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Investigating Austerity

**An examination of the effects of austerity and additional changes
between 2010 -2015 on detectives, their role and the CID investigative process.**

by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the research was to examine the perceptions of Crime Investigation Department detectives surrounding their views of austerity on; the investigative process, their role and identify further changes experienced by detectives to their role and the investigative process, outside the remit of austerity. The methodology used was a single case study and carried out within a British police service. Participants were invited to be interviewed through a prospective criterion and snowball sampling approach. Semi-structured interviews were used to collate data from fourteen detectives of varying rank and grounded theory was used to analyse the data. The analysis highlighted, that austerity had led to a decline in Criminal Investigation Department detective numbers surrounding issues with retention, recruitment and an increase in abstraction due to stress and mental health. Detectives identified increased workloads from a reduction in detectives and assimilation of police staff roles, more complex crime types, delays in the investigative process and changes to the quality of investigations. Conclusions were drawn from the analysis suggesting austerity and non-austerity changes from 2010 to 2015, have interacted to effect the role of the detective and the investigative process. Future recommendations and research proposed to address these issues.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------------|---|
| ACC | Assistant Chief Constable |
| ACPO | Association of Chief Police Officers |
| BA | Bail Act |
| BCM | Better Case Management |
| CCCU | Canterbury Christ Church University |
| CCTV | Closed Circuit Television |
| CH/SUPT | Chief superintendent |
| CID | Criminal Investigation Department |
| COP | College of Policing |
| CPS | Crown Prosecution Service |
| CSE | Child Sexual Exploitation |
| DI | Detective inspector |
| DNA | Deoxyribonucleic Acid |
| DVPN | Domestic Violence Protection Notice |
| DVPO | Domestic Violence Protection Order |
| FOI | Freedom of Information |
| FSS | Forensic Science Service |
| GMP | Greater Manchester Police |
| HMIC | Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary |
| HO | Home Office |
| HOLMES | Home Office Large Major Enquiry System |
| IOPC | Independent Office for Police Conduct |
| IPCC | Independent Police Complaints Commission |
| MOJ | Ministry of Justice |
| MPF | Metropolitan Police Federation |
| MPS | Metropolitan Police Service |
| NCALT | National Centre for Applied Learning Technologies |
| NHS | National Health Service |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| NPCC | National Police Chief's Council |
| ONS | Office for National Statistics |
| PCSO | Police Community Support Officer |
| PFEW | Police Federation of England and Wales |
| PIP | Professionalising Investigative Practice |
| PNC | Police National Computer |
| PSD | Professional Standards Department |
| SIO | Senior Investigating Officer |
| SOCU | Serious and Organised Crime Unit |
| UN | United Nations |
| WC | Witness Charter |

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This Masters Research forms part of the Paul McKeever policing scholarship, funded by the Metropolitan Police Federation (MPF). The MPF is the staff association for all officers working within the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) (MPF, 2018). The MPF highlighted their members' concerns as areas of interest for further research study under the Paul McKeever Policing Scholarship. I was awarded the following area of interest to investigate further; 'Project to explore if issues of reduced resources are impacting on the effective delivery of specialist functions and roles and what the implications of this might be'. This Masters research developed out of this area of interest.

In 2009 there was an international financial crisis with a breakdown of large financial institutions (International Monetary Fund, 2009), leading governments to reconsider spending on public services. In 2010 the British government announced their decision to introduce austerity measures to all forty-three police services in England and Wales, with a 20% cut to police budgets, implemented in 2011, with many police services reducing their workforce in 2010 (HMIC, 2011a) and continued to 2015 (Johnston & Politowski, 2016). Further austerity measures followed with a pay freeze for those working within the police services from 2011 to 2013 with only the lowest paid protected. Changes to pay continued with an average increase of 1% in 2014 to 2015 (Bryson & Forth, 2017). In April 2015 the government introduced a further change, the police pension scheme changed from a final salary to a career average and the pension age increased to sixty years of age (Home Office (HO), 2015).

Throughout this period of police austerity measures the government stated it would protect the frontline of policing. This was formalised as the visible and specialist roles within the police service. The former are defined as individuals working within the police in roles visible to the public such as '999' call handlers and responders along with neighbourhood policing teams and the latter were those involved in criminal investigation (HMIC, 2011b). Police services sought to manage these changes through a freeze on recruitment from 2010 (HMIC, 2014c), whilst the Police Federation of England and Wales (PFEW) expressed concerns in the loss of 17,000 officers (Whitehouse, 2015). Chief constables from different police services have expressed openly their concerns for policing and the safety of the public in light of the cuts to police budgets (Perraudin & Dodd, 2014; Pidd, 2017; Merrick, 2017; Thomas, 2017). The Mental Health Charity Mind put in place a helpline for emergency services as they had identified an increased experience of mental health problems within the emergency services in light of austerity measures (Mind, 2015). The government maintained crime was down (May, 2015) with the ONS

(2014) reporting crime was at its lowest point since figures began in 1981 with a 15% decrease in crime.

Police numbers are down nationally (HO, 2015; HO 2017). There is limited information as to the effect these changes may have had on detectives. Prior to austerity in 2008 there were reports that detectives were declining in numbers within police services (Chatterton, 2008). HMIC (2017a) have recently warned that detective numbers were now critical and at an all-time low, advising the NPCC to work with the College of Policing (COP) to provide a national resolution. The National Police Chief's Council (NPCC) (2018) is in the process of developing a response to the shortage of numbers which is yet to be published. Whilst all officers to some extent investigate crime, the role of detective forms the basis of the investigative process and provides the investigative response to more serious crime. Their role can come under scrutiny in light of miscarriages of justice and high-profile criminal investigations. It has been argued that the investigative process is joined at the hip with miscarriages of justice (Savage & Milne, 2007). The role of the detective has led to high-profile cases such as the Yorkshire Ripper and Shipman cases whereby individuals have lost their lives due to mistakes within the investigative process, namely the lack of a computerised system in the wake of a national appeal leaving to an information overload in the case of the Yorkshire Ripper (Byford, 2006) and a lack of experience and supervision of the Senior Investigating Officer (SIO) in the case of Shipman (Smith, 2003). More recently there has been criticism of MPS detectives for failing to disclose evidence from mobile phone records, leading to both Liam Allan and Isaac Itiary being charged separately for rape, with both cases being dropped when undisclosed digital evidence was later disclosed. The role of a detective has a huge impact on the public perception and confidence in the police and also on the lives of those they investigate.

Since the announcement of austerity measures, between 2010 at 2015, there has been further government as well as social and technological change. There has been an increase in migration (United Nations (UN), 2015), an increase in the use of digital and internet technology (Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2013) and the uncovering of Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) (Jay, 2014) These changes have led to a rise and shift in focus to more complex crime types such as human trafficking (HO, 2016), CSE (Jay, 2014), and cybercrime (National Crime Agency, 2016). These changes require new skills and methods of investigation that detectives employ to carry out an investigation to a successful conclusion (NPCC, 2015). There have also been changes introduced by the government to improve the investigative process. The Witness Charter (WC) (Ministry of Justice (MOJ), 2013) provides a code from which detectives interact and liaise and update witnesses involved in cases and acts as a safeguarding measure to ensure witnesses receive the appropriate guidance and support throughout the investigative process. In light of the changes to the crime types the government has highlighted a change in focus to the crime types of human trafficking, CSE, and cybercrime (HO, 2016).

Furthermore, detectives in 2015 were aware of further changes that were coming into effect one of which being the Bail Act (BA) (HO, 2017a). This was a change in bail which would lead to a reduction in the time the police can hold individuals on bail (HO, 2017a). It was argued that this was brought into effect after criticisms of the police service holding individuals on bail for long periods of time (HO, 2015a). In light of these changes and the changes to come it was important to consider the effect of austerity and these changes between 2010 and 2015 on detectives working within Criminal Investigation Departments (CID). CID was chosen as an area upon which to focus on the work of detectives as their work covers a wide range of different offences. The police service has had budget cuts and a reduction in personnel, while historical crimes, increases in reporting for some offences and police reforms provide a challenging environment for detectives.

This research aims to examine the effect of austerity on detectives, their role and the investigative process and additional changes from 2010 to 2015. The research provides an insight into the views of detectives surrounding these changes and the effect they may, or may not have had on their role in the investigative process. The next chapter will examine the literature within the key areas of detectives, the investigative process, austerity and further changes. It explores the literature available in relation to detective work, reforms and issues relating to wellbeing. From there the methodology will draw on the research literature to explore the research tools most appropriate to collect the views of detectives, addressing the aims and research questions. The analysis will provide an insight into the views of detectives drawing out key themes and triangulating this with the research literature and the conclusions will summarise the findings of the research and suggest future research and recommendations for implementation.

CHAPTER 2

DETECTIVES AND THE INVESTIGATIVE PROCESS

This chapter will critically review relevant research and the literature concerning: detectives and the investigative process, austerity, non-austerity related changes and future changes. This will provide an evidential base to critically evaluate the appropriate methodology within the next chapter and develop the aims and research questions which will form the basis of this research.

The role of the detective and the investigative process are documented widely through television and film providing a sense of knowledge of their role and the investigative process. FitzGerald et al (2002) highlighted that 80% of individuals surveyed identified the news media as their primary source of information about the police, for their second form of information 'word of mouth' at 43% and media fiction at 29%. In reality they are both very different than the media would have the public understand (Reiner, 2010). Reiner (2010) provides an insight into the different media outputs from news, fictional accounts of detectives, documentaries and fly-on-the-wall accounts. Offences described within the news focus on more serious violent offences carried out by older individuals of a higher social class. The success rate of investigations is also exaggerated within this medium. Entertainment and fictional accounts of detective work describe the police as heroic figures focusing on seven areas such as; 'the hero, crime, villain, victim, social setting, the police organisation, and narrative sequence' (Reiner, 2010, p 188) whilst documentaries and fly-on-the-wall accounts focus on investigations that involve a successful outcome (Reiner, 2010). These all provide images of the investigative process as a successful endeavour. These media representations present detectives in different ways and contribute to public perceptions of detective work.

Academic accounts provide a very different picture to those within the media; detective work has been described as having three different but compatible perspectives on the criminal investigation, known as the art, craft and science of investigation (Tong & Bowling, 2006). One identifies detective work as a 'craft', maintaining the investigative skills of the detective are learnt through experience on the job, involving skills in negotiation with individuals involved in the investigative process as to how a case is organised and crafted by the detective (Hobbs, 1988). Another perspective considers detective work as an 'art' involving intuition and following instinctive feelings (Tong & Bowling, 2006), including accurate interpretation of witnesses' accounts and patterns of criminal behaviour to evade detection (Hallenberg et al, 2015). Detectives can use 'science', viewing an investigation as a scientific endeavor, reflected in the management of the crime scene, how evidence is gathered, the interviewing

approach adopted, and the use of offender profiling (Rachlin, 1996). Tong et al (2009) points out that these different perspectives rather than maintain a specific typology, detectives often use all three when conducting an investigation and Innes (2003) provides further empirical support within British homicide detectives. Corsianos (2001) has provided further insight into the elements focusing on the decision making of detectives, challenging the notion of the detective as a scientist, maintaining investigative decision making is far from objective, with decisions influenced by the socioeconomic structure and reflecting the views of the ruling class in the crimes they focus on. Corsianos (2001) maintains the time given to specific crimes vary, with detectives providing an increased focus and investigative resource on organised crime. A further influence on detectives' investigative decision making can be found within police culture and, importantly, its hierarchy, with difficulty experienced by detectives when challenging senior colleagues about decision making in investigations and also the influence of detectives' own prejudice and that of senior managers towards minority groups (Corsianos, 2001). Further support of this view is highlighted in the Stephen Lawrence investigation, where the MPS were found to be institutionally racist in the treatment of this case (Macpherson, 1999). This was also present in the treatment of children experiencing CSE in Rotherham by South Yorkshire Police (Jay, 2014) with the view that the victims did not fit the picture of an ideal victim. HMIC (2014b) have highlighted this further criticising the attitude of the police service to domestic abuse, for failing to prioritise this crime type. They identified issues with; the collection of evidence, officers' and detectives' attitudes to domestic abuse victims and their limited skills and knowledge to interact with victims effectively, whilst highlighting issues with risk assessment and the use of outdated information technology preventing important information being available to inform decisions and safeguard victims. They also uncovered the failure of some police services to understand the dynamic between the victim and perpetrator, which can often lead victims not to support a prosecution, with officers cautioning perpetrators or using restorative justice. Ratcliffe & McCullagh (2001) has also highlighted that the attitudes of detectives not only influence their involvement with victims and witnesses but can also bias their notion of high crime areas for vehicle crime and non-residential burglary, whilst residential burglary was more accurately calculated, arguing for a proactive intelligence-led policing approach.

Moving away from the decision making of detectives, further research has focused on the components of an investigation that are instrumental in solving a case, be it the skills of the detective or the methods used within the investigative process. Greenwood (1979) embarked on a large-scale study providing at the time a unique insight into the day-to-day work of the detective. It highlighted a large proportion of a detective's role involved admin or identifying and interviewing witnesses on cases unlikely to be solved, with only limited time spent on investigative activities leading to arrest. Furthermore, they found little evidence of methods of training, level of workload or staff numbers having an impact on the 'crime, arrest or clearance rates'. Whilst this was a large-scale study the researcher recognised the

issue with focusing on investigative outcome through clear up rates, as these varied between departments and were accounted for by their differences in definition and administration rather than due to investigative success. The research was also carried out in America so it is difficult to generalise to a British population and it could also be argued that investigative practice today is very different to 1973 when the study was conducted. However, the findings of this research have been supported by British studies (Crust, 1975; Zander, 1979; Steer, 1980; Bottomley and Coleman, 1981, cited in Burrows and Tarling, 1987, p. 229-251). More recent research highlights this further and provides a greater insight into detective investigative skills (Westera et al, 2016; Roycroft, 2007) and methods in the present day (Roycroft, 2007; Reid, 2009; Lloyd-Evans & Bethell, 2009). Detectives have identified communication, motivation and thoroughness as the essential ingredients for a detective to be effective in their role. Participants were drawn from Austria and New Zealand, so again it is difficult to generalise this evidence into a British context (Westera et al, 2016). Roycroft (2007) conducted further interviews with SIOs based in the MPS which provided a different picture with a focus on the methods used within an investigation. Identifying forensic material was the most successful resource for solving a homicide, with 38% of cases solved using this resource. Further resources that solved an investigation were witness management 32%, Intelligence 28%, phone analysis 25% and closed circuit television (CCTV) 21.7%. Reward, proactive patrol, private CCTV, Crime Watch, behavioural profiling and anniversary appeal were identified as the least successful resources for solving a homicide with a 1% success rate. In only 18% of cases investigative thinking was identified as the solving factor in a homicide investigation

Reid (2009) acknowledges the role the media plays as a tool for SIO's appeals and sending out messages, highlighting recent technological advances, the internet and how social media provide a wide coverage and advises on joint press conferences and the employment of a legal representative to ensure the investigation is safeguarded. Roycroft (2007) identifies a contrast between investigative strategies used in solved and unsolved cases. In solved cases the use of forensic evidence was the highest ranking factor whereas in unsolved cases the use of intelligence ranked highest. In solved cases intelligence use was ranked fifth, witness management was the sixth highest ranking factors for unsolved cases along with the use of investigative thinking. Maintaining these two initiated strategies reflect the importance of SIO behaviour, with a successful case involving SIOs managing witnesses and following their own developed lines of enquiry. Lloyd-Evans & Bethell (2009) provides information on the successful methods employed to solve cold cases, identifying the advancement in forensic methods as instrumental in reviewing cold cases and solving historic homicides. This research highlights the important role the internet and social media play in appeals for information (Reid, 2009) due to the valuable role intelligence has in solving unsolved cases (Roycroft, 2007), and also the appropriate training of SIOs to manage the witnesses and the enquiry. Furthermore, the continued development of forensic methods in

solving cold cases is of added importance (Lloyd-Evans & Bethell, 2009).

