucault have significance by indicating that behaviours can become so entrenched within individuals and organisational groups that they automatically comply with what they are told without thought. This can result in self-regulation which requires no external influence to achieve compliance. Foucault therefore proposed that the acquiescence to the exertion of disciplinary power in some institutional settings can become unwitting.

Power is also demonstrated by junior officers in another way. The police service has a number of specialist departments which exercise another of French and Raven’s (1959) types of power, that of expert power. The departments which deal with issues such as firearms, public order and sexual offences can be influential in tactical decision making. Expert tactical advisors are commonplace at live events and senior officers will invariably
follow the advice provided. Many specialist units have been the beneficiaries of academic research in their strategic development. Due to their particular attraction to both the public and to politicians, they receive considerable scrutiny from external inspectorates regarding their policy and practice. Hence the relevance of the application of evidence based practice. However, academics are yet to be considered to have the same gravitas as internal specialists. This study proposes that power can potentially be held by internal staff members having academic and research skills. The data highlighted two contrasting examples of those with academic skills, one of which used the skills as expert power and the other who hid them from view for fear of being removed from mainstream policing and placed into a research capacity. It is evident that staff with academic qualifications are not routinely identified, nor used, even if their studies are internally sponsored.

Police relationships with external partners have had a complex and evolving history, during which power and accountability have been increasingly distributed. The overt power relationships which exist between police officers are only effective within their own organisation and therefore relationships with other organisations have been traditionally more complex as authority has been diluted. For a police service which is used to being in control, the move from command and control to negotiated solutions has arguably, for some, been difficult because partners, such as academics, require a relationship based upon negotiation rather than instruction, which is not founded on deference.

Although the police suffer from increasing external control and financial constraint, the decision making autonomy of senior officers to manage internal resources remains substantial. In the MPS, the academic gatekeeping department was considered to be under funded, understaffed and lacking a credible profile amongst middle and junior ranked officers. Academic bursaries and contribution to private studies for police officers had been largely discontinued and restricted to individual members of talent management programmes. A number of these individuals were sponsored to undertake Master of Public Administration qualifications. However, little evidence existed of their dissertations being evaluated post completion for
corporate use, nor the newly acquired skills of these officers used to research areas of organisational need. No effective system was apparent which identified other police officers who had relevant academic skills, nor did there appear to be a particular desire to create one. Finally, the pathway for the submission of completed academic research conducted by police officers was unclear and therefore resulted in the potential of many missed opportunities whereby valuable internal academic work had not been recognised.

The police service is dominated by a white male demographic within the top five ranks of the organisation. As more officers from diverse groups rise to these senior positions it is expected that the insular and ‘I know best’ culture will be become further diluted and these senior positions will be occupied by those more open to external views. However a non-diverse power base in the police service still exists, which due to the single point of entry at the rank of Constable, consists of mostly white, middle aged, male officers. The majority of these officers joined the service over twenty years ago and were socialised into a more cohesive culture where some of the more traditionally recognised cultural traits such as solidarity, prejudice and a sense of mission were more overt and observable.

The control of knowledge is affected by political, reputational and cultural concerns where engagement with academic research is accompanied by risk and uncertainty.

Those who possess the most legitimate power in the police service are senior officers. As this research involved a stratified sample, I was able to explore the particular working environment for a small number of these officers. It was clear that the presence of power and the associated terms of accountability and responsibility were influential in the relationship with academia. For senior officers, the pressure to deliver results is considerable. This pressure can originate from political governance, driven by the omnipresent inspection regime, influenced by community needs or by the concerns of internal staff.
As experienced by the premature departures of Sir Paul Stephenson and Sir Ian Blair, the role of Commissioner faces a new vulnerability under the ‘hire and fire’ powers granted to MOPAC and the Mayor of London. The MPS in particular has national and international responsibilities which makes the use of academic research all the more important. The decisions of senior officers are subject to public scrutiny, media commentary and the immediacy of social media networking. Not only are these officers concerned to preserve their personal reputations, but also organisational reputation. Thus the manner in which the results of academic research are interpreted and controlled is important. The academic desire to publish work therefore comes into stark contrast with the desire for senior officers to control output, especially if the work may be in anyway critical of the organisation or increases their vulnerability.

For all of the barriers, there were clearly some significant examples of academic research affecting policing strategy and considerable senior support for a range of worthy projects (Stanko, 2010). But there was also evidence of the use of academic research for other purposes. The data suggests that the accountability and scrutiny senior officers face may sometimes results in nervousness and accountagenic decision making. The most common perception was that academic research was often valued when lending weight to justify a policy or course of action that had already been decided upon. However, there was also evidence to suggest that if the research did not assist in these ways or contained unhelpful findings, it was acceptable to ignore it. The most commonly used adjective used by the participants to describe the behaviour of the MPS was ‘arrogance’. It is suggested that this is inextricably linked with notions of power and authority, but also the cultural trait of ‘I know best’.

However, the growing EBP movement, supported by the College of Policing can be seen as an example of the constructive use of collective and distributed power, where academic research is achieving increasing internal awareness and advocacy. As previously considered in chapter three, the concept of EBP is not without criticism. However, with the combined skills of good research by academics and knowledge of the policing environment
provided by police officers, there is a case for optimism in the growing use of academic research and the move towards decision making based upon a more solid evidential foundation.

But power can also be seen as a strong indicator of the divide of cultures between police and academia. Power as used by the police can be seen as both a cultural phenomenon rooted in tradition and a product of the requirement for unquestioning compliance in response to the immediate demands of police work. To effectuate the beneficial use of academic research, a more distributed, negotiated and relational use of power is required accompanied by strong leadership and a strategy of organisational development based upon a valid and credible foundation of research based knowledge.

9.2 Managerialism

The literature concerning managerialism indicates a complex and shifting landscape where the assimilation of private sector principles into public sector practices has over three decades, re-defined the operational culture of the police. This has fundamentally affected the manner by which policing services are delivered and its subsequent relationships with external bodies and internal staff. The introduction of managerialist practices into the police service in the 1980s has been subject to continual refinement and development (Butterfield et al, 2005, Dick, 2010, Marnoch, 2010, Gilling, 2013).

The Audit Commission report of 1993 was a seminal publication, through which the first statutory national performance indicators were established. The twelve recommendations for the police service spoke a new language of resource allocation, clarification of roles, strengthening of supervision, performance management systems and crime management accountabilities. Since this time NPM practices, with their new lexicon of supply and demand, reward and sanction, risk management, value for a money and performance management, have become anchored in the organisational culture of British policing. The effect has been a tough, inquisitorial and often criticised
managerial style of governance, exemplified by vigorous pursuit of performance targets, internal competition and personal accountability.