There continues to be limited knowledge as to what makes a good detective and investigative process, which makes it a challenge to develop an effective training programme. This is highlighted historically in the lack of training for detectives (Hobbs, 1988). While this is possible more research is needed to develop this further, due to the lack of knowledge and research (Brodeur, 2010; Tong, 2005). A further insight into the investigative process and how detectives have developed is through high profile historical investigative reviews. These provide information surrounding the challenges, errors and reform of the investigative process along with the evolution of the systems that support an investigation.

Byford (2006) reviewed the Yorkshire Ripper investigation in the 1980s. The report highlighted that detectives struggled to manage enquiries through the lack of a computerised system and a lack of experienced staff. These errors resulted in the death of three women. This led to recommendations including; adequate staffing for future large scale investigations; the provision of specialist detective training and the introduction of a computerised record system. The last point is important to consider as the Police National Computer (PNC) was introduced in 1974 as a computerised system but it was not until 1995 that it was adapted to enable arrest and conviction data to be added (HMIC, 2017b). In the context of the Yorkshire Ripper investigation, the importance of a system specially designed for managing large scale investigations was evident; following recommendations from Byford the Home Office Large Major Enquiry System (HOLMES) computer system was introduced in 1985, with an updated version still used by police services today.

The Bichard (2004) inquiry provided a report surrounding the murders of two children, Jessica Chapman and Holly Wells, by Ian Huntley in 2002, criticising Humberside police's failure to manage intelligence information leading to Huntley gaining employment as a caretaker at the children's school. The results and recommendations of this report are outlined further. Ian Huntley came to the attention of Humberside Police eight times for separate sexual offences between 1995 and 1999 and had also been investigated for an additional offence. All offences were viewed in isolation and the police service failed to establish a pattern to Ian Huntley's offending behaviour. This was attributed to systemic failures in the management and monitoring of Humberside Police's intelligence systems. Detectives discussed having had limited understanding as to the creation of intelligence records on the computer system, reviewing records, their gradings, their dissemination, and weeding. There was also limited knowledge of how the system operated with inadequate training and supervision. This led to the deletion of important records, although it was never confirmed if this was the reason the only intelligence report on

Ian Huntley was deleted. Additional crime based computer systems were also inadequately operated, with a delay of four years from 1999 to 2003 for police personnel being informed a particular system could be used for vetting procedures. Cambridgeshire police were also criticised for their vetting check of Ian Huntley. They failed to adequately check the PNC and there was no evidence to suggest they contacted Humberside Police for further information on Ian Huntley. This catalogue of errors within Cambridgeshire police were ascribed to; resource and workload pressures within the department and poor work processes, a lack of monitoring and audit of performance and inadequate training and supervision. Bichard (2004) recommended a development in intelligence-based record keeping, a national IT intelligence system throughout England and Wales and the introduction of a national PNC system for Britain and the introduction of a national code of practice for its use which could be easily understood and shared nationally. There were also recommendations for enhanced vetting procedures and a new system of registering for employment roles with children or vulnerable adults aiding police and detectives in future investigations.

Smith (2003) reviewed the Shipman Inquiry. The initial murder investigation was requested by the coroner to be discreet. So Dr Shipman was investigated by one detective inspector (DI) overseen by a chief superintendent (CH/SUPT), from March 1998 to April 1998. The case was then reopened on 24th June 1998, whereby Harold Shipman was later found guilty of murdering fifteen people in 2000. The Shipman Inquiry criticised Greater Manchester Police (GMP) for their handling of the initial investigation which led to an additional three murders between the first and second investigation and evidence was found later for two hundred and fifteen murders, a further forty-five suspected murders and thirty-eight deaths where there was insufficient evidence to determine if Shipman had been involved. Two individuals were identified within the Shipman enquiry as being to blame for the handling of the investigation. It was found CH/SUPT Sykes instructed DI Smith to carry out the investigation but he lacked the skills to provide adequate knowledge and supervision to DI Smith throughout the investigation. In turn DI Smith was inexperienced in conducting criminal investigations of this manner without supervision or instruction. CH/SUPT Sykes made DI Smith responsible for deciding when the case would be closed without requesting a final report of the investigation. This prevented the issues with this investigation coming to light, preventing a more thorough investigation taking place. The enquiry led to an amendment to the Murder Investigation Manual (ACPO, 2006) and The Association of Chief Police Officers, NHS and the Health and Safety Executive published a 'Memorandum of Understanding' maintaining a collaborative approach to; investigations surrounding patient safety, preserving and securing evidence and information sharing (Smith & Hewitt, 2007).

Roycroft (2008) examined forty years of murder reviews and enquiries, identifying recurrent problems surrounding; the resourcing and cross-checking capabilities throughout major investigations, an issue of the leadership of Senior Management Teams leading to problems of accountability, bad decisions and the wrong people managing investigations at crucial points of major enquiries. Roycroft maintains, the management of enquiries, choice and prioritisation of lines of enquiry and appropriation of resources are key to a cost-effective and successful investigation.

The major cause of miscarriages of justice has been attributed to the investigative and interviewing process (Poyser and Milne, 2011). This is highlighted within high profile miscarriages of justice such as the Guildford Four and Maguire Seven. Issues were identified with the interviewing process leading to false confessions, impacting on public perception of the police and further reform (Maguire, 2003). This led to The Royal Commission on Criminal Justice Runciman (1991) produced a 1993 report exploring the conduct of the police and the investigative process, the criminal justice process and the rights and processes for an individual to appeal. Some of the recommendations were a change to the interviewing of witnesses and suspects, specifying a minimum length of breaks and training to recognise the needs of victims and witnesses. They highlighted a shift away from confession led investigations with defendants providing an answer to the offence after the prosecution's case has been disclosed in full and their right to silence. Additional safeguards were given surrounding confession evidence, through the warning at trial by the judge on the conviction on confession alone. There were also reforms to the Criminal Appeal Act 1968 and a move from the Home Secretary's power to refer appeals, to the setting up of a body independent of the court system.

The Rennison (2012) report acknowledged further concerns surrounding the contamination of forensic samples and their link to miscarriages of justice. It was reported in 2011 that Adam Scott was charged with rape on the evidence of a partial DNA sample, developed within LGC Forensics. The report identified errors by LGC Forensics in the reusing of sampling trays leading to his DNA profile contaminating the evidence. This error was not the first instance this had occurred; LGC Forensics had made the same error earlier within the same month. At the time it led to a change in procedures documented within an incident report but LGC Forensics failed to escalate the report appropriately leading to the same issues reoccurring in the case of Adam Scott. In light of this, the case against Adam Scott for rape was dropped on 7th March 2012. The report highlighted a further catalogue of errors involving the contamination of DNA samples; a saliva sample from the British Transport Police and a sample from Wiltshire Police were included as one sample. Prior to 12 October 2011 there was nothing to highlight the fact that a sample tray had been used and required disposal.

There have been recent reports relating to issues surrounding the disclosure of evidence. Liam Allan and Isaac Itiary were both charged with rape only for their cases to be dropped when undisclosed evidence was presented, identifying their innocence (Dearden, 2017). A further case has been uncovered by the BBC (2018b) relating to a case against Adrian Iordan, Anisoara Lautaru and Petruta-Cristina Bosoanca for human trafficking and controlling prostitution. The case was later dropped once further evidence was disclosed. This led Petruta-Cristiana Bosoanca to be held in custody for thirteen months during which she gave birth to her child. There is a further case reported by Harte & Coleman (2018) involving a teacher named only as William who was charged with sexual assault. The CPS refused to disclose CCTV on six occasions and it was only disclosed three weeks prior to the trial. On viewing the evidence the case was dropped, as footage highlighted his innocence.

Whilst there are issues identified within the investigation process there are also changes to the number of detectives working in CID (Chatterton, 2008). Chatterton (2008) carried out a large scale study involving twenty-seven focus groups covering nine police services in England and Wales identifying that CIDs were seeing a decline in detectives. This decline in numbers was explained through the following key factors; managers' lack of understanding of the investigative process and consequentially under resourcing the service, detectives' transfers and long-term secondments to new specialist teams, squads or serious incidents, difficulty in recruiting detectives due to the lack of experience of officers and detectives' desire to work within specialist teams. The impact of government imposed New Public Management principles on policing also led senior managers to focus on high yield crimes that often did not lead to a charge at the detriment of more serious offences. There was also concern surrounding the level of training detectives received before being assigned a full caseload. These challenges, along with the lack of understanding from senior managers, was leading detectives to feel; overwhelmed with their caseloads, alienated, demoralised and no longer willing to work the additional hours required for the role (Chatterton, 2008). Within this paper Chatterton (2008) discusses a 2004 pilot study conducted by Surrey Police involving police staff investigators. The results suggested that cases could be dealt with faster and with greater efficiency increasing productivity. However, the research did not explore if this was a more efficient approach to a solely detective based approach and therefore could be a solution to the decline in detectives. However, there is no information available from the HO or the COP (COP, 2018) to determine the structure of a CID department or resourcing numbers or the rank structure within CID.

The role of detectives and the investigative process is not only affected by previous investigations but also impacted by changes to policing at a national level along with social, cultural, and technological change. Police have sometimes been behind in adapting to technology, communication between police

services have sometimes undermined effective police work, with resources not targeted in the right places and inexperienced staff have drawn criticism of the police. Miscarriages of justice and near miscarriages of justice have generated further criticisms of the police, CPS and forensic departments from confessional evidence, issues with evidential disclosure and the contamination of forensics. The next section will discuss these challenges further drawing on additional research within the area of detectives and the investigative process.

Austerity

Policing has experienced the impact of austerity. This section will explore theories and explanations of austerity within the public sector, changes to the criminal justice service, the effect austerity may be having on the police system, investigative process and detectives and explore the responses proposed to austerity.

The Great Recession was the international decline in the economy (International Monetary Fund, 2009) between 2008 until 2009 (eighteen months) and 2011 until 2012 (nine months) (ONS, 2015). The initial source of the economic collapse was identified as the breakdown of large international financial institutions. These were negatively impacted when the housing market deflated during 2007 – 2009, and due to a large proportion of these institutions being funded by short-term vulnerable investments (FCIC, 2011). In 2010 a coalition government was formed between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. George Osborne, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed a series of austerity measures setting an increase in taxation and cutting of public spending. His approach was influenced by a theory of austerity known as ‘Expansionary Austerity’ (Alesina & Ardagna, 2010). This suggests reduced government spending has a positive impact on the economy, creating confidence, and the positive effects of this will offset negative effects of a government's reduced spending. There are different theoretical approaches to managing austerity, many of which challenge the work of Alesina & Ardagna (2010). The theory of 'Ricardian Equivalence,' maintains; the public will reduce spending when their government is accruing debts due to the assumption that they will incur future taxes, thus challenging the idea against stimulus spending to create jobs (Ricardo, 1951; Barro, 1974). The theory of supply-side economics challenges this idea and supports the government's approach to austerity measures suggesting instead, that reducing taxes during times of austerity, as supply-siders rely on the "Laffer curve," stating the public will avoid investing in capital, manufacturing, and recruiting when taxation is high (Wanniski, 1978). The International Monetary Fund (2010) later identified a miscalculation in the work of Alesina & Ardagna (2010), which had

attributed austerity measures for the drop in Finland's budget deficit, was misattributed to austerity measures, when instead was due to a stock market boom. Their further investigation identified that austerity measures in the form of reduced spending and increased taxation had in fact a negative impact on economic growth.

Austerity Changes Within the Public Sector

Austerity measures were introduced in public services from 2010 onwards (Watkins et al, 2017; National Children's Bureau, 2017). The National Health Service (NHS) has seen a cut in their budgets. Prior to the introduction of these measures mortality rates were declining from 2001 to 2010 after their introduction from 2011 to 2014 there has been a recorded increase of an additional 120,000 deaths (Watkins et al, 2017). There has been a 25% cut in funding for children's social services between 2010 to 2016 (National Children's Bureau, 2017) and there has been a reported rise of 3% in the number of children taken into care from 1994 to 2017 with a rise of 2% between 2016 to 2017 from the previous fiscal year (Department for Education, 2017). Whilst a correlation could be proposed suggesting the impact of austerity, it is impossible to attribute a causal link as other factors may have had a role. Those working within the public sector have experienced a pay freeze from 2011 to 2013 with pay protected for only the lowest paid and an average increase of 1% in 2014 to 2015, with police officers and prison officers experiencing a 'moderate earnings decline' (Bryson & Forth, 2017).

The Institute of Education (2013) carried out a national survey suggesting public sector employees are feeling more insecure about job losses than their private sector counterparts, 51% of employees were concerned about pay cuts and decision making power surrounding their jobs and 'work intensification' has increased as a result of technological advancement. This has led to a reported increase in job stress and a decrease in wellbeing from 2006, with employees feeling a greater level of insecurity and work related pressure than they had within the last twenty years. Houdmont et al (2012) identify changes in psychosocial hazard exposures (work demands, job control, managerial support, peer support, relationships, role and change) work-related stress and stress related sickness absence for employees in line with the beginning of economic recession. The research was composed of two large surveys (n=17124) and (n=9913) of employees of the Northern Ireland Civil Service.

There have been cuts of 40% in the MOJ between 2011 and 2020 (McFadden, 2018). Fuller (2014) identified a staff reduction in the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) by 9.0% from 2013 to 2014, with some counties having limited or no continuous CPS presence. During this time there has been a rise of

1% in contested Magistrates Court cases which has had an impact on the CPS and an increase in the number of their cases dropped from 9.6% to 9.7%, along with the reduction in the successful outcome of prosecutions from 86.2% to 85.7%. There was also a decline in the appropriate management of all aspects of disclosure with a decline from 77.1% to 50.9%. The change to the quality of the CPS's role in the disclosure of evidence identified by Fuller (2014) has been documented within the media predicting future miscarriages of justice (Shaw, 2015; Johnson & Heaney, 2016).

There has also been a cut in legal aid available to offenders (Levitas, 2012), with 30% of defendants within Magistrates Court having no legal representation (McFadden, 2018). There are also concerns about the 'future and shape' of the probation service with the introduction of an Offender Rehabilitation bill (The Stationary Office, 2014) with the employment of ex-offenders as mentors Allen (2013). Geddes (2012) reported the closure of the Forensic Science Service (FSS) in March 2012 as a cost saving initiative in a move towards privately run police labs and reported the results of a survey of the FSS' private and police labs prior to the move. The results suggested 76.4% believed that this change would lead to miscarriages of justice and 70.3% thought in-house police labs would reduce impartiality and impact on the interpretation of evidence. This was further supported by 15 of the 21 respondents who were presently working within police labs. Their concern was the structure of police investigations with many being broken down into components as a money saving exercise, preventing the evidence being viewed in a wider context. A third of respondents had felt pressured to produce specific results and three-quarters felt they were given an inadequate timeframe to assess cases. Within this report Gary Pugh, Director of the Metropolitan Police Director Forensic Service, acknowledged that the police are 'under pressure to cut costs', but maintained that this should only affect 'lower level crimes only'. The change in structure to the Forensic Service is concerning when evidence suggests that 38% of homicides within the MPS are solved through forensic methods (Roycroft, 2007).

Police Austerity Measures

The government introduced austerity measures for police services, outlined in the spending review between 2011 and 2015 by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC, 2011a), with many police services reducing their workforce in 2010 on the announcement of a cut to police budgets (HMIC, 2011a), and many also sought to manage these changes through a freeze on recruitment from 2010 (HMIC, 2014c). This provoked a demonstration involving 30,000 police officers. Phil Abbiss, from the West Yorkshire Federation, expressed his concerns of protecting the public whilst losing police numbers on a large scale (Laville, 2012b). The Police Federation supported these concerns, maintaining further cuts to the police budget and the national loss of 17,000 police officers would change and irreparably damage the British police service (Whitehouse, 2015). Theresa May criticised

the Federation maintaining crime was down more than a quarter since 2010 (May, 2015; ONS, 2014). The move away from performance targets (Curtis, 2015), recent policy change diverting youths away from the criminal justice system (Bateman, 2014) along with criticisms of crime recording could be contributing to this change (HMIC, 2014a). In April 2015 the government introduced further austerity measures with the change in police pensions from a final salary approach to a career average scheme and increased pension age to sixty affording protections for officers nearing retirement (HO, 2013). The national decrease in police numbers has continued to decline along with police staff numbers. In 2015 there was a reported decrease in police officers of 0.9% (HO, 2015c) a further 2.2% decline for police officers and 3.1% for police staff in 2016 (HO, 2017b) and in 2017 there was a further decline of 0.7 % for officer and 1.0% for police staff and the police workforce declined by 1% and officer figures were considered at their lowest since records began in 1996 with only 123,142 and with police staff numbers at 61,668 (HO, 2017c). These results may also be influenced by an aging workforce with the number of officers of forty years and above increasing from 36% in 2007 to 48% in 2016. During this timeframe there was also a corresponding decrease in the number of officers under twenty-six from 8% to 4% (HO, 2017b).