The data demonstrates that corporate solidarity remains strong within the police. Two recent and important events in British policing were the 2012 Olympics and the 2011 London riots. Both were very different events. The Olympics were concerned with event management, for which ensuring national security, maintaining international reputation and engendering public pride and confidence were the key intended outcomes. The Olympics had the luxury of considerable time for meticulous planning and its ensuing success served to reinforce the strong cultural identity within the police service, stimulating organisational cohesiveness. The London riots on the other hand were a spontaneous, violent and dangerous series of encounters, the policing of which required the application of policing skills wholly different to that of the congenial assistance provided by police officers at the Olympics. They were aimed at maintaining public order and bringing perpetrators to justice by the use of legitimate and overt force. The London riots also demonstrated an organisational solidarity, with many reports of police officers coming back from holiday and leave to support the policing effort and which served to reinforce a ‘sense of mission’ and the notions of ‘us and them’. Although, as a corporate entity, the notions of social identity and solidarity exist within the police, there were overwhelming indications that managerialist practices have contributed to a deep internal disconnection between senior, middle ranking and junior officers and between the organisation and external bodies.

Managerialism does not come with a set of instructions and each organisation will apply its principles in different ways. It can be argued that the police service is characterised by a strong militaristic expectation of deference accompanied by a deep cultural antagonism from the junior ranks towards its senior officers. Thus in order to achieve compliance with the multitude of targets demanded by a managerialist performance culture, the deployment of micro-managerial techniques are required, driven by sanction based supervision. For example, a decrease in the performance in any one measure amongst the multitude under scrutiny would invariably bring swift
response by headquarters demanding immediate action to rectify the performance deficit. It can be suggested that this creates a fertile environment where antagonism, rank solidarity and self-interest can easily thrive and it may be unsurprising that the data reports upon the presence of a good number of inter-related behaviours of ‘bullying’, ‘hostility’, ‘brutality’ and having a ‘siege mentality’.

Managerialist practices cause a divisive competitiveness within the police service which leads to an enhanced internal focus. This inhibits external access to the police service because of the resultant sense of separation and reluctance of officers to reach out to external groups such as academia for assistance. Competition divides and separates police departments and sets them up in direct competition with each other. The publication of a multitude of comparative performance indicators, published as complex league tables, serves as a demonstration of this target driven environment. Taking the MPS as an example, its performance framework is applied across 32 diverse London boroughs and a number of other British policing areas deemed most similar. It is manifested by large and complex performance charts, associated league tables and a comprehensive meeting structure, during which Borough Commanders are held to account in an environment of ‘naming and shaming’ for failing to achieve their own targets. A common critique are performance targets which shift from month to month, requiring local borough to re-organise, re-plan and re-deploy away from the previous month’s priority.

The data demonstrated that the different occupational and organisational working environments of the police and academia can be labelled as a clash of cultures. A short-termist performance culture driven by a managerialist regime leads to the demand for greater timeliness and operational credibility of research.

The data also demonstrated a significant difference in the expectations of the police and academia, which served to maintain the sense of separation. The police perceived that, although academic research had laudable intentions and some notable achievements in affecting police practice, the vastly different working practices and cultures of the two organisations provided
considerable barriers in the use of academic research. The main criticisms were that of timeliness and the lack of translation into operational guidance. The dynamic and reactive nature of policing has a polarity with the reflective and contemplative environment of academia. Policing tactics change on a daily basis and are fuelled by up to date information and intelligence. Direct academic impact into front line decision making is some way off, but this may not be desirable at all. The very nature of academic research in its current form may not be suited to the day to day job of policing, which is conducted by a largely blue collar workforce. Furthermore, it could be considered that the job of translating the research into operational reality is that of the police, not the academic, for they are the specialists in the field and as this thesis contends, there are numerous academically skilled police officers who are presently under used.

If this is the case, then academic research needs to be located just where it is now, in the higher echelons of the policy making environment, where, because of the presence of more academically skilled officers, the comprehension of complex academic texts is not such an inhibiting factor. But as the data tells us, those charged with senior decision making can sometimes be prone to use academic research to fend off external pressure, to support a position already taken, or simply to ignore the research.

Mangerialism has also required the police and academia to acquire new skills. The 1980s and 1990s saw the sociological and psychological reasoning behind public policy giving way to the new economic philosophy of crime control. This resulted in the growth of organisational accountability delivered through the means of managerialist techniques. Policing skills have been slowly diversified with new demands for business skills in personnel, finance and resources management and the associated assumption of an understanding of quantitative performance statistics. Therefore the increasing use of business principles used to run police services may be an alien territory for some academics and police who are more acquainted with policing and criminal justice disciplines which originate from a sociological or psychological perspective. The acquiring of these new skills is not easily
achievable in a largely blue collar environment where academic skills although on the increase, do not predominate. This problem is exacerbated by the continual drive for financial efficiency caused by both regular NPM practice and the current severe budget reductions. This has two major effects. Firstly, a flattening of police hierarchy where increasing responsibility is devolved to lower ranks which creates occupational expectations for some who may be untrained and ill-prepared. Secondly, the data indicated a greater reluctance to sponsor academic research in times of financial austerity.

9.3 Social Identity

This section proposes that the police service has a strong social identity, in which the feeling of separation from other occupational and social groups is a substantial inhibiting factor in the productive relationship with academia. The demographic profile, the feeling of separateness, the bias towards tacit knowledge and early socialisation, are all factors in the creation of this particular social identity.

Social identity theory helps us understand why and how members of the police service may differentiate between ‘us’ and ‘them’, and thus how academics can be said to sit within the category of ‘them’. The main proponents of social identity theory are Tajfel and Turner (1979). Their theory describes how an individual, with a desire for self-identity, situates themselves within the social landscape. It is about how an individual identifies with, and shares the characteristics of a particular social grouping. It can be proposed that the more a group defines itself as different from others, the more its members look inwards for identity, validation and support.

The cultural trait of ‘solidarity’ has strong links to the ideas of social identity. The concept of solidarity is common throughout the breadth of literature of police culture (Punch, 1985, Loftus, 2009, Reiner, 2010, Cockroft, 2012). This study asserts that the cultural trait of solidarity heavily influences the organisation’s relationship with academia and although slowly fracturing, is
still alive and functioning as an influential force. It could also be argued that this strong social identity makes it difficult for police officers to create or maintain relationships with those from other occupational groups. (Skolnick, 1994, Reiner, 2010)

A new entrant into the police service finds him or herself a member of an organisation with a strong occupational culture, identity and self-definition which binds them into a strong ‘sense of mission’. They also find a strong culturally defined set of categorisations of other groups in existence which if social identity theory holds true, serves to cause the ‘in-group’ to find negative aspects of other groups with the intention to enhance their own self-image (McLeod, 2008, p.1). These attitudes are promulgated through the early on the job training and ‘puppy walking’ stages of their service where the ambiguous art of street craft is acquired. Through the process of socialisation, officers will mostly accept these categorisations. Informal social control is conducted as a way by which peers collectively regulate the behaviour of other officers where deviance from the accepted norms can result in social exclusion. This process of early socialisation can be associated the attainment of the traditionally assigned traits of ‘solidarity’, ‘suspicion’, ‘us and them’, a ‘sense of mission’ and ‘isolation’.