In December 2014 the MPS put forward their plans to privatise aspects of their Business Support Services, potentially their IT Department and Human Resources Unit based at their Force Headquarters, but also other 'non frontline services' (Public and Commercial Services Union, 2014). Privatisation has been adopted over the last twenty years in areas of the United States through the introduction of private armed guards with the police only attending incidents of violence crime with an insurgence of private armed guards (Schrader, 2013). Unison has requested an independent enquiry and expressed concerns about privatisation in reaction to a report produced (The Smith Institute, 2014). The report suggests privatisation leads to pay reductions for staff, leading to low morale and high staff turnover, all of which has an impact on the quality of service provided to the public (Unison, 2014). Rogers (2014) states that privatisation as an approach to austerity could lead to a culture of 'policing for profit' rather than 'policing for community' raising issues of accountability and governance of the police.

In December 2014 the MPS Commissioner, Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe, expressed concerns about public safety in light of future police cuts. He proposed a restructure of the national picture of police services from thirty to nine. Similar unsuccessful attempts were made under a Labour government in 2005 (BBC, 2005). The Prime Minister rejected this suggestion (Perraudin & Dodd, 2014). Further police services have followed and spoken of the challenge of policing in an age of austerity on public safety and operational efficiency. Pidd (2017) provides reports from the chief constable of GMP suggesting the Manchester terrorist attack investigation was demand intensive, involving one thousand officers from

GMP and additional officers employed through the national counter-terrorism policing network. With the investigation involving; a large number of suspects and witnesses, the reviewing of hundreds of hours of CCTV, seven hundred phones, iPads and additional media devices. The chief constable of West Midlands police and the lead police officer within the MPS for anti-terror policing, both responsible for highest recorded locations for terrorist activity, supported these claims, expressing grave concerns of the sustainability of policing and protecting the public within the current climate of austerity measures (Merrick, 2017). Chief constable for Merseyside police expressed concerns surrounding reducing numbers of officers, maintaining further budget cuts could lead to lower level offences no longer being investigated (Thomas, 2017). This reduction in officers could lead to a reduction in police visibility and may impact public confidence (Sindall & Sturgis, 2013). Loveday and Smith (2015) highlight the threat of the reduction and loss of Police Community Support Officers (PCSO) and the importance of a move away from the police and PCSOs presence within the community to tackle anti-social behaviour but instead expanding the role of the Community Neighbourhood Wardens employed through the council forging a partnership between the two agencies. Research suggests that police staff call handlers within the force control room were impacted by austerity, identifying an increase in demand, a decrease in resources and a change in the role and responsibilities between the police and partner agencies, arguing the police were fulfilling the function of other agencies (Lumsden & Black, 2017). Brogden & Ellison (2013) provide an overarching view of the effect of austerity maintaining the effect of austerity will vary between police services, due to prior financial reserves and level of government funding versus council tax revenue and the effect will be difficult gauge due to the reliability of police data. Furthermore they support the view that policing will need to be prioritised to violence and matters relating to serious social harm and question the value of the policing sciences as a solution due to the integrity of data and the growth of the internet leading to additional policing challenges.

Research suggests officers and staff are experiencing the effect of austerity on a personal level which is compounded through an additional loss of the workforce through stress and illness. Dorman (2015) obtained information about the current extent of sick leave within British territorial police services through a Freedom of Information Act (FOI) request, reporting 600,000 sick days are lost through stress, anxiety or depression. The Chairman of the Police Federation attributed this to austerity measures from 2010 to 2015. This increase in mental health related sickness was reflected in the MPS who saw a rise in stress related illness to 43% and also with an increase of three-quarters of officers resigning (Kirk, 2014). Whilst the information above suggests a correlation between health related sickness, resignations and austerity there is no evidence for a causal link. However, the charity Mind identified a link between mental health and austerity. Employees within the emergency services were surveyed uncovering a high rate of mental health problems, with the highest rates within the police with 91% of officer and staff

respondents having experience of poor mental health and low mood while employed by the police. Respondents attributed this to reduced budgets and the presence of targets. This led Mind to set up the blue light campaign, a mental health helpline for those working within the emergency services (Mind, 2015).

Detectives

The effect austerity has had on the police service is documented in the previous section. This section will seek to explore this work further and the effect, if any, austerity is having on the detective ranks. Detectives in Britain can form the following rank hierarchy: constable, sergeant, inspector, chief inspector, superintendent and chief superintendent, assistant chief constable and chief constable are the same as the non-detective ranks (Police UK, 2018). The difference is they have also completed training to qualify as a detective (COP, 2017). The PFEW has carried out a series of large-scale detective surveys exploring the effect of austerity on detectives (n=3972) (PFEW, 2014) (n=5,557) (PFEW, 2015) and (n=7,803) (Boag-Monroe, 2017). The results suggest a declining satisfaction of detectives within their current role with 52% expressing satisfaction service (Boag-Monroe, 2017). in 2014 (PFEW, 2014), 48% in 2015 (PFEW, 2015) and 45% in 2017 (Boag-Monroe, 2017). In 2014 62% of detectives expressed a decline in morale in light of the austerity changes to the pension scheme (PFEW, 2014). In 2017 26% said they would accept another job (with similar pay and benefits) and 85% felt detectives were not valued, due to the increase in workload and decrease in staff and lack of recognition within the police.

In 2015 83% of detectives felt austerity measures had had an effect on their wellbeing due to increased workloads and lack of staff (PFEW, 2015) and in 2017 49% of detectives felt stress had substantially increased with 86% of respondents providing the same reason (PFEW, 2017). Detectives suggested workload had increased by ‘a lot’ 65% in 2014 (PFEW, 2014) and ‘increased substantially’ to 62% in 2017 (Boag-Munroe, 2017). They expressed difficulty securing training opportunities with this increasing from 38% in 2014 (PFEW, 2014) to 46% in 2015 (PFEW, 2015), 51% in 2017 (Boag-Munroe, 2017) and also remaining up-to-date from 44% in 2014 (PFEW, 2014), 51% in 2015 (PFEW, 2015) to 56% in 2017 (Boag-Munroe, 2017). Detectives also discussed difficulties in taking annual leave 65% in 2014 (PFEW, 2014), 64% in 2015 (PFEW, 2015) and 71% (Boag-Munroe, 2017). In each the reason given was low numbers within their departments and work commitments. Finally in 2015 55% felt that the service they provided to the public had declined due to austerity, with 30% of detectives citing the reduced numbers of detectives (PFEW, 2015). Whilst these figures explain the continued decline in detective numbers and decrease in morale, Chatterton (2008) highlighted this

prior to austerity, so austerity changes may have contributed to a further decline in numbers and decrease in morale.

The increase in workloads is also supported by Turnbull & Wass (2015) who carried out research within the Inspector ranks, involving officers and detectives from 2011-2014. Uncovering extreme workloads brought on through austerity, with Inspectors voluntarily working additional hours outside of agreed contractual arrangements. These were without reward and impacted on health and wellbeing. The 2016 HMIC effectiveness report further supports these claims, maintaining that there is now a 'national crisis in the shortage of detectives and investigators in many forces', leading to high workloads, stress and with more than one in five cases not investigated as 'the victim does not support police action' (HMIC, 2017). HMIC (2017) have advised the NPCC and the COP work together to provide a national response to increase detective numbers. This has been accepted by both agencies who are in the process of coordinating a response (NPCC, 2018).

The MPS have sought to address the shortfall of detectives through a direct entry scheme and began recruiting in October 2016 (MPF, 2018). The model proposes individuals are recruited directly into the detective role within CID, bypassing the two years officers have on the beat. The course involves a two years probationary period and eighteen weeks of training (MPS, 2018). The MPF have opposed this approach suggesting that it could cause a two tier system of detectives and prevents detectives from learning initially 'on the job' (MPF, 2018).

Solutions to Austerity

Current research has critically evaluated strategies to navigate this period of austerity within the police service. HMIC (2010) published a report proposing cost cutting recommendations for police services. The report identified that police services could save money through a variety of initiatives and an evaluation of all spending such as; reviewing overtime, prioritising officer availability, and collaborative working with other police services and partner agencies. Brogden & Ellison (2012) highlight the importance of technological development, but acknowledge the current lack of policing research poses challenges for effective technological advancement as a solution. Considine (2011) highlights concerns about the potential increase in Good Samaritan laws by the government as a solution to austerity. Den Heyer (2014) suggests a move from reactive to proactive policing, suggesting the use of econometrics as a method to allocate police resources to an area, whilst proposing further research is needed in this area. Barton (2013) discusses the 'lean' philosophy that police services are adopting as a

business model to reform the service of policing under austerity, concluding that due to different communities territorial police services cater for, its implementation would need to be catered to each specific police service. Bandyopadhyay (2013) challenges this idea suggesting that police services can learn from one another and calls for further efficiency studies during this time of austerity.

In November 2015 Chancellor George Osborne declared that the police would be protected and there would be no more budget cuts (BBC, 2015). This claim was challenged by the Chair of the UK Statistics Authority in light of the HO report (HO, 2015b), maintaining the figures within the report suggested a 1.7% increase. He criticised the figures for their lack of transparency, explaining the increase was calculated with the assumption Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC) would increase their precept, which is a request for a higher rate of council tax to increase their police budget and this increase would not be a rise in real terms due to inflation. This suggested the figures proposed by the government (HO, 2015b) meant police cuts would continue from 2015-16 and 2016-17 (Dilnot, 2016).

Whilst austerity is a change the public sector and the police service are currently experiencing, additional changes have occurred through governmental, social cultural and technological change during the period of austerity.

General Changes

Detective work is regularly influenced through government changes to the criminal justice system, societal change and reforms through the investigative process discussed within the previous section. The next section will explore the key changes from 2010 to 2015 that fall outside the remit of austerity, beginning with a look at social, cultural and technological changes, changes to crime, government changes and future changes.

Social, Cultural and Technological Change

A recent cultural change is the rise in international migration. This has increased over the last fifteen years and in 2015 international figures reached 244 million compared to 71 million in 2000. Whilst this figure is focused on the rate of worldwide migration, figures in 2015 suggest 67% of international migrants were living in predominately twenty countries, one of which being Britain and Northern Ireland with a figure of around 9 million (UN, 2015). A growth in immigration increases skills within the workforce. This is highlighted within the NHS, which is a collective of 1.2 million employees,

55,000 of whom are migrants from EU Countries (Full Fact, 2015). Whilst this shift in immigration has provided this increase in skills, it has also been linked to human trafficking arising through the exploitation of migrants (UN, 2015). This has led to an increase in human trafficking which now forms part of the crime strategy for police services in Britain (HO, 2016). This change may have had an effect on the role of detectives through the use of interpreters within an investigation and their level of knowledge and training in this emerging crime type.

A technological change is the increase in communication tools available to offenders. America has reported over the past five years a greater accessibility and use of the internet through smart phones and tablets enabling offenders to be mobile in the way in which they commit offences, leading to an increase in cybercrime and online fraud (Karofi and Mwanza, 2006), a new challenge for detectives. The rise in internet technology and internet usage is recognised in Britain with internet usage from mobile phones rising from 24% to 53% from 2010 to 2013 (ONS, 2013). This is further highlighted within the effectiveness inspection carried by HMIC (2015b), documenting concerns about 'investigative practices' and 'backlogs and delays' in departments that download digital devices. There are concerns about detectives' ability to cope with the evidence obtained through digital devices due to the recent cases against Liam Allan and Isaac Itiary who were both charged with rape only for their cases to be dropped when undisclosed evidence through digital devices identified their innocence (Dearden, 2017). Mr Allan's case which involved twelve counts of rape and sexual assault and led him to be on bail for nearly two years (Bowcott, 2018). Liam Allan criticised the police service for failing to disclose text messages that would have exonerated him, one involved his accuser admitting the sexual activity between them had been consensual (Bowcott, 2018). It was reviewed by the MPS and the CPS who attributed the mistakes to, 'a combination of error, lack of challenge, and lack of knowledge' (BBC, 2018a). His solicitor criticised the review calling it 'disingenuous' suggesting the CPS were scapegoating the police (Bowcott, 2018). The evidence put forward by (Fuller, 2014; Shaw, 2015; Johnson & Heaney, 2016) mentioned previously, support these concerns about the appropriate management of disclosure of evidence by the CPS. This has led to the launch of an improvement plan by the CPS, NPCC and the COP through auditing training, the introduction of specialist disclosure experts in every police service, and delivering all multimedia evidence to the defence digitally (Ephgrave et al, 2018).

Government Changes

In 2010 the Home Secretary stopped the use of HO performance targets (Curtis, 2015). Prior to this,

targets were used by the police services to measure occupational success of officers and detectives. The higher the number of offences identified and cleared, the greater the perceived measure of investigative success. Curtis (2015) was instructed by the HO to review the use of targets within police services. The work identified a reduction in the use of police targets at ACPO level, but continuing to exist at a management level. This change in culture was identified for two reasons, firstly, they were identified as 'too crude for complex systems' and it was also identified that 'they caused dysfunctional behaviour'. This was highlighted in a case within Kent police, which led to five detectives being arrested for manipulating crime figures and the call for a British inquiry into the use of police targets (Laville, 2012a). The shift away from a target culture could redirect the priorities of investigations away from high return offences to more serious offences and be a welcomed change for detectives Chatterton (2008).

The Witness Charter (WC) was introduced by the MOJ in December 2013. Its aim was to improve the standards of care for witnesses of crime through the introduction of twenty-one standards of care. These standards provide additional support to witnesses from the initial reporting of the crime to an appeal after conviction of an offender. The police are responsible for keeping witnesses regularly updated for serious offences and providing a single point of contact for witnesses of less serious crimes. The charter affords witnesses safeguarding measures throughout the whole process and specific measures for those identified as vulnerable or intimidated (MOJ, 2013).

Domestic Violence Protection Orders (DVPO) and Domestic Violence Protection Notices (DVPN) were introduced within police services in England and Wales on 8 March 2014. A DVPO is a civil order providing the police and magistrates with additional powers to protect victims in cases where there is insufficient evidence to charge an individual after a domestic violence incident or safeguard a victim through bail conditions. A DVPN is issued by police officers and effective from the time of issue. It seeks to safeguard individuals, with the capacity to prevent a perpetrator returning to a residence, blocking contact with the victim for up to twenty-eight days to prevent molestation. Once this notice is served officers have forty-eight hours to make an application to a Magistrate's Court for a DVPO (Government, 2016b).

Changes in Crime

In 2014 HMIC identified issues with how police services within England and Wales approached domestic abuse from, prevention, investigation securing convictions and safeguarding victims and witnesses (HMIC, 2014b). In 2015 HMIC identified a 31% increase in domestic abuse related crimes

prior to the previous report in 2014. This rise was accounted for by HMIC for two reasons: the improvement of officers' crime recording of domestic incidents and police services encouraging domestic abuse victims to report incidents (HMIC, 2015a). In 2015 many police services had improved the service provided to victims and witnesses and improved domestic abuse related investigations, however, the following concerns were raised; a significant increase in workloads for public protection teams, and domestic abuse incidents allocated on crime type rather than risk and the inadequate use of DVPOs (HMIC, 2015a).

There have been an increase in sexual offences and an evolution to the type of sexual offence committed. The number of reported rapes have increased and their investigation has become more time intensive (Dodd & Bengtsson; 2016). Doidge (2013) obtained information through a FOI request from twenty-two police services and identified an increase in reporting of historic sexual abuse cases within the six months in the aftermath of the Jimmy Savile case, which saw an increase in 70% of reporting between November 2012 and April 2013. A further change has been the identification of CSE, uncovered through the Rotherham enquiry. It is estimated that around 1400 children were victims of sexual exploitation between 1997 and 2013, with over a third of victims formerly known to services surrounding issues of child protection and neglect. The police and partnership agencies were criticised for their failure to act on information about CSE. The report suggests the police are now better equipped to deal with CSE through training and more resource within this area (Jay, 2014). The report by the Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC) is now nearing conclusion and will hold additional lessons for detectives (IOPC, 2017).

There have been further changes to the focus of crime types investigated from 2010 to 2015, with an increase in organised crime, cybercrime and terrorism. This was outlined in the national security strategy put forward by the government (HM Government, 2010). These crimes along with CSE and the development of human trafficking are now part of the control strategy for police services throughout Britain (HO, 2016). The effect of austerity along with the increase in certain crimes as well as the change in crime types has been felt by police services. Avon & Somerset PCC (2017) expressed within their report difficulty in sustaining policing and avoiding 'serious consequence' due to austerity measures citing the increase in organised crime, rise in sexual exploitation, domestic abuse and hate crime from 20,000 to 40,000 in the past seven years. Chief constable of North Humberside maintained the police were getting close to no longer being able to provide a professional service due to budget cuts, claiming they were presently consumed by sexual exploitation investigation Operation Sanctuary identifying seven hundred and eighty potential victims. The HO maintained they were looking into the increase in the demands police services were experiencing and had commenced a program to understand

these demands better (Halliday, 2017).

Future Changes

Better Case Management

Better Case Management (BCM) was introduced into England and Wales on 5th January 2016. Its aim is to increase the speed of the judicial process within Magistrates and Crown Courts, through early identification of investigations that will result in a guilty plea. Cases are then required for the plea and trial preparation within twenty-eight and not exceeding thirty-five days. Case Management Hearings are considered the next step for complex cases or for those identified by a Judge as requiring an additional hearing. This approach could see an increase in demand on detectives, increasing the pressure to ensure cases are built and ready for Court within decreased time frames (Government, 2016a).

Change to the Bail Act

Pre-charge bail, or 'police bail', is a power whereby the police can continue to investigate allegations whilst protecting victims of crime and enabling suspects to maintain their daily activities. The government introduced changes to bail, reducing the number of individuals on pre-charge bail and its duration, including time limits, a presumption that suspects will be released without bail, regular reviews by the Courts and formal guidance governing the imposition of conditions (HO, 2015a; HO, 2017a). It has been argued by the COP that changes of this nature to the BA could lead to suspects being under investigation by more than one police service without the others' knowledge, citing the example of the murder committed by Ian Huntley and the challenges of information on the PNC. The COP highlighted results from a study that suggested 60% of cases where bail was extended to ninety days or more involved forensic analysis and citing the analysis of phone, delays in CPS charging decisions, and obtaining statements from expert witnesses such as doctors as the determining factors behind delays (Shaw, 2016).

In light of the evidence above it appears austerity and non-austerity changes are influencing police work.. What is unclear is the specific effect of austerity and non-austerity changes on detectives who work within CID, their role and the investigative process. There are many potential challenges; budget cuts to the criminal justice service, the future privatisation of support services including the forensic service, governmental changes, the change in migration, digitalisation and the change in crime types.

This research seeks to examine the effect of austerity on; detectives, the CID investigative process and their role. An additional interest is to identify further changes experienced by detectives to their role and the investigative process, outside the remit of austerity. The next chapter will provide a methodological critique to establish appropriate methodology to investigate this further.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will outline and evaluate the methodological basis for this research study. It is separated into two sections: the research design and reflections throughout the research process. The first part will provide a methodological critique of the aims, research questions (informed by the literature in the previous chapter), research design, covering the type of methods used, the theoretical framework with critique, research methods, sample, and ethics. The second part will provide a reflective account of the research process within a policing context by the researcher and the process of analysis adopted within this research. The researcher will now go on to outline the research aims and questions identified following the examination of the literature in the previous chapter.

Aims

This research aims to examine the perceptions of detectives¹ surrounding their views of austerity² on three key areas.

- A) The CID³ investigative process⁴
- B) Their role as detectives
- C) Identify further changes⁵ experienced by detectives to their role and the investigative process, outside the remit of austerity from 2010 to 2015⁶.

Research Questions

The research aims are addressed through the following research questions:

¹ A detective was defined as an individual who had qualified through the nationally recognised detective scheme, the Professionalising Investigations Programme 1 (PIP) or above (COP, 2017).

² Austerity was defined as the reduction in police budgets introduced by the coalition government in 2011 and the implementation of these changes by their police service from 2010 - 2015. The results of these changes if any were identified by detectives.

³ CID was formed and defined by the police service involved in this research study (for details of offences investigated please see footnotes 7 and 8).

⁴ The investigative process was defined as, ‘...an investigation conducted by police officer with a view to it being ascertained whether a person should be charged with an offence, or whether a person charged with an offence is guilty of it’ (MOJ, 1996).

⁵ Further changes were defined by detectives as any non-austerity change experienced by detectives which were not considered due to austerity from 2010 - 2015.

⁶ The dates from 2010 to 2015 were chosen for this research study as many police services began reducing their workforce on the announcement of the change to police budgets in 2010 (HMIC, 2011a) and 2015 was date the research took place.

Question 1

What do detectives perceive to be the effect (if any) of austerity measures on their role as detectives working in CID?

This question was important to establish the effect of austerity measures, the nature of these measures and detectives' perceptions on the changes these may have had on their role as detectives working within CID.

Question 2

What do detectives perceive to be the effect (if any) of austerity measures on the CID investigative process?

This question was essential, as the investigative process is central to the work of detectives and draws on the work of other departments within policing. Any changes to CID or related departments may effect investigations carried out by detectives working within CID. In addition, there may well be direct changes to detectives' roles through austerity measures that had an effect on the investigative process.

Question 3

What changes have detectives experienced since 2010?

Austerity measures were implemented in police services in 2010 (HMIC, 2011a). This question allows a distinction to be drawn as to what changes are derived from austerity measures within the police service and what changes could be considered another process of change. Detectives may identify legislation that has affected them but this may not be due to austerity. It was, therefore, important to ensure that the detectives involved in this study had worked as detectives throughout this time period to ensure this distinction could be identified. This research question allowed an insight into what changes may have occurred outside of austerity.

Now the research questions have been identified, it is important to explore the best approach to the research methods that will responds to these questions.

Research Design

Quantitative, Qualitative or Mixed Methods?

Within this research study it was essential to consider the most appropriate methods in relation to the theoretical context, the aims and research questions proposed. Investigating the social world has its own challenges, posing epistemological arguments as to whether the social world can be investigated through a purely scientific approach, and ontological concerns as to whether social phenomenon is developed through social interaction or separate and divorced from this realm (Bryman, 2012). The answer to this debate influenced the types of research methods that were employed. This will be addressed through examining quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods, providing a critique as to the choice of the most appropriate methodological approach for this study.

Quantitative research is a deductive methodology seeking to test theory. It is rooted in a positivist approach, a philosophy of science that proposes society operates according to similar laws as that of the physical world (Comte, 1868), maintaining, it can be known solely through sensory experience and measured through a mathematical approach, relying on the figures it generates. The problem with this approach is the assumed validity in these figures. Within police research the focus on figures can be problematic when drawn from those collected from investigations ranging from miscarriages of justice (Innes, 2003) to the validity of the figures collated by police services, with a national 19% under-recording of crime by the police reported from July 2013 to 2014 (HMIC, 2014a).

In contrast, qualitative research is generally an inductive approach which can create theory rather than the quantitative approach of theory testing. It adopts the epistemological approach of interpretivism, focusing on subjective meaning and social action. From an ontological perspective it is grounded in constructionism, suggesting the social world is inhabited by social actors who are constantly revising social phenomena and meaning. It seeks to understand these perspectives, focusing on words and their meanings, rejecting the numerical approach of quantitative research. Criticisms of qualitative research centre on the subjectivity of the work and restrictions surrounding the generalisability of this data (Holliday, 2016).

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) propose a pragmatic approach suggesting a mixed methods approach as a 'natural complement' to the polar approach of quantitative or qualitative research designs. They identify two approaches to mixed methods. The first approach is that of a Mixed

Models design. This comprises of mixing qualitative and quantitative research across or within the research process. These are referred to as across-stage mixed-model designs and within-stage mixed-model designs. Across-stage mixed-model designs can be broken down into six categories; with a qualitative or quantitative research objective, a quantitative or qualitative data collection and a qualitative or quantitative data analysis. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) provide the example of a within-stage mixed-model design as a questionnaire with questions that involve quantitative data collection and the inclusion of open questions leading to qualitative data enquiry. Mixed model designs involve the inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative methods within the design. They separate this approach into two main categories. These consist of two questions a researcher would need to ask. The first is the choice of whether the researcher chose to operate out of a dominant paradigm of a qualitative or quantitative approach or an equal qualitative quantitative approach. The second question is whether these methods are to be used concurrently or sequentially. This approaches accounts for nine different designs; qualitative and quantitative methods used as equal status both concurrently or sequentially (qualitative to quantitative and quantitative to qualitative) and qualitative and quantitative used concurrently (qualitative and quantitative or quantitative and qualitative, with the former being the dominant approach) or sequentially (qualitative to quantitative, qualitative to quantitative with the former being the dominant approach or reversed with the latter being the dominant approach. There have been a series of criticisms about the mixed method approach. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) identify the strengths of a mixed research approach in that they can counteract the weaknesses of both the quantitative and qualitative approach but they also highlight that this varies dependent on the mixed research approach adopted. They also acknowledge the practical challenges of conducting mixed methods with one researcher when using the concurrent approach to mixed methods and also the time demands for data collection and analysis when a mixed research approach is adopted and acknowledges there can be issues with paradigm mixing. Sale et al (2002) also challenges the idea that the philosophical underpinnings of the qualitative and quantitative approaches can be merged. Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2009) maintain the mixed method approach is still in its infancy with a variety of different models and approaches to take and can be a challenge for even the most experienced of researchers to select the most appropriate design.

In light of the critique presented above, the researcher decided to adopt a qualitative approach. For the following reasons; at present the research literature surrounding CID detectives and austerity is limited and is at the theory building stage, suiting a qualitative approach and a quantitative approach would also fail to address the research questions which is to provide an insight into the perceptions of detectives. A mixed methods design could be complex, time consuming and again draw the researcher away from the experiences of detectives. Due to the issues surrounding the validity of police figures (HMIC, 2014a) and the move away from police performance targets Curtis

(2015), it could compromise the validity of the quantitative element of the mixed methods approach.

Theoretical Framework

This brings me to the theoretical framework which would underpin the research. Grounded Theory is a well-established qualitative approach developed by Glaser & Strauss, seeking to develop theory from data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It is identified as a powerful systematic approach that challenges the idea that research was unable to generate theory and that Grounded Theory was a legitimate qualitative approach in its own right without being a starting point for the creation of quantitative instruments (Glaser & Strauss, 1999). Critics have suggested that Grounded Theory is limited in its generation of theory (Layder, 1998). Layder (1998) and Bottoms (2000) argue for an adaptive model which seeks to draw on theory in the process of research to counter this weakness. The method draws on a wide range of literature allowing researchers to reference this during the analysis and aid the development of research outcomes (Layder, 1998). Grounded theory is critiqued for its lack of flexibility due to its focus on empirical data, limiting the scope for reflection (Layder, 1998; Bottoms, 2000). Charmaz (2009) criticises this approach maintaining that by exploring grounded theories evolution as a qualitative emergent method the criticism of its lack of flexibility can be further explored.

Grounded Theory is based on a symbolic interactionist model consisting of a systematic approach to data collection and qualitative approach to construct theories 'grounded' in the data. Glaser and Strauss were the originators of the model but since then there has been a split between the originators of the grounded theory. Glaser (1992) maintains theory is developed through a constant comparison of the data collected and there is no need to draw on theory to begin this process. Strauss and Corbin (1990) provide a more structured approach to grounded theory developing categories of data through a series of models such as: context, phonomena and strategies. Charmaz (2009) takes a more constructionist approach challenging both Glaser and Strauss and Corbin, maintaining they are too realist, and ignore the constructions that participants as well as the researcher themselves develop. Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, Charmaz, 2009) evolved to provide a systematic approach to conducting quantitative data, providing a bridge between theory and research through adopting a theory building approach.

Critique of Grounded Theory

Whilst there are inherent strengths to this approach, the scope to develop a theory in a new emerging area which is lacking in research, there are also inherent weaknesses with this approach. Grounded

theory relies on the interpretations of the researcher. The researcher has previous and current experience of police austerity measures within their occupational role. This experience may influence their interpretations of the data. Whilst as a researcher they can be mindful of these challenges and actively reflect on them throughout the research process, it could be argued that there would be an element of their own personal experience and history that may not be available to them to reflect upon. Williams (1998) further explains maintaining the causes attributed to particular behaviours are problematic as it is the mind that attributes meanings to these behaviours and therein lies the problem as the mind is not something that is observable and measurable.

It is well documented that there is limited research within the area of detectives (Innes, 2003; Brodeur, 2010). Furthermore, austerity and its impact on policing is a modern phenomenon. From 2011 there have been substantial financial cuts to policing (HMIC, 2011a; HMIC, 2012) and from 2010 austerity changes introduced by many police services (HMIC, 2011a). The evidence in this area is limited with only a small number of studies providing an insight into the effect of austerity on detectives (PFEW, 2014; PFEW, 2015; Turnbull & Wass, 2015; HMIC, 2017; Boag-Monroe, 2017). A grounded theory approach would enable the researcher to develop a theory surrounding austerity measures and provide an insight into the effect on detectives, their role and the investigative process. With this in mind the approach to grounded theory adopted was Charmaz (2009) which took into account the social constructions made by the researcher and addressed some of the criticisms above.

Research Methods

This section will examine and critique the different qualitative approaches to clarify the reasons behind the methodological approach chosen for this study. As a qualitative approach, observation would have been valuable in its ability to produce 'thick data', described as 'rich data' due to the length of time a researcher observes participants within the field, however, the time intensity of observation was a major drawback to this approach. It is very resource intensive and would not have been practical within the time parameters set for Masters' research. Due to the time period with which austerity measures have come into effect, many changes would have already been implemented at a policy level. Gold (1969) provides further criticism highlighting 'observer bias' which challenges the ability of a researcher to remain objective, impacting the credibility of their observations. This is especially important due to the background of the researcher who has current experience within a police service. Also, it was considered that the presence of the researcher could influence the behaviour of the participants influencing the research findings (Gillespie, 1991).

Another method considered was that of the focus group. This involves setting up a group of participants as a 'group interview'. (Bogardus, 1926). The strength of this qualitative approach is its capacity to provide in-depth information. Ward et al (1991) supports this idea through comparing survey data and information elicited from focus groups, whilst both methods provided detailed information, and the focus groups provided more in-depth data in around half the cases examined. Hollander (2004) critiques the focused group approach maintaining gender and further relational components can lead to a lack of disclosure and individuals to intentionally modify their discussions in the presence of others. Sussman et al (1991) identified within their research the influence of group dynamics, which led to a shift, and polarisation of an individual's attitudes. Carey (1995) further questions the credibility of the data obtained through this methodological approach, arguing that the complexity of the analysis process for focus groups can impact the data obtained.

Another qualitative approach is interviewing. Fern (1982) identified focus groups generated between 60 and 70% of ideas that they would have produced had it been in an interview situation and the quality of responses were higher in the interview situation, maintaining individuals can lose focus on the topic within a focus group and again mentioned how individuals can be inhibited by other members. This is especially important within a police environment whereby individuals may be influenced by rank or level of experience (Corsianos, 2001). In light of the challenges of observational methods and focus groups, interviews appeared to be a more appropriate method to address the research questions within this study, providing a methodological approach that produces rich data, allowing detectives to share their perceptions and experiences of austerity measures.