As proposed by Reiner (2010) the strongest categorisation of social identity is that of being a police officer, which ties and binds officers together through a strong ‘sense of mission’. Due to the strong sense of separation, it can be suggested that on an overt level, all those who are not police officers are members of out-groups. However, academia sits in an ambiguous position, as it does not feature as a recognised group in the cognition of many police officers. There being little knowledge of the contribution or hindrance to their work, academics may, by default, be designated as an out-group, with the associated low value and non-involvement. For those with more academic awareness, the out group status may also exist, the designation based on the variety of considerations raised previously in chapter six, which deconstructs the perceptions police officers have of academia.
Social identity is formed by belonging to different groups. The most common categorisations are class, age, gender and ethnicity. The changing national demographic and positive action recruiting policies have considerably diversified the police workforce from their more homogenous identity.

The police service remains clear about the desire to increase gender and racial representation and although not as successful as was hoped, successive positive action policies throughout the years have increased the proportion of these groups within the service. However, there is no evidence of strategic decisions made with regard to the important ideas of what the intellectual profile of the police service should be. The data intimates that the police service requires officers with a broad range of skills concomitant with the vast array of functions the police service has traditionally carried out. If such decisions were made, it would inform future choices regarding graduate recruitment, the more overt use of internal graduate officers and the resourcing of internal academic units. To some extent, there remains antagonism towards graduate recruits or those seen as academic and there is considerable evidence that their skills are under-valued. However, the police service is heading towards a more educated staff demographic which possesses a greater understanding of the benefits of academic research.

The number of under-represented and educated officers now in the police service may not have sufficient weight as yet to affect noticeable change. However, the participants of this study believed that these changes are slowly causing a broadening of the culture, travelling away from its more traditional traits, including greater, if still insufficient, diverse representation in the senior ranks. Although a diversification of the workforce may result in the strengthening of subcultural groupings and a fracturing of internal solidarity, this can be seen as a potential advantage to the acceptance of external views, including those of academia, and a more inclusive, less judgemental working environment.

The analysis of the data demonstrated the bias by the police towards the use of tacit knowledge, which may serve to exclude more explicit forms of knowledge such as academic research.
The relationship between tacit knowledge and academic research, which is explicit in its nature, will always be complex and it could be argued that too much reliance on esoteric knowledge does not allow for accommodation of organisational change. When academic research is used in police decision making, it usually occurs at the senior end of the police hierarchy and subsequently translated into tactical and task focused procedures for more junior ranks to effectuate. The language of academia, to a largely blue collar workforce, is hard to understand, if not impenetrable, with many officers being oblivious to the concept of academic research.

This study suggests that social identity is in part formed and developed through the tacit knowledge acquired from the earliest days of a police officer’s career. The initial formal instruction for junior officers soon gives way to on the job training, where they are soon shown, as Sackmann (1991) would describe as, “the way it’s done round here”. With a bias towards on the job learning, it can be argued that in their formative years in the police service, officers learn a particular intuitive sense of identifying abnormality in public environments. Otherwise known as the ‘coppers hunch’, or ‘street craft’, it becomes a prized and guarded possession in the daily life of a police officer and which, accompanied by a parochial attitude towards sharing its secrets, serves to support the feeling of separation from, or possibly superiority to, others. Although the evidence strongly points to the preference of officers, irrespective of seniority, towards their reliance on tacit knowledge, there is some opposition to suggest that repetition of traditional ways of doing things may not always be useful. ‘Grandfather rules’ may, by their very definition, be very traditional and somewhat outdated.

The police can be described as a service that is fuelled by this tacit knowledge that sits below the surface of formal policing knowledge. If it would be beneficial to extricate some of this tacit knowledge and make it more overt, it presents the organisation with three main challenges. Firstly, the challenge to ensure that there exists a learning culture which values all types of beneficial knowledge. This learning culture needs to be a cradle to grave process and one which goes further than the provision of mandatory training and development, by encouraging and supporting self-learning. The
second challenge is to ensure that sufficient human and technical resources are provided to make a positive change. Learning organisations invest considerably in the structural considerations of learning and development. In times of austerity, thinking smarter and using the untapped talent which exists within the organisation may provide new opportunities. The last challenge is to create and support shared communities of practice to engage in meaningful research. This research however must meaningfully consider the means of implementation as an inherent constituent of research outcomes.

This chapter has reflected upon the bigger picture of what the data revealed and was demonstrated in the discussion of the three meta-themes of power, managerialism and social identity. Fig 3 (p.24) provides the conceptual framework for this thesis and intends to assist the reader to further understand the multi-faceted and complex nature of the relationship between the police and academia.
CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION

This final chapter concludes this thesis by reflecting upon my research journey and making some recommendations for further research which became evident during this study. The final two sections propose my contribution to knowledge and what the implications for practice it may provide.

10.1 Reflection

As a police officer who has for many years been undertaking academic studies and at the same time operating at the front line of operational policing, I am witness to the fact that, in comparison to the volume of research on policing that has been published, external academic research has been largely unrecognised, ignored or discredited within the police service. It is acknowledged that there are some impressive examples of academic work which have improved policing policy, and there is optimism regarding the general direction of travel with the rise of EBP and the drive for greater professionalism from the College of Policing. As Punch proposes, we live in the age of the ‘smart cop’ who is both academically qualified and aware of the benefits of academic research. He contends that a positive outcome of police research is the additional scrutiny which has “altered the thinking of police elites” (2010, p.158). However, I was confident of the fact that academic research by police officers is generally undervalued within the police service. I sought to discover why this was and in so doing, be able to affect how academic research is used more effectively within the police service. The benefits of using the evidence led methodology of academic research cannot be underestimated and there are sufficient examples with the police service which prove that it has been effective.

Most commentary in the literature about the relationship between the police and academia originates from an academic perspective. This study claims originality as it derives conclusions from an insider perspective. New knowledge was collated and analysed about the police perception of academia, which provided a deeper insight than existing studies. This is the
first comprehensive study that has examined this issue through the eyes of the police. It is also the first study that has used a stratified sample by interviewing a member of each rank of a single police service. Of the ten ranks interviewed in the MPS, each officer had the ability to comment from the perspective of all their previous ranks. This extrapolates to a combined total of 101 ranks held by the participants and many hundreds of years of service between them. In addition, each participant was chosen due to their specialist knowledge or role held, all of which were pertinent to this study. I also interviewed a number of academics who were at the time or had been, employed by the police either as police officers or academics and who had a particular understanding of my field of research. With the addition of a focus group of middle managers who operated as a bridge between senior decision making and implementation at the front line, I was able to attain a credible insider perspective with which to address the research aims. Additionally, it is proposed that a tool for analysis used in this thesis provides a measure of originality by demonstrating and describing how an electronic mind mapping tool can effectively be used to collate data and conduct thematic analysis. In so doing it may assist other research students who are comfortable with this less traditional tool for analysis.