It was important to consider the most appropriate type of interview strategy for this research study. The interview strategy chosen for a research study needs to be sensitive to the participants involved, the topic, environment and time constraints. There are varying different interview strategies to choose from; structured interviews which are described by (Noaks & Wincup, 2004) as a quantitative approach, to semi-structured and unstructured interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2005). These approaches will be critiqued whilst providing a rationale for the choice of interview strategy chosen for this research study.

A structured interview consists of a set of questions, developed for each participant, providing a quantitative interviewing style. Feminist researchers have been critical of this approach, criticising the imbalance of power between the researcher and participants. Instead,

they have sought to conduct research within an egalitarian relationship between researcher and participant. Oakley (1981) maintains interviews are similar to conversations and challenges a structured approach, stating this fails to acknowledge the voice of women. Noaks & Wincup (2004) support this idea suggesting that a structured interview process ignores the concerns and views of the interviewee, losing the richness of data and compromising validity. This is highlighted further within a study of neighbourhood crime and the concerns of residents. Conducting an interview consisting of open and closed questions, residents were asked about their crime concerns within their local area. The results suggested that the open questions identified very different responses to those of the closed questions developed by the researcher. Using a structured interview approach within this research study may have inhibited and limited the responses of detectives (Noaks, 1988, cited in Noakes & Wincup, 2004, p.77).

Unstructured interviews are the polar opposite of the structured interview approach. This interviewing technique can be traced back to the work of anthropologists, forming part of their methodology within participant observation (Malinowski, 1932; Mead, 1928). These are similar to guided conversations and formed part of their field notes within ethnological studies (Gilchrist & Williams, 1999). Interviewees are given freedom to choose how to tell their story from what topics to cover and the pace of the interview process. This allows greater power within the interaction process to interviewee but reduces the control of the researcher (Corbin & Morse, 2003). This is problematic within a detective environment when there is often limited time to conduct an interview due to the multiple demands on detectives (Innes, 2003). Corbin & Morse (2003) also maintain the unstructured interview can on occasion pose ethical challenges due to lack of boundaries within the interview process and the risk the interviewee can move into sensitive and highly emotive areas of discussion.

Noakes & Wincup (2004) maintain semi-structured interviews, as described by their name, have a loose structure consisting of a series of open-ended questions. Unlike the structured interview these are fluid and can be shaped by the researcher during the interview process, therefore responsive to the information the interviewee presents and this interview approach may include a questionnaire to collate further demographic information. A semi-structured interview strategy provides the researcher with the opportunity and scope to probe the interviewee further. By adopting the method of semi-structured interviews it allows detectives the space to identify the effect themselves that austerity measures may or may not have had. Additionally semi-structured interviews allow the collation of rich information avoiding preconceived ideas to direct answers to the research questions. On reflection upon the points raised above within this methodological critique, the semi-structured interview was considered to be the most appropriate methodological approach and so adopted for this

area of research study. This research formed a single case study approach. This was chosen due to limited the research within this area and, therefore, acts as an exploratory study.

Sample

To ensure the method chosen would elicit rich data and address the research questions, it was important to consider the sampling frame within this research study. The researcher considered the following issues before embarking on the research; the police service that would be approached, the sample size, the sampling approach adopted and the selection criteria of participants.

The police service chosen to participate covered both urban and rural areas and a wide range of different policing geographical landscapes allowing the research to reflect detectives' experience within a variety of contexts. The sample size selected for this research study was between 15 and 20 detectives, or until saturation (Charmaz, 2009). This was chosen due to the practical considerations that this is a Masters' study, with only one researcher collating the data. The final number of participants chosen was 15 and one was later omitted as they failed to meet the inclusion criteria. The sampling frame consisted of detectives working within CID. This area of detective work was chosen for two reasons; the first is that previous research carried out by (Chatterton, 2008) identified a decline of detectives within CID, the second is that CID covers a wide range of different crimes, thus providing a wider framework of criminal investigations.

The research sought to use the following selection criteria for this research. The sample aimed to include trained detectives employed within CID pre 2010 and up until 2015 to ensure only detectives who were fulfilling this role within CID and had worked within this role pre-and post-austerity. This was to ensure detectives had a clear understanding of the investigative process and how austerity measures and additional changes may have affected this. Detectives who did not meet these criteria such as those not employed within CID during this period, or were employed by other police services / mutual aid, or on secondment, were not to be included, neither were non-detective roles employed within CID or unqualified detectives awaiting training or in the process or undergoing training. This did not include qualified detectives working within CID who were going through the promotion process. As the culture of officers varies among different ranks (Ianni & Ianni, 1983), the researcher recruited participants from the ranks of constable, supervisor, manager and senior manager to reflect this and attempt to ensure all grades of detectives employed within CID were represented. Further to these criteria the researcher aimed to identify the gender split within these departments to ensure that the sample reflected that both male and female detectives were recruited. Unfortunately,

the researcher was unable to achieve this gender split as the organisation did not hold this data. Due to the changes within the investigative departments and the challenge of obtaining participants, it was not possible to ensure all detectives had worked within CID throughout the period of austerity, therefore detectives who had worked within an investigative department throughout the period of austerity were chosen if they presently worked within CID.

The sampling strategy used within this research design was that of purposeful sampling and the type of purposeful sampling used was that of criterion sampling and also a snowball sampling approach. Criterion sampling comprised of choosing information-rich cases and individuals who had a specific knowledge of the area under research study (Palys, 2008). The researcher also adopted a snowball sampling approach with the aim of obtaining further participants who met the criteria from the recommendations of participants with the premise the sample will grow in size through the recommendations of others (Morgan, 2008). Detectives are a group that can be suspicious of individuals outside of their occupational group (Skolnick, 1994; Matza, 1969). Through adopting this method it aimed to establish the detectives' endorsement and support of the research and thus encouraging other detectives to engage with the research. Whilst there are strengths to this sampling approach, there are also weaknesses. There was a risk that in seeking detectives to interview Managers may recruit participants who show their department in a positive light. With this in mind I sent an email to each detective working within CID, explaining the research, with the inclusion exclusion criteria, inviting them to participate. I sought further recommendations from detectives who were interviewed in this study. This provided detectives with anonymity from their superiors regarding their involvement in this research study. As the police are a hierarchical organisation, the aim also was to safeguard detectives from feeling coerced to participate from their management.

Ethics

An important aspect of the research design was the ethical considerations underpinning the research. This research study was submitted and approved by Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) Ethics Committee (Appendix A) and the following measures were put in place to ensure this research was conducted in an ethical manner. To safeguard participants' confidentiality the following measures were employed; each interview received a numerical code, interviews were transcribed by the researcher, bar three interviews that were transcribed by an individual who signed a confidentiality agreement (Appendix B), these transcripts were hand delivered and in each instance locked away within a secured room. Anonymity is important and was also instrumental to access. At the request of this police service they chose to remain anonymous within this research study. Confidentiality is

discussed again within the reflective account providing additional information as to how this was maintained within the field.

Another important aspect was to ensure all participants were in a position to give informed consent. Informed consent was sought from all participants through a consent form (Appendix C) and an information sheet (Appendix D) was provided to all prospective participants to ensure they had enough information to inform their decision. The chief constable and Head of Human Resources requested sight of the final report. The participants were made aware of this within the information sheet provided, to ensure that they had the appropriate information with which to give informed consent. It was explained to participants that they were free to withdraw their participation at any point during the research process and if they felt uncomfortable being taped within the interview these interviews would not be recorded. As the focus of the research is austerity in relation to the effect on the detectives, their role and investigative process, there was a possibility that detectives may discuss feeling under stress. With this in mind, I ensured I had present the number of the police service's welfare and counselling department and outside sources of support should it be identified that an individual required this. The next section will provide a reflective account of the research.

Reflections Throughout the Research Process

The following section provides a reflective account of the research process from design to the research carried out within the field. The researcher will examine; their personal background as a researcher, their preparation before entering the field, building rapport and finally the analysis of the data.

Personal Background

As a researcher I had a dual role; I was employed within a police organisation in a police staff role, whilst registered as a student of CCCU. My work within the police began in 1998 when I accepted a temporary contract as a research assistant inputting data. My next permanent position was as a caseworker between 2006 and 2013. During this post I was seconded to work as a coroner's officer. My current role, from 2014 until the present day, involves a strategic position as a Mental Health Project Worker. My occupational history has provided me with experience of police culture, working with police officers of all ranks and within various departments. I also have extensive experience of working within a police service pre and post austerity. I was not acting as a researcher during this

period. Whilst this occupational experience has enabled me to understand police culture, the organisational structure and gain a personal experience of austerity measures, I have never worked as a police officer or within a detective role. Therefore, whilst I have personal experience of austerity measures, they do not extend to the perceptions of detectives working within CID. Throughout the research I was mindful, I was approaching the research with my own personal experiences of austerity. I found it essential to continuously reflect on my behaviour throughout the research process to ensure I remained impartial and did not influence the research.

Preparation Before Entering the Field

During the initial design stage of the research, I worked collaboratively with the Federation on the focus of the research. This led to a shift in focus from family liaison officers to Murder Investigative Teams to that of detectives working within CID. This provided an insight into conducting research funded by another agency. It was important to weigh the requirements of the funding body whilst maintaining the integrity of the research by ensuring the following; the research addressed a gap in the research literature, would be of benefit to police services, the practicality of obtaining access for a specific group and meeting the sample size, along with further ethical considerations. I was also aware of the political nature of researching austerity and the Federation's activist stance so it was important for me to maintain impartiality when engaging in this research. It has been documented that there are challenges to research conducted by external researchers within a police context, as the final research can fail to be utilised due the complexity of the academic research or lack relevance to operational policing, suggesting the importance of researcher's prior engagement with the police service to counteract these issues (Bradley & Nixon, 2009). This was not required within this research study as the research area was developed in collaboration with the MPF and reflected concerns raised by the PFEW's annual detective surveys (PFEW, 2014; PFEW, 2015).

As I had chosen to interview detectives it was important to reflect on the level of my experience in this methodological approach. Due to my inexperience with this approach it is advised, within the research literature, to conduct a pilot interview strategy prior to entering the field to develop my interviewing skills further (Rowley, 2012) and also to ensure the credibility of my interview questions. I addressed this by interviewing an ex detective with my planned interview script (Appendix E). I chose a detective no longer working within a police environment for two reasons: firstly, I planned to request interviewees would maintain confidentiality after the interview process, to ensure interviewees did not discuss and influence the responses of future participants. Secondly, as I have no previous experience of working within CID or as a detective, changes may need to be made to the interview script, as I did not want my lack of knowledge to impact on my credibility within the

field and I also wanted to ensure I was developing rapport with participants at every step of the research process. Through this practice I was advised to explain to detectives I had no knowledge or prior experience of their role, and therefore may ask questions or seek clarification within the interview. This was to ensure I maintained credibility as a researcher throughout the course of the interview, allowing me to ask questions, ensuring detectives would pitch answers to my level and also help build rapport. Another suggestion included ticking answers to other questions as I went along. This would prevent the interview being repetitive if a participant had provided additional answers to questions within their responses.

Gaining Access

The research provided me with a valuable experience of the challenges of gaining access to a police service for research study. It has been documented historically that the police have concerns surrounding the media reaction to their work through past censorship and control (Reiner, 2010) which could hamper research access, furthermore detectives as an occupation group are particularly suspicious (Skolnick, 1994; Matza, 1969). In light of this I found it important to reflect on my current occupational role within the police. Brown (1996) suggests the characteristics of a researcher and their relationship to the police organisation will have an impact on their ability to obtain access to conduct policing research and also their interactions with participants. The model provides a series of types; 'inside-insiders', 'outside-insiders', 'inside-outsiders' and 'outside-outsiders'. The first part of the term relates to the researcher's relationship to the police and how they would be perceived by the research participants, whether it be 'inside' or 'outside' the group. The second part relates to the researcher's knowledge of the group prior to research commencing, with an understanding of the research setting from the researcher's perspective and this too would establish whether the researcher is considered an 'insider' or 'outsider'. The model presents 'ideal types', the closest roles I could identify with was that of an inside-outsider or outside-outsider. The first role identifies police staff working within research departments to be considered 'inside' but outside of the knowledge of a police officer or detective. I felt I was 'inside' in that I was employed within the police in a staff role. Evidence suggests that there are benefits to this position; affording me with greater access to the police organisation and participants. The weaknesses of this position as a researcher have been recognised, as participants within the police service are more likely to be suspicious of my position as a researcher (Reiner, 2010). Inside-outsiders are also identified as being more critical of the research findings (Clarke & Hough, 1980). However, I did not fully meet the criteria of an Inside-Outsider in that I was neither a police officer nor a detective. Another position which I could occupy would be that of an 'outside-outsider' whereby I would be considered outside the role of the group from which I was researching and also outside the knowledge of the perceptions and experience of this group.

According to Brown (1996) this would lead the researcher to struggle to gain access, as they would be considered outside the group and also lack an understanding and knowledge of the participant's world. According to Brown's model, it is not just the researcher who attributes their position within the field it is that of the participant and those operating within this field. I found the perception of my role changed throughout the research process. I kept this in mind and it was important for me to be aware of detective's suspicions throughout the research process and my own critical judgments when analysing the data and interpreting the results.

I found employment within a police service brought knowledge of the rank structure within the police and who to contact in the hierarchy for access. To gain access I sought advice from an individual working within the organisation. They advised me to contact the staff officer of the chief constable and explain the research would not name the police service. This led to the research being accepted and I was granted access with the additional conditions that the chief constable and Human Resources would have sight of the operational report on completion and the police service would not be named within the research (Appendix F). I encountered further gatekeepers at this point. It was requested to seek clearance from the head of the CID and then the assistant chief constable (ACC), leading to a significant delay of several months in obtaining participants and beginning the fieldwork.

Additional gatekeepers were the detectives themselves. My first participant explained that they had been discussing the research with colleagues, as they were aware he was being interviewed. After the interview he asked me how many people I had interviewed and he remarked, 'Don't worry I'll do your recruiting for you...' I became aware that although the research was approved within the senior ranks; detectives were another gatekeeper with whom to negotiate. I found the importance of building rapport throughout the interview process was imperative to ensure the snowball sampling approach. The first participant outlined above was a very experienced detective. I got the distinct impression he was there to investigate the research on behalf of the other detectives in that district. This leads me onto the next stage of the research, which was the recruitment process.

The communications department sent an email to all detectives within that police service. Unfortunately, I received emails from all detectives, regardless of department, with all respondents' adamant they worked within CID if based within an investigative team. It highlighted the importance of prior research into team structures within an organisation before conducting research where participants are drawn from a particular occupational group or department. I obtained a contact within the police service of a detective who was not presently working within CID but had a good

understanding of the investigative structure within the police service and met with them. They provided a breakdown of all the investigative departments within their police service. They were an invaluable source of support later on when I was struggling to obtain further participants which led to a delay in collecting data. They sent out an email to all detectives within CID requesting their support in the research. This led to a much greater response and I obtained many of the participants through this contact.

Another important concern was the environment and location within which to conduct the interviews. Public places posed the risk of noise distractions and the subsequent challenges of deciphering taped transcripts, along with confidential police information being discussed within a public setting. The location planned for these interviews was the premises of the detective's workplace. Brookman et al (2001) conducted interviews within the criminal justice environment and, whilst a room had been set aside, they experienced interruptions from staff. To avoid this I planned to place a notice on the door of the interviewing room requesting privacy. I found maintaining confidentiality was much more complex within a police setting than I had envisioned or experienced within other research settings. This was due to a variety of reasons. The police service has a heightened level of security due to the nature of their work and the threat of terrorism. Entering police premises involves the negotiation and exchange of information, 'Who are you?' 'Why you are here?' 'Who you are meeting?' As my name was synonymous with the research I did not want to provide this information and compromise confidentiality. To avoid this, on arrival I parked my car away from police premises so I would not require a police parking permit. I then rang detectives and asked them to meet me at the front counter of the police station. When introducing myself to the front counter I gave the name of the detective I was meeting and explained they were on their way down to meet me. The front counter staff did not enquire any further and this approach was successful. I felt my knowledge and experience of working within the police enabled me to negotiate my entry without compromising confidentiality. I also chose not to put a notice on the door as I felt it would draw attention to what I was doing and the interruptions would give me a further insight to any demands on the time of detectives. There were further considerations of confidentiality during the analysis and write up which is discussed further within this section.

Rapport

The importance of building rapport is especially important within this occupational group. Previous researchers have highlighted the high degree of suspicion detectives elicit towards others (Skolnick, 1994; Matza, 1969). It was therefore my strategy to create an environment within which to build rapport. Once I received initial contacts from detectives I sought to

develop this rapport within the first contact. I achieved this through a technique known as mirroring (Iacoboni, 2008). I mirrored the language detectives used within emails; this included the salutation and how they referred to their name or title within the email and also how they signed off. I approached this by developing an interviewing schedule that began with non-threatening questions (Noaks & Wincup, 2004). I found many detectives were suspicious when we first met, with one detective asking to see my police identification to check '...You're not Press' with others mistaking me for someone working within a university or employed by their police service to carry out the research for the Senior Management Team. This was unexpected as my role and the role of the university and the MPF was documented within the research information sheet. I was sure to explain again to all participants prior to commencing each interview, showing each participant my police identification and allowed them time to read the information sheet to ensure I obtained informed consent. I found working within the police and showing my ID provided me with a distinct advantage (Brown, 1996).

Prior to conducting interviews I established the method to be employed to obtain data from each interview, ensuring the accuracy of data obtained. I wanted to collect a comprehensive record of conversation so I respectfully requested consent from participants to allow their interviews to be recorded. It has been documented that this could act as a challenge, as detectives may not want their interviews recorded (Innes, 2003). I prepared in advance alternative strategies such as recording the responses in long hand, to ensure participants' responses were obtained, should this be required. I found this was not a problem and no participants refused this request. I also took field notes surrounding the location in which the interview was conducted, the characteristics of the interviewee, including the emotional atmosphere to enable a context of the interview process to be documented and formed the beginning of the analysis of the data. This was completed after each interview and not in the presence of the interviewee. I found it was important to consider the individuals who made up the sample, particularly their experience of research and interviews. This became apparent within my first interview. I politely asked to record the interview and the detective laughed at my equipment and said, 'We can go next door and video it if you want'. I became acutely aware I was interviewing individuals who had a much greater knowledge of interview techniques, equipment and training than I had. Furthermore, their experience of an interview was a power exchange whereby information would be obtained from a defendant to build a case against them. I noticed this from the anxiety displayed by many detectives when they first sat down to be interviewed and the following remarks, 'It's strange being on the other side', and, 'At least I haven't committed any offences'. I counteracted this by acknowledging their level of interviewing experience in comparison to mine and cracking the joke about my recording equipment for each interview. I found this to be an effective strategy to put them at ease with all participants agreeing to be recorded. I listened closely to the language and accent of interviewees to monitor rapport and work towards achieving that rapport. I noticed some interviewees

relaxed from job interview terminology and also their accents changed to a relaxed conversational style as rapport developed. I felt rapport was achieved within all interviews through the approaches mentioned above. This was highlighted in that information disclosed included that of a personal nature and information they stated their team were unaware. The interviews were also scheduled for an hour but participants gave me much more time, the longest being 2 hours and 9 minutes. I found when each interview finished and the recording equipment was switched off detectives provided additional information. I got the sense that they were providing information 'off the record'. These mainly consisted of swearing, anger expressed towards the organisation or concerns as managers about their staff. I decided to leave one of the recording devices running after I had switched one off to capture this data and I then asked each participant if it could be used within the research, with all but two individuals allowing this. One requested the swearing was omitted and the other did not want the information captured so this was respected. I received positive feedback from officers as to the method I was using, 'It's better than those questionnaires', 'I think it was comprehensive', 'It's really made me think', 'It's nice to be asked'.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted throughout the interviewing process and continued after data collection using an approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2009). Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed by the research, bar three interviews that were transcribed by another individual. Due to practical considerations surrounding time available to the researcher and to ensure the quality of the data, the interviews were analysed using the Nvivo computer software which provided a tool to control data and provided a more effective approach to analysis. (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). Furthermore, it provided a resource to organise a large amount of qualitative data, ensuring a systematic approach to coding and analysis and protected transcripts, as they were retained electronically in a password-protected location. I found Nvivo beneficial to organise my ideas when using the grounded theory approach of coding line-by-line, comparing data, and writing memos, however, when I moved to the creation of categories I moved away from the Nvivo method creating a spreadsheet (Welsh, 2002) and later mind maps to understand their interaction. It was important again to be mindful of maintaining the confidentiality of the interviewees throughout the write up of the analysis. It was challenging due to the identifiers such as the spread of males to females in higher-ranking detective roles (Sieber, 1992). I continuously reflected on the identifying factors within the interview transcripts which led me to change the titles of detectives to constable, supervisor, manager and senior manager and also omitted further identifying information. Within qualitative methods triangulation has been used as a method to cross check the data obtained through; additional methods, respondent validation or sources (Bryman, 2012). This research study employed other research sources to cross check the data obtained, rather than other approaches to triangulation for two reasons;

previous concerns have been raised within the methodology surrounding the use of mixed methods and their practicality due to the timeframe of this Masters' thesis and concerns raised by Bryman that respondent validation may cause further censorship of the research from the police service within which it was carried out (Bryman, 2012).

In light of the methodological critique provided within this chapter the research design chosen was a single case study design examining the effect of austerity and non-austerity measures on CID detectives' role and the investigative process. It was a qualitative study adopting the theoretical framework of grounded theory and employing semi-structured interviews. Participants were recruited through a criterion and snowball sampling technique and analysed using grounded theory. This leads onto the next two chapters which focus on the analysis of the research in response to the research questions discussed within this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS PART 1

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGES INFLUENCING DETECTIVE WORK

The analysis is separated into two chapters. The first chapter will explore the sample characteristics and analyse the non-austerity changes influencing CID detective work, their role and the investigative process from (2010-2015). The second chapter will focus on the effect of austerity on CID detectives, their role and the investigative process. Within each chapter and section, I will triangulate the data by drawing on already existing research and I will also identify the key analytical themes and the linked sub-themes. Where these themes and sub-themes interact within other areas, they will be explored further within the corresponding analysis chapter and/or section.

Anonymity is an important consideration throughout the research process. To protect the anonymity of participants, detectives were ascribed a number from 1 to 14 and each individual was assigned their rank as; constable, supervisor, manager and senior manager. To prevent participants being identified through their comments, further information was omitted to ensure their confidentiality was protected and on occasion XXXX was used to denote information removed. Whilst this information was removed and sections from the quotes omitted to provide a concise account, the researcher was mindful to preserve the integrity of the data (Wiles et al, 2008). The next section will now go on to explore the descriptive characteristics of the sample; this was obtained from all participants from a questionnaire given prior to each interview (Appendix G).

Sample Characteristics

A description of the sample is important for two reasons: firstly, it outlines the characteristics of participants involved within the sample and secondly, it provides a basis for future research study. The following information was collected; the field work and interview location timetable. This provided an account of the time frame from which the data was collected. This is important as austerity and non-austerity changes are not static but constantly evolving over time. Further data collected involved; the personal characteristics of participants (age and gender), occupational characteristics (detective rank, length of service as a qualified detective, length of service in current role, type of CID and geographical location).

Fieldwork Timetable and Interview Location

| Interviewee Number | Date | Interview Location |
|---------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | 09/2015 | Interviewing Room |
| 2 | 09/2015 | Café |
| 3 | 09/2015 | Office |
| 4 | 09/2015 | Office |
| 5 | 10/2015 | Office |
| 6 | 10/2015 | Interviewing Room |
| 7 | 11/2015 | Interviewing Room |
| 8 | 12/2015 | Interviewing Room |
| 9 | 12/2015 | Office |
| 10 | 12/2015 | Office |
| 11 | 12/2015 | Office |
| 12 | 12/2015 | Office |
| 13 | 12/2015 | Office |
| 14 | 12/2015 | Office |

Personal Characteristics

Age

| Age Range | Youngest | Eldest |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| | 31 | 53 |

Gender

| Gender Spilt | Male | Female |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------|
| | 9 | 5 |

Occupational Characteristics

Detective Rank

| Rank | Senior Managers | Managers | Supervisor | Constable |
|-------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | 2 | 5 | 2 | 5 |

Length of Service as a qualified detective

| Range of qualified experience (years) | Least | Most |
|--|--------------|-------------|
| | 5 | 21 |

Length of Service in Current Role

| Length of experience in role | Least | Most |
|---|--------------|-------------|
| | 2 months | 20 years |

Type of CID

| CID | Reactive⁷ | Proactive⁸ | Combined Reactive & Proactive |
|------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | 12 | 0 | 2 |

Geographical Location

| Location⁹ | Area A | Area B | Area C |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | 5 | 5 | 4 |

The sample characteristics, highlight data was collected over a three month period, the delay was due to difficulties obtaining participants, as highlighted within the methodology chapter. The personal characteristics identified an age range from 31 to 53 years, a greater number of men (9) to women (5). The occupational characteristics provided a mixture of ranks from senior managers (2), managers (5), supervisors (2) and constables (5), with an increased number of managers and lower number of supervisors. The length of qualified service ranged from 5 to 21 years. The detective who had 5 years' experience met my inclusion criteria, qualifying in 2009. The length in service in current role ranged from 2 months to 20 years. The individual who had 2 months CID experience, whilst they had met the inclusion criteria, they had also moved in and out of CID throughout the period of austerity having recently returned. CID was split into two teams reactive and proactive. There were no participants from the proactive team and there were 2 detectives who met both criteria due to their rank as senior managers, managing both teams.

There is no official data outlining the number of detectives working nationally (HO, 2015c; Boag-Monroe, 2017) and no data present within the police service under research, outlining the descriptive characteristics of detectives or the make-up of reactive and proactive CID. In light of this it is not

⁷ Reactive CID was described by detectives as, '...reacting to crimes already committed'. This covered the following offences; criminal damage, fraud, serious sexual assault, attempted murder, robberies, grievous bodily harm, high risk domestic abuse, damage with intent to endanger life, rape and firearms.

⁸ Proactive CID was described by detectives as '...targeting high harm nominal offending'. Covering offences such as level 1 organised criminal gangs and burglaries.

⁹ The participants within this study were drawn from 3 areas within this police service (constructed by the researcher to protect the anonymity of the police service).

possible to compare the data collected to the national or the local police service picture. Additionally, due to the small sample it was not possible to identify a split in the sample and what this would mean for the sample characteristics when providing the analysis, so this was omitted. The next section will focus on the changes influencing detectives' role and the investigative process.

Changes Influencing Detective Work

Data analysis identified three central themes connected to the general changes experienced by detectives between 2010 and 2015. These were categorised within the following areas; government changes relating to any changes implemented by the government. The social, cultural and technological changes relating to, any change in the evolution of crime types, population and the development of technology. Occupational changes were changes identified as any change occurring within the police service involved in this research study outside of government, social or national technological changes. All changes were linked to the changes documented within the literature review and addressed their effect on a detective's role and the investigative process.

Government Changes

Whilst there have been many government changes implemented between the period of 2010-2015. The areas identified by detectives were focused on the following; The WC (5), a move away from a target culture (4), the BA (which was imminent) (2) and DVPNs and DVPOs (2).

Just over a third (5) of detectives spoke of the introduction to the WC and felt it had led to a positive effect for victims and witnesses improving the service provided for the public;

we are more victim and witness driven in our investigations and we've got sort of witness charters in place now that we will update victims at set periods of time depending on the offence... if they've got any additional needs that need to be supported as well, whether it be disability, vulnerability whatever. (Supervisor, 14)

Detectives' comments highlighted their experiences of the WC coming into effect during the period of austerity, creating an opportunity for open dialogue between detectives and the general public, which many considered had been lacking before. This provided the opportunity for detectives to manage the

expectations of victims and witnesses through an increased openness about the demands they face and the likely outcomes of an investigation. It appears this increasing information could break down the public's perception of detectives, from that presented within the media (Reiner, 2010) to a more realistic understanding of their role and the investigative process.

Nearly a third of detectives (4) spoke of a shift away from a performance culture relying on targets. They collectively felt this was a positive move and their views reflected those within the literature; critiquing targets as a 'crude' measure failing to provide a clear record of investigative success being described as a misuse of resources forming the basis of 'dysfunctional behaviour' (Curtis, 2015 ; Travis, 2013).

"... I wasn't happy with this "chasing targets" culture purely because it wasn't an effective use of resources. You know, it's more important to get these figures to show that we're doing a really great job than it is to sort of concentrate on the more serious, dangerous offenders, which you might only get 1 little percent in a box for, but you know to me that was more important than sort of detecting 10 crimes committed by school children in the playground to make the figures look better. Now we've got away from that it's a lot better use of our resources and our time in concentrating on what needs to be concentrated on and not just chasing figures and making ourselves look good." (Constable 1)

"My first problem is that we allowed burglaries to continue when we didn't need to so we created victims, and do you know why we allowed the burglaries to continue? Because we would detect more." (Senior Manager 9)

Detectives have expressed previous concerns about targets within the literature (Chatterton, 2008) and whilst interviewees considered a shift away from targets a positive change. The literature highlights concerns of detectives determining the value of investigations and making decisions based on this. As their decision making can be influenced by; the current socioeconomic structure, reflect the views of the ruling class and the culture and hierarchy of the police organisation (Corsianos, 2001) along with bias surrounding perceived high crime areas (Ratcliffe & McCullagh, 2001) and HMIC have documented the failure of police services to prioritise domestic abuse crimes (HMIC, 2014b). This will be explored further within the next chapter section, which focuses on investigation.

A small number of detectives discussed their concerns about the imminent introduction of the BA (2), due to current delays in the investigative process and the change the BA would have on the length of time an individual could be held on bail.

"So when we get criticised from the government for you know how we use the Bail Act and the fact that we're extending somebodies bail because we haven't been able to get that done, I'm afraid that's austerity. Now that's what it's created. So if they change the Bail Act, that's

going to cause us big problems, because if I can't extend somebody's bail how do I get that work done?" (Manager, 11)

These concerns have been voiced previously by the COP (Shaw, 2016) suggesting forensic analysis and CPS delays were the determining factor behind investigative delays and could contribute to safeguarding issues if the BA came into force. These delays are discussed further in the next chapter exploring investigation. Whilst there are a small number of individuals outlining these concerns, this may be owing to the limitations of the data, or the time period from which the data was collected, as these reports were mentioned later on in the data collection. There may have been a different response, if the data was collected within a shorter period of time and later in the data collection time period, closer to when the BA was to be introduced.

A minority of detectives mentioned the introduction of the DVPOs and DVPNs (2) explaining it had increased the demand on their workload.

"That's quite time consuming, very time consuming because you're getting into how people interact with each other." (Constable 10)

This was a minority view and it may be that detectives were not aware of this change, which is explored further within the next chapter outlining detectives' ability to stay up-to-date or it could be that these changes were having a limited effect on detectives' role and the investigative process. Detectives went on to acknowledge further changes that were not instigated through government change but had evolved through social change. This is discussed further within the next section.

Social, Cultural and Technological Changes

The analysis identified three sub-themes relating to social cultural and technological changes. These were; the evolution of crime types (8), change in population (5) and the development of technology (4). Detectives acknowledged the main societal change was a shift in crime types, acknowledging the emergence of; cybercrime, gangs, human trafficking and CSE (8). They discussed how these crimes had become the main focus of their work, forming the Control Strategy of their police service, as highlighted within the research literature (HM Government, 2010). They acknowledged no previous knowledge or experience of these crimes, expressing concerns about their lack of preparedness and ability to manage these changes, adding a new level of complexity to their work.

“...crime is changing so rapidly.....we’ve got gangs, human trafficking, child sexual exploitation. These are the things that if you’d asked me two years ago I wouldn’t even thought they existed.” (Manager 11)

“We’ve got new crime types that were never on the control strategy¹⁰ before, such as child sexual exploitation, human trafficking, cybercrime, lots of new things that we are not necessarily used to dealing with. So it takes a bit of getting your head around and a bit of change in mentality as well for everybody”. (Manager 13)

“Internet and cyber fraud, the complexity behind that is beyond my comprehension and we will very often pick up an investigation which balloons out of all proportion.” (Senior manager 5)

Detectives expressed concerns at the rate in which crime types had changed over a relatively short period of time and the challenges of remaining up-to-date. They suggested feeling overwhelmed, ill prepared and deskilled in light of these changes and discussed the struggles of managing investigations with an increase in complexity. These concerns were shared within the literature with Avon & Somerset PCC (2017) expressing concern in managing the rise in these crime types and the HO (Halliday, 2017) beginning a program to understand this demand further. The levels of training detectives have received in these areas and their ability to remain up-to-date will be examined further within the next chapter relating to their role in light of austerity.