The understanding of the police-academic relationship is an under-researched area and the results of this thesis may be of tangible benefit, not only to individual police services, but nationally for the College of Policing and the EBP movement. Taken together, the literature review, the participant interviews and the focus group provided a wealth of data with which, through ascending layers of analysis, allowed me to reach my conclusions and contribute new knowledge to this field of inquiry. It was clear from the data that the police could articulate the value of academic research, but it was important to find out the possible causes of why academic research was not routinely used.

This research has required considerable discipline in keeping the analysis within the confines of the research aims. Decisions were continually made regarding the depth to which I should explore each new emerging category of information. The basis of my decision making has been the extent to which
justifiable and credible links can be made to the data and the themes that have emerged from it.

**10.2 Recommendations for further research**

The scope of this study was broad and has highlighted a number of areas which are worthy of further research:

1. The divergent occupational and organisational cultures of the police and academia require the construction of a new research model. The new model must respect both the academic standards of ethical research and the operational necessity for the police to receive research in a timely, manner and which can be readily understood and practically implemented. The pursuance of meaningful partnerships, the formation of implementation teams and effectively managing bureaucracy should be core constituents within a new research model.

2. As an organisation, the police deal on a day to day basis with confidentiality both legally and procedurally. Only towards the end of the data collection, the potential influence of confidentiality began to become apparent as an inhibiting factor in police/academic relations. New research is recommended into this concept. Organisationally it could be defined as ‘confidentiality’, however its occupational cultural bedfellow could be labelled ‘secrecy’. It is hoped that this study may help encourage an exploration of the relationship between these two concepts and thus provide further insight into the barriers which exist between the police and academic communities.

3. A research project into the veracity of academic findings which collects data on police behaviour during ‘ride-alongs’ is proposed. During the interviews, five participants talked about it. Of the five, four considered that the police did not always demonstrate genuine behaviour in the presence of an academic observer. Although insufficient to make any presumptions, this standard methodology of researching policing culture is worthy of separate research.

4. It is proposed that the exploration of a new cultural concept of separateness be considered. Introduced via the meta-theme of social identity in this study, there are strong indications that the more traditional cultural traits are becoming less relevant and more ambiguous due to a range of factors including the dilution of the traditional police demographic. It is proposed that
a fresh paradigm is needed with which to make sense of the new and emerging dynamics of police behaviour.

5. Lastly, an exploration into the role of older and more senior constables is advocated. As a force for positive cultural change, these officers are potentially the most influential in the formative education of young officers. Given appropriate training and mentorship skills, their primary and overt role could be to provide a positive role model for younger officers. These officers could be provided with a specific responsibility to increase professionalism by combating the negative and repetitive influences inherent in some aspects of policing culture and to advocate a more evidence based approach to policing practice.

10.3 Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis contributes new knowledge in three broad areas:

1. The police is a non-learning organisation

The educational requirement for entry into the police service is not predicated upon a high educational standard and there is no obligatory formal qualification other than the Certificate of Knowledge in Policing. A number of researchers across the years have considered the effects of what is termed a blue collar workforce wherein the normal work of a police officer is largely conducted in the field (Banton, 1964, Reiner, 2010, Neyroud, 2010, Engel and Whalen, 2010). Police training is mostly based upon the practical application of law and procedure, which is clearly essential. It can be asserted that human traits, such as emotional intelligence, negotiation, listening, empathy and assertiveness are indispensable skills in the armoury of the operational police officer. However, these behavioural traits sit within a family of inter-personal skills for which the police service has arguably not provided a comprehensive developmental intervention or enduring response. The general educational profile of a police officer leads to a lack of basic awareness of what academic research is and thus the direct engagement and contribution to academic research for the majority of officers is therefore limited. A workforce of this nature which is not used to academic study will
inevitably resort to skills based learning and tacit knowledge assimilated by learning on the job and the minority of those officers with academic skills may be seen as different from the norm.

With the rise of graduate recruiting and the number of senior officers possessing academic qualifications, there are a greater number of individuals who understand the benefit of academic research. The majority of participants in this study have articulated their awareness of these benefits (chapter six). There is however a difference between being cognisant of the benefits and formally recognising them in the organisational decisions they make. One participant questioned whether the service has failed to see the value of intellect (chapter 7.3) and there is evidence to suggest this may be the case. For example, the MPS talent pool has funded numerous masters’ degrees, but there is little evidence of the organisation influencing the subject matter of their dissertations, nor displaying an interest in whether the product of their research may be of benefit to the service. It may unfortunately be the case that these qualifications are seen more as a constituent part of the talent programme, not intended to have impact, nor contributory to any strategy involving change or improvement. This may seem to be counter-intuitive, considering that the resourcing of police/academic units is poor or non-existent, where bursaries and financial assistance for private study have been severely reduced or removed and academic endeavour is not recognised in standard recruiting practices, selection or promotion opportunities. This is evidence of a culture of anti-intellectualism, where at best it is demonstrated by the organisational disinterest of police officers with academic skills and their work, and at worst, officers who have to hide their abilities for fear of being ostracised by colleagues.

These circumstances are not wholly unsurprising. At the top of the organisation, senior officers exist in a dynamic, complex and performance driven environment requiring an agile response to critical problems. Affected by political governance fuelled by a crime control agenda, a robust inspection regime and financial accountability, their work is dominated by multiple concerns, many of which require a swift response for which numerous
officers rely upon information drawn from past experience. As XP1 put it, senior officers operate in “the furnace of observed failure” which creates an environment wherein all efforts are invested in ascertaining ‘what went wrong’ instead of a potentially more productive endeavour into finding out ‘what went right’. Although there is a clear parallel between seniority and the requirement for academic ability, qualifications do not inevitably denote a high level of research skills nor earn such individuals the label of being an ‘academic’. The target driven, outcome focused environment of the police service leads to considerable pressure to deliver short term outcomes. This dynamic culture may lead to police officers assessing academic research in terms of whether it can deliver ‘quick wins’ or used for more perverse reasons, such as justifying a course of action that has been already decided upon. The organisation does not therefore nurture the enthusiasm, nor provide the circumstances, for academically educated officers to engage in assessing research, irrespective of whether their particular qualification has provided them with the acumen to do so. However, a largely populated blue collar workforce is maybe just what is required and whilst it may be an interesting exercise to envision a service consisting only of academically skilled graduates, the police service still need to formally consider the intellectual profile of the organisation.