A third of detectives (5) spoke of an increase in foreign nationals, linking their vulnerability to the emergence of sexual exploitation and human trafficking.

“...when I left here I’d never dealt with, no one job I’d had an interpreter on you know. Now I could walk into custody and 50% of the people in there will be foreign nationals that need interpreters you know...I think the influx of people coming in from abroad...and that’s why we’ve had to look at things such as human trafficking... we have a lot of problems with the young asylum seekers and they are almost like a magnet for the child sexual exploitation...” (Manager 11)

“So with each one of those investigations comes a higher cost because I’ve got to get interpreters in. I’ve got to then request foreign checks, get done on these people obviously as well because I don’t know what their criminal history is...” (Senior manager 5)

¹⁰ The Control Strategy provides long-term operational priorities for the police service for crime prevention and enforcement. (COP, 2017)

Detectives acknowledged the change in migration and the increase in foreign nationals identified within the literature which reported a rise in nine million foreign nationals within Britain and Northern Ireland over the last fifteen years (UN, 2015). This further highlighted the complexities to the investigative process with the need for interpreters and criminal record checks within different countries, but also the increased cost to the investigative process.

The emergence of new technology was considered by detectives to account for the development of cybercrime (4) and again was considered to add an additional complexity to investigations.

“So whereas a few years ago certain crime types might be quicker to investigate they might now take slightly longer with the more detailed type of enquiries we can do around phones, telephony work, forensics, all those type of things with the investigative strategies we have, with the increasing of the technology we have, investigations take longer.” (Constable 2)

“...crime may have reduced in number but the complexity of offences that need to be investigated has disproportionately risen, because you arrest somebody now days, they’ve got a telephone in their pocket. If you’re lucky it’s the only one, sometimes it’s two or three. You know potentially these phones all need to be downloaded.” (Senior manager 5)

This was highlighted by detectives, due to the increase of mobile phones, tablets and computers available to individuals. This is supported within the literature with the rise in the use of digital and internet technology, with internet usage from mobile phones rising from 24% to 53% between 2010 to 2013 (ONS, 2013) and cybercrime becoming a priority for the government (HM Government, 2010). Detectives explained how this had led to increased demands and a delay in the investigative process. Whilst there was no discussion surrounding technological advancement within the police service or any benefits this change had provided to the investigative process. Within the next section the changes experienced by detectives within their own organisation will be discussed.

Occupational Changes

Over a third (5) of participants described how change was a frequent experience within the police with frequent changes in management ranging from the chief constable every four years to other managers. They felt this led to regular changes in strategy and priority leading to a sense of instability.

“Every time we get a new chief constable everything changes, because they like to do things slightly differently. It changes a lot anyway every five years...” (Constable 6)

“So I think on one hand we’ve got what we do changes slightly and on the other hand we also have lots of management changes quickly as well and with different managers especially senior managers comes different strategies and priorities that filter down as a department. So I think we lack a little bit of stability.” (Manager 13)

On reflection, when examining the general changes identified by detectives it is apparent these changes interact and influence one another. For example, the change in crime types has been influenced by the rise in technology with the emergence of cybercrime and the rise in migration has led to an increase in human trafficking (UN, 2015). The rapid changes in the police whilst in reaction to the change in management, the 'different strategies and priorities' identified could also be introduced due to these changes along with government changes. This could add to detectives' sense of insecurity when faced with the government, social, cultural, technological and occupational changes outlined above. It could also lead to a lack of understanding of managers to the demands on detectives in light of these changes and impacting the level of resourcing within departments. This has been discussed with the work of Chatterton (2008) who drew attention to the divide between detectives and senior managers in light of their work.

Of further interest is the impact of these changes on detectives. When the areas of change recognised by detectives are examined they appear to have chosen areas that have had the biggest effect on them, (or they may be impacted on the time period from which the data was gathered). The views of detectives suggest changes in technology did not necessarily improve efficiency and could be more time consuming and complex than traditional crimes along with the evolution of new crime types included in the control strategy. These changes were characterised by new developments of which the detectives were not previously familiar, requiring additional knowledge and skills. These changes will be revisited for their effect on a detectives' role and the investigative process surrounding austerity within the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS PART 2

AUSTERITY AND DETECTIVES

This chapter focuses on the effect of austerity on CID detectives, providing a general account of their experience. The analysis is structured into three sections: the effect of austerity on detectives, their role and the investigative process. The first area has been chosen as it also relates to the effect on the detectives' role and the investigative process.

Effect of Austerity on Detectives

The effect of austerity on detectives has been structured to provide both the positive and negative accounts proposed by detectives. This section will explore first the positive and then the negative accounts.

Positive

Half of the detectives identified the positive aspects of austerity (7). These consisted of the following two areas; 'wasting money' with a third of participants highlighting the benefits of re-evaluating spending to provide better value for money for the public (5) and providing a leaner more efficient approach to investigative work (2). The areas identified by detectives as wasteful, were mixed, with a lack of forethought and planning (3) and overtime (2) emerging as themes.

"...We did throw it around like it was going out of fashion, particularly around overtime...I think some of that is right that we've got a lot more governance around how money is spent..." (Senior Manager 9)

"I joined the police after having worked in the private sector and I remember when I first came to the police I thought...this is so old fashioned so archaic the way the processes, the way we did things (sic)...we have modernised quite effectively..." (Manager 13)

Other detectives felt the cuts had led to a 'leaner' and more 'efficient' approach (2).

".... I think the austerity measures have been quite a good thing for us...we've got our core nucleus of what we're going to do and what we can do and actually we're a much more streamlined lean and efficient machine and that just means if we are going to have some

money that we can reinvest, we can make sure we're investing in the right place.” (Manager 11)

The results suggest positive aspects to the introduction of austerity through a re-evaluation of the money spent within this police service, a greater level of governance and a focus on providing value for money for the public. This was recommended by HMIC’s review of finances in light of the budget cuts HMIC (2010). The next section will focus on negative aspects of austerity outlined by detectives.

Negative

Whilst half of detectives discussed the positive aspects of austerity (7), nearly all participants (13) acknowledged the negative aspects. The following themes emerged: loss of staff (14), issues of retention (5), difficulties recruiting (7), and the changing status of CID (6). Further themes emerged surrounding stress (9) and morale (7) which will be explored later in this section. The decline in detective numbers and challenges surrounding retention and recruitment have been discussed pre-austerity (Chatterton, 2008). All detectives (14) identified austerity had led to a reduction in staff and almost all expressed concern about this change in staffing levels (13).

“I mean most of the police budget is on staff so obviously when the budget is cut you’re gonna end up having a cut in staff, which is what has basically made it necessary. You know the amount of work we’ve got hasn’t changed, well let’s say we’ve just got to do the same with less people. So we’ve had to change to be able to do this.” (Constable 1)

“...people feel under pressure. Just feel there are not enough people on duty sometimes and especially when you look at the size of this division.” (Supervisor 14)

Detectives suggested the decline was due to the interaction of the following themes; retention (5), difficulties recruiting (7) and the changing status of CID (6). These will now be discussed in the above order.

There were three areas identified by participants which had led to issues with retention. Just over a third of detectives (5) maintained many detectives were moving out of CID to other departments and this had led to a loss of detectives within CID, others within this same figure spoke of detectives ‘quitting’ for more work-life balance (2) and or attributed these changes to retirement (2).

“Out of twenty-one or twenty-two, seven have applied for different posts, in less than a year. A third are trying to get out of the office...I have never had a detective come to me in my whole career, and I have now within the space of a few months come to me and one resign and two talk about it. Never had it before, because of austerity, tough for them and they are hardworking conscientious officers.” (Manager 4)

“...I know for work life balance reasons I would say three have gone. One is potentially going soon two have gone. For more of an 8-4 lifestyle, less nights, less weekends, they’ve got young families, trying to preserve their marriages I would say. A couple of others have gone to other departments...” (Constable 10)

“...people would either apply for other jobs and then not be replaced, or they would retire and not be replaced. Those were the two most common ways in which you would start to lose staff.” (Senior manager 9)

The decline in detectives could be also due to the change in the pension scheme for detectives with an increase in length of service before retiring and reduced final salary (HO, 2013), a view supported by the PFEW, identifying 62% of detectives felt morale had declined since its introduction (PFEW, 2014). It could also be due to an aging police service with a 13% increase in those over forty years and above from 2007 to 2016 (HO,2017b). There is also a decrease year on year of detectives’ satisfaction in their role from 52% in 2014 (PFEW, 2014) to 48% in 2015 (PFEW, 2015) to 45% in 2017 (Boag-Monroe, 2017) and national decline in police numbers within the same year of 0.9% (HO, 2015c).

Detectives within the higher ranks identified difficulties with recruitment (7); recruiting detectives back into CID from specialist teams and attracting prospective detectives.

“...the idea presently is to be a certain staffing number but it’s been accepted that we’re never quite going to reach that target and it’s very hard to draw people in...I think the only way to get people into the office from what I’m seeing is to get PC’s who want to become detectives...I wouldn’t see anyone else who’s a DC want to come back into this department.” (Constable 2)

The challenge of attracting new detectives was attributed to a decline in status of the role of a detective (6).

“... all the CID courses you do them off your own back now, you pay for the books to do your exams you don’t get paid anything for your plain clothes allowance, all that sort of thing has eroded over the years and it doesn’t make it an attractive place to be anymore...if you’re in uniform working on shifts, you get your additional payments for unsociable hours. Where you even lose most of that when you are in the crime group...additional work, additional training and they hold additional responsibilities.” (Supervisor 8)

“... both internally as an asset, as a police asset, but too as a cultural one as well, it had lost its kudos completely...2003 onwards, all the way up to the last few months. We were actually posting people into volume crime teams that didn’t want to go and that’s unheard of you should aspire to become a detective, no we were posting people and then even when they were

in there, we said OK go on the pathway, 'No I don't wanna go on the pathway, I don't want to become a detective' ...” (Senior Manager 9)

The reduction in status of the detective role is also highlighted by detectives in 2017 with 85% stating their role as a detective was seen as less valuable to the police services (Boag-Monroe, 2017). This reduction in staff could also have implications as to the quality and effectiveness of investigations. Historic high profile cases have highlighted the repercussions of a lack of staff within investigations (Byford, 2006; Bichard, 2004; Smith, 2003), the impact on safeguarding the public, bringing an offender to justice in a timely manner and also the reputational risk to the police service. Roycroft (2008) also argues an appropriately resourced investigation is important for its effectiveness and also more cost effective. The reduction in detective numbers and its implications for the investigative process is explored further within the section relating to the investigative process.

A further two themes emerged, stress (9) and morale (7), both were identified by detectives as major issues. They spoke very strongly about their concerns for their own health and the health of their teams. Their views reflected the research literature with 83% of detectives stating austerity had affected their wellbeing, due the lack of staff and subsequent increase in workload (PFEW, 2015). Detectives described how the increase in stress had an impact on morale cut across all ranks providing a further insight into the lack of staff present within CID with detectives off sick with stress (5).

The numbers presented of those off were considered substantial and of concern to supervisors and managers.

“...up to about five weeks ago I had potentially twenty-five gaps within crime group, bearing in mind there's only sixty odd in there anyway. Twenty-five gaps, long term sick, moved on had enough retiring early...people have just had enough... when I say had enough because the work pressure increase of austerity is just asking so much more of them than we used to...when you've got your reliable people that you trust and you rely on and even they're saying I'm just at breaking point you know it aint good ...” (Manager 11)

Other detectives spoke of how the increase in work and lack of staff had led some to leave the department or organisation due to stress (3).

“... the increased stress levels are ridiculous...Part of me coming out of the CID office is basically I got sort of, I wouldn't say close to a breakdown but not far from it. To the point now that I'm on heart medication and other meds as well that have been brought on by a stress related illness...that's down to you know not having enough officerswhen you've got the detectives that...have been doing the job for years, half of them are broken because they are at a certain sort of stress level where they can't take anymore ...” (Supervisor 8)

Another detective discussed the decline in morale voiced by fellow detectives (7).

“Basically I think most of the police that I work with feel like we’re just being totally undervalued and it’s almost like what we do isn’t important at all, otherwise you know, why cut all these budgets and be quite happy for everyone to leave... as far as loyalty to policing and the job goes, I haven’t got any at all. That’s not down to particular people or anything but the organisation and it’s just the government, and the way it’s come down, slashing the police budgets and not giving a hoot about the job we’re doing. It’s just basically saying... ‘Oh we don’t care if you don’t solve these crimes. We don’t care if people don’t get their calls answered or about more danger. We just want to save money and look good’. So, yes, I think the heart has gone out of a lot of police officers.” (Constable 1)

The following themes emerged; loss of staff, issues of retention, difficulties in recruiting, a decline in status of CID, increase in stress and reduced morale. Detectives discussed how the organisation was struggling to rectify the lack of staff through recruitment measures. The reduced staff numbers were in turn leading many detectives to experience stress and low morale or chose to leave the department. These factors were interacting with each other causing a further decline in detective numbers and increased stress and ill health for detectives. The next section will focus on the role of detectives and any effect of austerity on their role.

Effect of Austerity on the Role of a Detective

This section will explore the views of detectives about their role and the effect of austerity. This has been divided to reflect the areas covered by the PFEW (2014) survey; workload, annual leave, training and time to stay up-to-date.

Workload

The main theme that was identified was an increase in workload (13), which was also reflected in the PFEW’s detective survey. From this the following sub-themes emerged; increase in additional roles (10), reduction in detectives (8) change in shift pattern (6) and overtime (9).

Detective work has relied on a range of supporting roles from case file administration to forensic investigators. Detectives commented on how the decrease in police staff numbers had been the main increase in the adoption of additional roles, leading to an increase in their responsibilities and the challenges of this increase in workload.

“...the cutting of the civilian roles and the expectation that we will still carry on performing in the way we did and doing those roles as well, that’s been really tough.” (Manager 3)

Within these figures the biggest effect identified was that of police staff statement takers (8) who were responsible for taking statements and collecting CCTV, and these roles were now, carried out again by detectives.

“...we used to have civilian statement takers attached to CID...they were one of the very, very first things to go and the fall out of that is that the detectives then had to pick up that function themselves.” (Senior Manager 9)

“...they were invaluable they did all those little just jobs that you didn't need to be a detective... that is the biggest support we had.” (Manager 11)

Detectives commented on how they were now responsible for reviewing CCTV (4), due to a reduction in CCTV Coordinators from one at each station to one at each division.

“We used to have a CCTV coordinator on each station and then we went to divisional ones and again they would do a lot of the stuff for them, potentially be looking at CCTV for them...” (Senior Manager 9)

Detectives highlighted changes to the Case Building Team (2) responsible for preparing files for Court and warrants, leading to additional responsibilities for detectives and concerns as this team had recently been centralised to one location.

“They used to prepare all the files get them ready for Court... we're doing the case management now, doing like the exhibit, they liked to do all the witness lists making sure everything stuff get through to Court and build a file, yeah (sic). So now that comes back to officer(sic)... the Case Building Team has been centralised...it will cause problems where you have got to collect a case file...That's an hour and half either way...” (Constable 10)

“...the filing cabinets behind me are wanted persons... that used to be managed by civilians in the Case Building Team. When their numbers were cut, they decided that that function can suddenly be the responsibility of the Managers on each district and of course, with all the changes, suddenly we don't have a Manager...” (Manager 3)

Two additional roles that were removed were the CID Administrator (1) who was responsible for ordering stationary, taking messages and typing letters and the role of the investigative advisor (1) who would provide additional guidance surrounding a detective's investigations.