Although the police service is shackled by occupational and organisational barriers, this study has indicated that it is slowly moving towards being more accepting and supportive of academic research. However, this direction of travel is inhibited by the narrowing effect of a political mandate, dominated by the concerns of financial austerity and a robust crime control agenda. The outward manifestation is exemplified by a number of politically driven campaigns, driven by public populism and party politics. Two notable examples are:

Firstly, the ‘MOPAC challenge’ (2012) requires the MPS between 2012 and 2016 to “cut crime by 20%, boost public confidence by 20% and cut costs by 20%”. Colloquially known as ‘20:20:20’, it does not require academic acumen to conclude that these targets are not based upon scientific rigour, and thus they struggle to be both valid and credible. Sitting underneath these crude
measures are a multitude of subordinate targets, the achievement of which have, and will in future, direct and monopolise four years of policing activities. The three aims in themselves maybe considered laudable but inevitably create unnecessary policing activity in achieving targets build upon fragile foundations.

The second example of the political mandate is the decision that in a society considered by many to be one of the most tolerant and liberal, the police have decided ‘wage total war’ on crime with the programme of ‘total policing’ introduced under the commissionership of Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe. With militaristic metaphors such as ‘Operation Big Wing’, it serves to create a symbolic show of power by demonstrating force in numbers against a particular crime type on a particular day, across the organisation, irrespective of local policing concerns.

Neither of these examples are academically research oriented, nor create the circumstances whereby it may be sought. They highlight the need for police practitioners with the seniority, ability and courage to challenge the prevailing performance culture and to take a more reflective approach to understand the growing complexity of policing. However, the prevailing political and performance environment does not provide the conditions or willingness for this more contemplative space to exist.

2. The police are biased towards tacit forms of knowledge

This thesis has provided evidence to assert that the police have a strong bias towards tacit knowledge. By learning more of the nature of how tacit knowledge operates, researchers will be able to make more informed choices when designing research projects, especially where implementation is concerned.

Tacit knowledge is held in the heads of police officers, is verbally communicated, seldom documented and considered as a prized possession to be guarded. Although fluid and reactive to new circumstances, tacit knowledge not only forms the craft rules by which officers operate, but acts
as a symbol of the relationship between officers, formed through years of traditional practice and socialisation. Not only does tacit knowledge serve to strengthen group cohesion but it also serves as a barrier for academic researchers to understand this well protected knowledge. The reliance on tacit knowledge operates throughout the police hierarchy and is generally defended as a necessity for effective policing. To police officers, this tacit knowledge has high value. For many it is considered a superior knowledge to other more explicit types, such as formal teaching or academic research, which are seen as less useful. Fuelled by a strong social identity, a sense of suspiciousness, and for some, a sense of arrogance, this leads to a negative stereotype towards those who use this explicit knowledge.

It may be the case however that not all tacit knowledge is beneficial. There is the risk of the continual repetition of poor practice which may have been credible in the past, but does not recognise the contemporary policing landscape. Hand in hand with the target driven policing environment is the increasing micro-management of the daily, if not hourly, activity of officers. Tacit knowledge is transferred through story-telling, demonstration and experimentation. Discretionary and self-guided patrol has traditionally been ‘the field of play’ in which tacit knowledge has been nurtured and rendered credible amongst officers. However within the current target driven, time based and task focused environment under which front line officers now operate, it can be proposed that these backstage areas where tacit knowledge is established are in decline, giving way to a more formal procedure based and directed policing organisational culture.

3. The police service is a culturally isolated organisation

The police service has always had a strong sense of social identity which affirms an isolated culture which in turn has a detrimental effect on police relations with academia. This thesis proposes that a defining characteristic of the police service is that of a separation from those who are not police officers. The common cultural traits which sit under this label are ‘solidarity’, ‘isolation’, ‘I know best’, ‘us and them’ and a ‘sense of mission’. The bias for tacit knowledge serves to exclude other forms of more explicit knowledge
and thus further entrenches a sense of separation. However there are also structural characteristics which form this identity, such as the unique nature of police work, the visual and behavioural symbols of a pseudo-militaristic hierarchy, the possession of considerable legal powers and the blue collar demographic profile of the workforce.

Whereas the police may share some occupational and organisational similarities with other emergency services, few disciplines are as different as the police and academia. This thesis asserts that a both cultural and organisational divide exists between the two communities. This is exemplified by a variety of behaviours which academics and the police have experienced in their various research relationships with each other. A lack of shared expectations, a difference in working practices and organisational structure were highlighted as barriers to a productive relationship. It revealed how the difference in working practices made much academic work unintelligible for police officers, unusable by virtue of the time it took to produce it, or which lacked translatability into operational reality. Additionally, as the police are under intense media and political scrutiny, there was concern regarding the risk to their reputation which could be caused by the publication of research. Thus with some exceptions, this research proposes that the police generally trust the authenticity of academic work but require timely, well evidenced research which is deployable within the timeframes within which they work. As the presentation of research in this format is scarce, the organisational commitment to academic research is low, and academic research thus remains in the higher echelons of policy making and rarely reaches below senior levels in any consistent form.

The continual drive to seek efficiency under managerialist practices tends to rationalise ranks and responsibilities and to flatten hierarchal structures. This results in more responsibilities being devolved to lower ranks which are less likely to have academic skills or awareness let alone possess the analytical skills required to understand the proliferation of performance charts which typify a target focused organisation. Such systems are characterised by a robust management style based on incentivising staff through reward or
punishment. The danger of getting this wrong is the creation of a coercive environment wherein internal relations become fractured and rank solidarity becomes more pronounced.

It has been argued that corporate solidarity remains a resilient feature of the police service. This is created by a strong process of socialisation and maintained by a social identity bound by ‘a sense of mission’. The much favoured bias towards tacit knowledge and the uniqueness of the role serves to engender a feeling of separation from other groups and to preserve the cultural trait of ‘us and them’. However this research strongly suggests that there is an increasing presence of an internal fracturing of this solidarity.

Senior officers have unique responsibilities. Their increasingly multi-faceted role looks both internally and externally and creates a functional isolation with accountabilities that are not shared by the rest of the organisation. But there is also a case to propose a broader inter-rank isolation exists in the organisation which is created by fractious relationships caused by the blunt application of managerialist practices. Performance management techniques generate a highly competitive based environment typified by an increase in self–interest and inter-departmental rivalry in achieving a vast range of numerical targets. The associated coercive behaviours results in antagonism and entrenchment between hierarchal levels.

As the police service becomes more demographically diverse, the traditional paradigms of police culture become less useful for making generalisations about police behaviour. This dilution takes many forms including education, age, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and religion. In time this will serve to affect the existing culture whereby a more inclusionary attitude to those who are not police officers will take root and may increase the use of academic research, facilitated by academically aware officers. Additionally, with the advent of a policy of direct entry into the police service at the rank of Superintendent, the demography of senior officer profiles may change at a faster rate than may ordinarily have been the case. This demographic dilution serves to challenge the more traditional and previously dominant cultural typography. In the junior ranks, it can be suggested that there is no longer a ‘typical’ police officer, for
there now exists a far broader range of individuals with different personal histories, educational abilities, cultural characteristics and sexualities. They conceptualise the world of work and notions of what the police service stands for in a myriad of different ways and thus serve to continually augment internal differences and re-define the ambiguous concept of police culture.

10.4 Implications for practice

The police service operates in a complex environment of public sector austerity measures, short-termist performance management and an unhelpful culture within which they are being asked to do more, with less people and less money. This thesis proposes that in order to achieve a more productive relationship with academia, the police service needs to have a more sophisticated relationship with academic knowledge, to possess both the skills and willingness to understand and implement relevant evidence based research and to encourage a greater diversity of thinking.

Large organisations, such as the police service, require employees with a variety of skills. The number of academically qualified officers in the police is growing and this is beneficial for productive relationships between the police and academia. However, it is suggested that clearer decisions need to be made at a policy level within the police regarding the academic expectations and make-up of its workforce. This will affect basic entrance requirements, the proposal of mandatory academic qualifications according to rank and clarity of graduate and direct entrance schemes. It will also provide the academic community with greater clarity regarding appropriate access, networking and expectations of the understanding by the police of academic research.

There are numerous academically skilled officers who either joined the service with relevant qualifications, have undertaken qualifications in their own time or who have been funded by a police sponsored programme. These officers are greatly under-valued and under-used. At the same time, the presence of graduate recruitment schemes offer accelerated promotion to external candidates. It is suggested therefore that the police service may choose to look inward to find their talented individuals and that their
previously completed academic research is evaluated for organisational benefit. It may be considered of worth to task officers who are having their qualifications funded, to engage in specific fields of inquiry that may be of current importance and upon completion, to have the results of their efforts formally evaluated for beneficial policing opportunities. Through their academic work, many officers have specialised knowledge. It is proposed that a national database would be of use to identify officers to engage in further research, form think tanks for new policies and act as champions in their work place for evidence based practice.

Each force area in England and Wales has different arrangements with regard to their association with academia. The College of Policing has a pivotal role in developing these relationships, enhancing academic sponsorship and facilitating research. However it is important to ensure that existing local projects have synergy with the broader national strategy. An example of this is the project of introducing a Chair of Policing into the MPS. It is worthy of consideration, via the College of Policing, to standardise the different arrangements each force now has regarding the management of academic research into a single operating model. With outreach posts in each force in order to provide a consistent and authorised service, each new outreach post would have a key task of entering into partnerships with local universities. This will help ensure academic research is properly evaluated and disseminated. It may also help to negate its improper use or the avoidance of its findings. It will be cost effective by reducing duplication and unnecessary sponsorship of similar work and allow for greater circulation of research. Furthermore, the use of national databases for academic work and police/academic specialists will assist in managing academic collaborations and provide clear protocols for the police and academics to follow.

A common criticism of academia is that it does not fully understand the operating culture within which police officers work. To these ends the cataloguing and evaluation of previously unpublished work by police officers, conducted in pursuance of academic qualifications, containing dissertations written from a police perspective may provide a rich source of data to be
used to explore further the connections between academic research and police work.

Due to the clear cultural divide between police and academia, it is important to bring the two communities closer together to create a new and effective research environment. Some benefits may be drawn from the following ideas:

- The introduction of regular internships for university students studying crime related courses with an associated mentorship programme facilitated by graduate officers.
- To establish a range of lecture exchange programmes. As an example, the police focus for academics would deliver upon subjects of public policy decision making and police operational culture. Academics would deliver upon subjects on evidence based policing and research methodology.
- The creation of an accreditation scheme for academics to access appropriate police databases, without the need to engage in the bureaucratic hurdles and access difficulties. A range of protocols covering confidentiality, publishing and information access will be inherent within any such scheme.
- Where research is being conducted in a force area, a single and senior point of contact could be nominated to facilitate access and resources. This individual would retain ownership of this responsibility throughout the life of the project to counter the disruption caused by a change of role.
- Evidence based policing, founded upon academic principles is a growing movement and widely supported. However, an increased and more co-ordinated response is required. This will include an enhanced financial and resource commitment to the project and the necessity to evidence the use of such methodologies not only in policy making, but lower down the scale of strategic decision making. Furthermore, there is the value of introducing the benefits of simple research methodology in initial training or via the mandatory CKP.
- The formation through the College of Policing of new communities of practice to engage in a process of collective learning and research. The multi-skilled nature of such communities would contribute both academic rigour and
knowledge of the methods of implementation drawn from tacit knowledge of the police environment.

During the four year duration of this Professional Doctorate, the policing landscape has been one of dynamic change and it will continue to transform. However, the conclusions contained in this thesis are presented as enduring and of value to the police, the academic community and the wide variety of decision makers who operate within this complex environment.
References


## APPENDIX 1: Interview schedules

### Interview Questions – Police Officers (PP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1</strong> In your experience, to what extent does the MPS value academic research?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: For what reason do you feel that this is the case?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2</strong> Have you a personal example of when you have successfully used academic research in your working environment?</td>
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<td>Probe: If you have not can you give an example maybe an example that you have seen or heard of?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: For what reason(s) was it successful?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: Why was the academic research needed?</td>
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<td>Probe: By what criteria do you judge the value of a specific piece of academic research?</td>
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<td><strong>3</strong> Have you a personal example of a less successful experience of using academic research in your working environment? (if not, the MPS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: If you have not can you give an example maybe an example that you have seen or heard of?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: What were the key reasons for the lack of success?</td>
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<td>Probe: What needed to be different?</td>
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<td><strong>4</strong> What are the current circumstances under which you would commission academic research? (higher rank)</td>
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<td><strong>4b</strong> Under what circumstances would you consider suggesting that using academic research is necessary? (lower rank)</td>
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<td>Probe: How do you consider the economic climate affects the sponsorship of research?</td>
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<td>Probe: How could this be different?</td>
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<td><strong>5</strong> What are the advantages of using academic research?</td>
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<td><strong>6</strong> What are the disadvantages of using academic research?</td>
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<td><strong>7</strong> To what extent do you consider that the academic and police communities share similar working methods?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: How does this affect the relationship?</td>
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<td><strong>8</strong> To what extent do you consider that the academic and police communities display dissimilar working methods?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: How does this affect the relationship?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>9</strong> To what extent do you feel we use the skills of MPS employees who have relevant academic qualifications at degree or masters level?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: Is the MPS in a position to ascertain the extent of staff with such qualifications?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: Do you feel the MPS values academic ability from its employees? For what reason?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: To what extent do the average educational standards of our officers affect our relationship with academic research?</td>
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<td><strong>10</strong> In what ways is academic research available or presented to you?</td>
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<td><strong>11</strong> How would you like the findings of academic research available or presented to you?</td>
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<td>Probe: For what reasons?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: Does the manner of communication differ with the intended audience? In what ways?</td>
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<td><strong>12</strong> How does police culture help or hinder the acceptance of academic research?</td>
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<td>Probe: Throughout the various ranks at which you have served and the roles you have held, what if any cultural traits of police officers remain constant?</td>
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<td>Probe: What has been different and why?</td>
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<td>Probe: What changes in police culture have you witnessed as your career has progressed?</td>
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<td>Probe: Do any of these observations affect the manner in which academic research is viewed?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Probe: To what extent does a more diverse police service help or hinder the relationship with academic research?</td>
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<td><strong>13</strong> What type of research do you find most useful in your working life?</td>
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<td>Probe: For what reasons?</td>
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<td>Question</td>
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<tr>
<td>In your experience of the MPS, to what extent did you feel the organisation valued academic research?</td>
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<td>Have you a personal example of when you successfully used academic research when working for the MPS?</td>
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<td>With regard to policing today, under what circumstances do you think the MPS should commission academic research?</td>
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<td>What are the advantages of using academic research in the MPS?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What are the disadvantages of using academic research in the MPS?</td>
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<tr>
<td>To what extent do you consider that the academic and police communities share similar working methods?</td>
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<tr>
<td>To what extent do you consider that the academic and police communities display dissimilar working methods?</td>
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<tr>
<td>To what extent do you feel the MPS used employees who had relevant academic qualifications at degree or masters level?</td>
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<td>How does police culture help or hinder the acceptance of academic research within the MPS?</td>
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<tr>
<td>How does academic culture help or hinder the acceptance of academic research within the MPS?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What advice would you give to an academic researcher who wished to conduct a research project about the MPS?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 1 | In your experience, to what extent does the MPS value academic research?  
   | Probe: For what reason do you feel that this is the case? |
| 2 | Does anyone have an example of when you have successfully used academic research in your working environment?  
   | Probe: For what reason(s) was it successful?  
   | Probe: Why was the academic research needed? |
| 3 | Does anyone have a personal example of a less successful use of academic research in your working environment?  
   | Probe: What were the key reasons for the lack of success?  
   | Probe: What needed to be different for it to be successful? |
| 4 | What are the current circumstances under which you would use academic research or suggest that academic research would be useful?  
   | Probes: |
| 5 | What are the advantages of using academic research?  
   | Probes: |
| 6 | What are the disadvantages of using academic research?  
   | Probes: |
| 7 | To what extent do you consider that the academic and police communities share similar working methods?  
   | Probe: How does this affect the relationship? |
| 8 | To what extent do you consider that the academic and police communities display dissimilar working methods?  
   | Probe: How does this affect the relationship? |
| 9 | You are all MPS employees who have relevant academic qualifications at degree or masters level? To what extent do you feel we use your academic skills?  
   | Probe: How do your academic skills help you with your work? (if it does)  
   | Probe: Is the MPS in a position to ascertain the extent of staff with such qualifications?  
   | Probe: Do you feel the MPS values academic ability from its employees? For what reason?  
   | Probe: To what extent do the average educational standards of our officers affect our relationship with academic research? |
| 10 | In what ways is academic research available or presented to you?  
   | Probes: |
| 11 | How would you like the findings of academic research available or presented to you?  
   | Probe: For what reasons?  
   | Probe: Should the manner of how academic research is presented differ with the intended audience?  
   | In what ways? |
| 12 | How does police culture help or hinder the acceptance of academic research?  
   | Probe: Throughout the various ranks at which you have served and the roles you have held, what if any cultural traits of police officers remain constant?  
   | Probe: What has been different and why?  
   | Probe: What changes in police culture have you witnessed as your career has progressed?  
   | Probe: Do any of these observations affect the manner in which academic research is viewed?  
   | Probe: To what extent does a more diverse police service help or hinder the relationship with academic research?  
   | Probe: Why? |
| 13 | What type of research do you find the most useful in your working life?  
   | Probe: For what reasons? |
Dear Participant

You are invited to participate in a study that is being conducted by Ben Honey who is undertaking a Professional Doctorate in Criminal Justice at the University of Portsmouth. Ben Honey is also an MPS employee and a member of the Emerging Leaders Programme.

What is the research about?

The purpose of this study is to explore the extent to which academic knowledge is used, valued, understood and accessible within the police service. The study intends to identify ways in which academic knowledge might be used more effectively within the police service. In so doing, it is hoped that it will better inform strategic, tactical and operational decision making. The outcomes of the research may add valuable insight into the contemporary issues of professionalization, evidenced based practice and current police culture.

The aims of the study are:

To investigate the relationship between professional and academic knowledge in the MPS
To identify and analyse the factors which impact upon the use of academic knowledge within the MPS
To make recommendations to enable academic knowledge to be used more effectively within the MPS

What will you be asked to do?

You will be asked to be interviewed for approximately 45 minutes, the whole process taking no more than one hour. The interview will be digitally recorded, transcribed and along with approximately 20 other interviews and thematically analysed. You will be asked to sign a consent form agreeing to your participation and that you understand the use to which the data will be put.

What are the benefits and costs of taking part in this research?

The problem this study seeks to address is the extent to which academic knowledge is utilised within the police service, based on the pretext that the MPS may be missing valuable opportunities, especially at the more operational levels. If so established, recommendations for further learning may be suggested based on the experience of those directly involved. This work will add value due its originality. The study intends to compare and contrast the perceptions of external academics, internal academics and police decision makers as to the utility of academic knowledge. There have been a number of studies into the personal experiences of researchers and broad commentary regarding access into large organisations and the incumbent politics associated with such interventions. Although due respect and reference will be made to comparative studies, no specific study into the largest and arguably the most famous police service in the world regarding the utility of academic knowledge is apparent and especially conducted by a practitioner researcher. The benefits to the participants are twofold. Firstly, as the interview provides a focused and
potentially deeper reflective experience, greater personal insight may be gained and thus beneficially affect future activity. Secondly, the combined contribution from MPS employees is approximately 25 hours. Although measurement is not possible, I believe the proposals which will emanate from this study will be considered a valuable investment.

What if you want to withdraw from the study?

You may withdraw at any time before or during the interview. Agreements as to partially collected data will be discussed at this point.

What will happen to the information you share?

Approximately 15 interviews will be conducted and subject to thematic analysis. You will not be named in the thesis but you may be potentially identified due to what you say or by being a member of a small list of potential participants in your rank or field of study. You will be asked prior to the interview if you consent to being identified and/or personal attribution to comments made. If requested you will have the opportunity to see drafts or the context explained where your opinions will be discussed if the comments are clearly attributable. The data from each interview will be transcribed and stored upon a double password external hard drive upon police premises.

Who is funding and organising the research?

The MPS is part funding this study via the Talent Management: Emerging Leaders Programme.

For specific information about this research project, either contact me or my supervisor at the University of Portsmouth, Dr. Jane Creaton: Jane.Creaton@port.ac.uk 023 92848484

You can contact me at any time regarding this project Ben.honey@met.police.uk 07768023079

For further information about research in general please contact Paul Dawson from the MPS Strategic Research and Analysis Unit Paul.Dawson@met.police.uk 0207 161 3339

As to advice as to whether to participate, please speak to Professor Betsy Stanko who leads the SRAU which acts as a gatekeeper for all academic research within the MPS: Betsy.Stanko@met.police.uk 0207 161 3012

Yours Sincerely

Ben Honey
APPENDIX 3: Thematic Mindmap
APPENDIX 4: Informed Consent sheet

**Doctoral Thesis Title:** A study in blue: The use of academic research in the MPS

**Name of Researcher:** Ben Honey

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at anytime before or during the interview.

3. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by individuals from the University of Portsmouth. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded.

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

**Name of Participant:**

**Date:**

**Signature:**

**Name of Interviewer**

**Signature:**
APPENDIX 5: Introductory Letter

Doctoral Thesis: Professional Doctorate in Criminal Justice

Dear xx

I am a post-graduate student undertaking a Professional Doctorate in Criminal Justice at Portsmouth University. I am also a Chief Inspector currently working on Harrow Borough.

The subject of my thesis concerns the nature of professional research within the Metropolitan Police and specifically how academic research is used within the Metropolitan Police. I believe it has contemporary relevance in the range of activities currently being undertaken within the MPS.

I intend to conduct interviews with at least 10 members of the MPS from a broad range of ranks and responsibilities. I am specifically asking you because (insert professional research / accomplishments / responsibilities ). I ask that you assist me in my research by sparing some time for an interview. The whole process including pre-curssory explanatory discussions will take no more than one hour.

The study is subject to the ethical standards of the British Criminological Society and the University of Portsmouth. The interview would be digitally recorded, transcribed and subject to thematic analysis. The primary data will be stored securely and remain confidential. I have spoken to Professor Betsy Stanko from the Strategic Research and Analysis Unit, who is responsible in the Metropolitan Police for academic research and who is supportive of my endeavours.

I intend to conduct the interviews between DATE and the DATE. Apart from unavoidable work commitments, I am available anytime, any day and at any location between these dates.

Whether or not you decide to participate, thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Yours Sincerely

Ben Honey
APPENDIX 6: Ethical Consent

Mr Ron Honey
Professional Doctorate Student
Institute of Criminal Justice Studies
University of Portsmouth

REC reference number: 12/13:05
Please quote this number on all correspondence.

16th September 2013

Dear Ben,

Full Title of Study: A study in blue: The use of academic knowledge within the Metropolitan Police Service

Documents reviewed:
Consent Form
Interview Question Sheets
Invitation Letters
Participant Information Sheets

Further to our recent correspondence, this proposal was reviewed by The Research Ethics Committee of The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.

I am pleased to tell you that the proposal was awarded a favourable ethical opinion by the committee.

Kind regards,

FHSS REC Chair
David Carpenter

Members participating in the review:
- David Carpenter
- Richard Hitchcock
- Jane Winstone
APPENDIX 7: UPR16

FORM UPR16
Research Ethics Review Checklist

Please complete and return the form to Research Section, Quality Management Division, Academic Registry, University House, with your thesis, prior to examination.

Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student ID:</th>
<th>184316</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Candidate Name:</td>
<td>Ben Honey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Department:</td>
<td>ICJS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Supervisor:</td>
<td>Dr. Jane Creaton</td>
</tr>
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<td>Start Date:</td>
<td>Sept 2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Study Mode and Route:

- [ ] Part-time
- [ ] Full-time
- [ ] MPhil
- [ ] MD
- [ ] PhD
- [ ] Integrated Doctorate (New Route)
- [ ] Prof Doc (PD)

Title of Thesis:

A Study in Blue: Exploring the relationship between the police and academia

Thesis Word Count:

44,347 (excluding ancillary data)

If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study. Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:
(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at: http://www.ukrio.org/what-we-do/code-of-practice-for-research/)

a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame? [YES]

b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged? [YES]

c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship? [YES]

d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration? [YES]

e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements? [YES]

UPR 16 (2013) – November 2013
**Candidate Statement:**

I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC):</th>
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Signed:  
(Student)  
Date:  

If you have not submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered ‘No’ to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain why this is so:

Signed:  
(Student)  
Date:
APPENDIX 8: The Use of Mind-map technology

In the process of data analysis, I used the benefits of electronic mind-mapping. The advantage of using a mind-map was that it provided a graphic overview of a summarised interview on one page. Additionally, the technology allowed for easy manipulation of the text, including the insertion of hyper-links to other data. For the more visually oriented researcher, a mind map encourages self-expression, being both a creative and tactile research tool. For some researchers, the resultant product wherein information is spatially distributed, can be easier to recall and understand than linear notes. Conversely, mind-maps can be idiosyncratic, only completely understandable to the creator and unless managed well, they can also become overly complex with too much data on one map which leads to visual confusion as one navigates around the map. Some of the mind-maps were very large and could only be held electronically, but being adept with the software, I had ease of navigation and thus a comprehensive overview of the data.

Using a particular feature of the software, each interview was converted into a single mind-map of primary information with which to work. The map started at layer 1 with the questions posed, with layer 2 containing the summarised answers.

Each map was manipulated by means of the boxes containing individual comments being moved around the page when a repetition of ideas or words became evident. The inductive nature of this study lent itself to creating separate thematic mind-maps containing all of the summarised comments across the interviews and focus groups upon one map.
Level 2 thematic coding

The layering was conducted by means of manipulating the map into the various information hierarchies for the mini-theming, clustering, sub theming and final theming. As is exemplified in appendix three, larger thematic maps were created to provide both detail and oversight of each emerging theme. The software allowed the finished version to be exported into Microsoft Word for its transition into a standard text format.

This method had potential pitfalls, the first being the loss of identity of the originator of each artefact. This allowed me to keep track of who said what and to ascertain the level of agreement or otherwise between the interviewees. Secondly, the potential of incorrectly theming artefacts was a potential danger. This was managed by putting in numerous version controls whilst the map was being manipulated. This allowed me to return to a map at a previous point of thought or development.
APPENDIX 9: The Dialogue of the Deaf

Academic: Why do the police ignore research findings?
Police: Why don’t researchers produce useable knowledge?
Academic: Why do the police always reject any study that is critical of what they do?
Police: Why do researchers always show the police in a bad light?
Academic: Why don’t police officers even read research reports?
Police: Why can’t researchers write in plain English?
Academic: Why are the police so bloody defensive?
Police: Why are researchers so bloody virtuous?
Academic: Why are the police unwilling to examine their own organisational performance?
Police: Why are researchers unwilling to produce information that a practical person exercising power can use to change a limited aspect of the organisation instead of theoretical and explanatory structures of no use to the problem-solver?
Academic: Why do the police insist that they know better, when the researchers are the experts in knowledge construction?
Police: Why do researchers write recipes when they can’t even cook?

McDonald (1986, p.1)