“We used to have a secretary; we used to have an investigative advisor... so rather than typing our own letters we had somebody to do that for us. We had somebody to take messages from victims if we were not here... We have nothing now. We have to do it ourselves.” (Manager 11)

Detectives did not at any point suggest additional training had been given for the additional responsibilities in; case building, CCTV, admin and case examination. Whilst some of these responsibilities will have formed part of their role in the past, government standards and protocols are constantly evolving for which they may not be aware. Furthermore, detectives had also declined in numbers and experienced a change in crime types with more complex and time intensive investigations as discussed previously.

Nearly all detectives identified an increase in workload (13). This was attributed to two factors a lack of detectives (8) and an increase in volume of work (12). This had been managed by the organisation through an increase in overtime (6) and a change in shift pattern (5).

“...we have also had a change in the shift pattern...we work for six or seven stretches now and given that our work can be quite full on for those six or seven days many people find it difficult ...before we would've worked for three or four days and then have two days off and then work for another three or four days...” (Manager 13)

“During the seven day period they go to lates to earlies. Regulations state that there should be an eleven hour gap...Lots don't demand their eleven hours...So that builds up over a period of time, they get tired. Their time off is often during the week. They don't see their family during the week. Workload has increased and their work life balance, stressing and I had six or seven off with stress.” (Manager 4)

One detective explained how due to austerity overtime had been reduced from double time to time and a half. The more senior ranks (4), consisting of managers (3) and a senior manager (1) discussed how they were struggling to recruit detectives to engage in overtime.

“We're struggling to get people to step in at the last moment to even work the bank holiday Monday. Where people are falling off with sickness or restricted duties... once upon a time people would jump and bite my hand off for double time, but now it's time and a half because of the austerity measures. Then people don't want to come in on their rest days to work.” (Supervisor 14)

The role of detective appears to have seen a marked change in the level of their responsibilities since the introduction of austerity measures. Whilst the government promised to protect the frontline of policing and detectives are included in this definition (HMIC, 2011b). The loss of police staff roles have led to a change in their role increasing their responsibilities through assimilating of police staff roles. Additionally, the changes to crime types to those that are more complex and the increase in foreign nationals have seen a further demand on detectives, whilst simultaneously there has been a

further decline in their numbers, through transfers, stress and issues surrounding retention. The increase in workload (due to the lack of staff, increase in roles, subsequent change in shift pattern and increase in overtime) was highlighted as the cause of the increased in stress (9) and morale (7) discussed within an early section of this chapter. This increase in workload has been highlighted by the PFEW in 2014 with 65% of detectives stating workload had increased a lot, an increase of 12% from the following year (PFEW, 2014). Whilst the organisation has sought to find a solution to the increased demands and lack of detectives through a change in shift pattern, this adds an additional level of demand on detectives through an increase in the number of days on shift before rest days and the incentives for overtime are no longer present due to the increased demands on detectives and reduced financial rewards.

Another area of a detective's role where they could experience respite is annual leave. The next section will explore the effect austerity may have had on this aspect of their role.

Annual leave

Nearly all participants (12) discussed how annual leave had been affected by austerity, and harder to book due to reduced numbers and workload (4) and existing policy about the numbers of detectives in a team who could be on leave at any given time (10). This has also been recognised by PFEW, with 64% of detectives struggling to book leave due to their workload and reduced numbers (PFEW, 2014).

I have one team with only three people on it (laughs) so I can't really manage that rule. (Manager 11)

The second theme related to when annual leave could be taken (9), with Christmas being the most requested time (7) and then summer (3).

"I've never had someone say they have lost their leave, they might do, but I have never heard about it. We do get it in, but it's not when they want it necessarily." (Manager 4)

"...there are certain periods of the year that are challenging... particularly the summer and Christmas." 'Has that always been the case?' "I don't know. It's never seemed to be a problem before, but yeah there definitely are times of year when there are pretty much a, 'No, no booking leave over that period of time until we have assessed our resource and availability.'" (Constable 12)

Whilst annual leave was still available to detectives, having limits on when this could be taken may have an effect on their level of health and wellbeing and work life balance, contributing to the high

numbers off sick. Hesketh & Cooper (2014) highlighted 'leaveism' whereby individuals feeling over worked or unwell often use annual leave to manage their stress. Whilst not ideal, detectives being unable to take leave when required, along with their increased shift patterns, may be further contributing to the numbers of detectives on sick leave and leaving the department. The increased shift pattern may also have made time off at Christmas and during summer holidays more important to ensure they spend quality time with their families. The last point has been highlighted by the PFEW with 75% of detectives expressing they felt their role effected their work life balance (PFEW, 2015) increasing to 80% in (Boag-Monroe, 2017).

Training

Detectives of all ranks felt austerity had a negative effect on the availability of training, which was reported within the literature by 38% in 2014 (PFEW, 2014), 46% in 2015 (PFEW, 2015) and 51 % in 2017 (Boag-Monroe, 2017). A series of themes emerged from the data; a cut in the availability of training (12), lack of time to take training (6), feeling ill-equipped within their role (12) relating to the change in crime types and the downloading of mobile phones (10) and a move away from traditional teaching methods to computer based training (5).

Nearly all participants discussed their frustration at the lack of training available (12) and a lack of time to take the training (6).

"Yeah, professional development, no it's hard to get any these days, although we didn't get a massive amount then, but we don't get a lot of time for training." (Constable 1)

"I think from the chief constable's office there was about seven packages that have to be done before Christmas. It's a total of about three to four hours work. That's half a shift..." (Supervisor 8)

Many detectives expressed feeling ill-equipped for their role (11).

"So for instance I'm asked to perform the function of an SIO but I haven't had the training. So those austerity measures have prevented that development and training. Development I can wear because we've all got to do our bit to save money, little bit unfair when you are being asked to do a certain job and policy says this has to be done by this, by an individual with these skills, for you to then to continue to do that job I think it's a little bit unfair to leave you in that position..." (Senior Manager 9)

This centred mainly on the change in crime types mentioned within the early chapter, including cybercrime and the downloading of mobile phones (10).

“I don’t have enough staff trained. I’ve very recently been in negotiations with the Police College...we’ve arrived at an agreement that I will put so much money forward from our divisional budget, they’ll put so much money forward and then we will be able to deliver a training package...That means I’ve got less money here in my budget...less to either spend on overtime or use for sending items off for forensic examination. So it all has a knock on effect.”(Senior manager 5)

Another theme that emerged was that of a shift away from more traditional methods of training to reliance on computer based training packages known as NCALT¹¹ (5). Detectives had mixed views of this method of training and expressed the continued challenges of fitting this into their already existing busy workloads.

“Very poor, it’s all done on NCALT which is probably the worst methodology for teaching...it’s not a learning tool, there’s no function...if I don’t understand what I’m reading...” (Senior Manager 9)

“I mean professionally I do like NCALT and stuff like that. I’m trying to make more time for it but we don’t necessarily get the time to do it, because investigations are becoming more elongated with technology, time, getting responses to things.” (Constable 10)

Detectives have experienced a wide range of changes throughout 2010 to 2015. Changes to crime types, increase in foreign nationals and digitalisation have all led to much more complex investigations. At the same time austerity has led to reduction in detectives, police staff roles and an increase in the responsibilities within detectives’ roles and the assimilation of new responsibilities. These changes highlight the multiple skills now required for a detective to investigate crime. The government discussed protecting the frontline, which was defined by (HMIC, 2011b). Within this definition trainers were not considered part of the frontline and the research literature highlights the loss of police staff roles which has declined nationally by 3.1% in 2016 (HO, 2017b). This provided a challenging environment for detectives who were struggling to manage the changes to crime types and the increase in digitalisation. In addition, the demands on detectives’ time prevented the skills required for their role being acquired, leaving detectives feeling unequipped. The demands and skills required along with the lack of training available could lead to inefficient investigations and issues surrounding disclosure of digital evidence as discussed within the literature (Dearden, 2017, Bowcott, 2018, BBC, 2018a, Ephgrave et al, 2018) as well as be contributing to detectives’ stress levels.

¹¹ NCALT is the national provider of e-learning for the police (NCALT, 2018).

Up-to-date

Just over half (7) of detectives discussed real concern about staying up-to-date with the changes to detective work, attributing their increase in workload as the determining factor. This was reflected across all ranks interviewed.

“Just can’t do it, just can’t do it...I’ve already said about human trafficking...I’m the officer responsible; I’m the SIO on that job. You know and I don’t even know what the legislation says...but then to honest there is so much now we are expected to know that I just don’t think we can keep on top of everything anyway. You pick a job up and you chat to colleagues and you ask you know has anybody dealt with some of these recently and you effectively teach yourself.” (Manager 11)

NCALT was mentioned again as the main method to ensure staff remained up-to-date (5). Detectives discussed again difficulties due to time to complete the NCALT packages and again expressed their mixed feeling towards this approach for disseminating information. Managers also discussed the challenge of imparting information to their staff (2);

“It’s literally a case of it either comes out on the intranet and if I see it I tell them to read that or push to get the NCALT training done, but beyond that. I think most people rely on what they read in the media (laughs)...it’s very difficult to find the time to be up to date.” (Supervisor 14)

“I try to have team huddles, I might see an email and send an email out and think right I need to impart that....because we’re operating in such a busy fizzy environment. You are very selective about what you hear... All this extra stuff is too much to cope with. So we are bombarded and we don’t have time.” (Manager 3)

Detectives expressed similar concerns surrounding keeping up-to-date as those expressed about the availability of training. These reasons were reflected again within the PFEW’s 2015 detective survey with 64% of detectives stating workload and a reduced workforce prevented them from staying up-to-date (PFEW, 2015), with this increasing to 71% in 2017 (Boag-Monroe, 2017).

Whilst training packages had been developed, detectives found it difficult to complete these with the additional workloads they were experiencing. The challenges for detectives around training and keeping up-to-date are concerning. James and Mills (2012) mirror these concerns, discussing the 2015 introduction of Professionalising Investigative Practice (PIP) to ensure those employed within investigations were adequately trained and received continued professional development to professionalise investigations. They identified a lack of training and continued professional due to a lack resources and managers focus on meeting investigative targets rather than developing their workforce. It is well documented throughout investigative history the repercussions of detective teams that are understaffed and lack training (Smith, 2003; Byford, 2006; Bichard, 2004). It could also have

implication for miscarriages of justice and causing increase in demand, and less effective investigations adding additional time to the investigative process.

The next section will explore the views of detectives within the area of investigations which will explore the effect of austerity further drawing on the effect of austerity on detectives' role and also the effect of non-austerity changes mentioned within the previous chapter

Effect of Austerity on the Investigative Process

Detectives were asked about the effect of austerity on the investigative process. Nearly all detectives (13) discussed a new investigative approach introduced by their police service, which was viewed as contrasting to their previous experience of 'targets'. This process was outlined further by two detectives;

Prioritised Approach to Investigations

"To say well we've got ten crimes. These are serious and the people want something done about it, these five are rubbish and are never going to see the inside of a Court room, lets write those five off now and then concentrate on these....they were forced down that route because they didn't have the staff, but actually it should be the right thing to do...that's where the evidence is, that's the best use of resources, that is what the public would want you to do." (Senior Manager 9)

"So we might say well OK it's a serious crime, but the victim is not supportive so we won't investigate it any further. Or the victim doesn't want to go to Court so we might look at ways to resolving the crime through a community resolution or restorative practice. So those sort of things take up less time and effort for us than charging and going to Court so I think yeah we have done certain things to take the demand out of the department such as be more creative as to how we dispose of crimes." (Manager 13)

Detectives had mixed views as to the benefits of this approach. The positive aspects were highlighted by detectives (6) with one individual acknowledging both positive and negative aspects of this change in investigation. Detectives felt it provided a more focused approach to investigating crime (5) as described above by interviewee 9. Other detectives considered this approach reduced demand on the Courts which were already stretched due to their own austerity measures (3).

"I think Courts are getting, and CPS are getting quite ruthless now in when they look at the public interest test, is this worth taking to Court and the cost of Court performance. Some of those decisions are right because for a long time we've been charging and cautioning people we should never have done to make sure our performance looks good for the senior managers

who want the next rank. So whilst we might not be taking as many cases to Court or cases may be being dismissed earlier and that money might have some impact on that...there aren't as many Courts now so they're having to be robust as to what is appropriate. We are using this new approach and community resolutions much more in the last year than we were previously." (Manager 3)

Other detectives' felt the ability to write off crimes was a benefit due to the lack of detectives (2).

"Being proportionate is really important. I think because if we are disproportionate in the way that we investigate crime then we could probably detect a lot more crime, you know if every time there was a criminal offence we threw you know a dozen detectives at it then we would detect a lot more crime, but actually we haven't got the capability of doing that because we haven't got the staff to be able to service it."(Senior manager 5)

Whilst the above interviewees expressed the positive aspect of a more proportionate investigative approach, half of detectives expressed concerns with this shift in investigative approach (7). With (4) detectives feeling the approach had developed through a lack of staff and an inability to investigate all crimes.

"So there is a lot of things, that we don't investigate anymore to be quite blunt because we just don't have the resources to do it and we're pushing a lot of things back...whether it be other partners or to for example where we have a lot of frauds that involve insolvency then we're pushing that back to the insolvency practitioners and saying well you identify the offences and if there is something we need to investigate well you let us know... I just don't have the officers to do all the investigations that come across the police's doorstep. So I've got to prioritise and focus them on the ones that actually are the biggest jobs with the most vulnerable victims and I think that is what society would expect us to do." (Manager 11)

Other detectives felt this change of investigative approach had a negative impact on victims and was due to the lack of staff mentioned previously (3).

"...we've got to be proportionate in what we investigate because we don't have the staff to investigate it. But is that right?...We haven't got the staff we're letting some people down. Which doesn't sit comfortably with some people who've been doing the job a long time... we will always do our best to provide the best service we can but you know it doesn't seem right sometimes when you ring someone up and say I appreciate you've been burgled and your life's possessions have been stolen but that's it we're going to file it now. It feels like we should be doing more, but you can't because we haven't got the resources to do more..." (Supervisor 8)

Whilst this change in investigative process reduces the additional demands on detectives brought on through the evolution of more complex crime types, decrease in detectives and police staff numbers. This new approach can be critique in its failure to keep to the principles of the primary decision-

making model adopted by police services, the National Decision Making Model (NDM) (COP, 2013). The new model takes into account the views of victims as to whether they want to pursue a prosecution, failing to acknowledge the reluctance of victims of domestic abuse to support a case. The new model fails to review the outcomes of decisions made as suggested within the NDM which is highlighted in the impact of risk in domestic abuse victims reluctance to support an investigation and also the ethics to this new approach surrounding their duties and responsibilities to challenge and report improper behavior. Furthermore, HMIC (2017) have expressed concerns that one in five investigations is not being investigated when victims did not support police action. The NDM itself can also be criticised along with the new model described for failing to acknowledge detectives' bias in their decision making as to which crimes are of value and which ones should be investigated (Corsianos, 2001; Jay, 2014; HMIC, 2014b), which was discussed further within the previous chapter on the change in performance targets.

Investigative Delay

A further theme that emerged was a delay in the investigative approach, with two thirds of detectives highlighting this as a concern (10). This delay was linked to the increase in roles and responsibilities of detectives through the cuts and the removal of Police Staff roles (5) and the lack of training for mobile phone and computer downloads (5).

“...I believe very much policing is a matter of team work with other departments, CID shouldn't stand-alone...The whole organisation is like a pyramid, people at the top can't do their jobs without the people underneath them and once you start to erode the base, the tower falls over, the pyramid falls over, it becomes very unstable and I think a lot has happened.” (Constable 10)

A further two areas emerged explaining the investigative delay these were; cuts to the CPS leading to communication delays (6) and the individual submission of forensic samples to save money (4).

“Massive cuts that have had a real detrimental effect on the service that they provide for us... You know I've been sat waiting on the phone for three hours for a Crown Prosecution decision because they're understaffed.” (Senior manager 5)

“So I've got five things that could be sent off at £500 each...Oh, that item has the most value... lets send that one off first then and then we'll keep these four back. That comes back with nothing on it; we'll send this one now...it's better, it's effective use of the money because I'm not wasting £500 on each item as it were, but you've now increased the time constraints...so in another five days I'll need another five days on that item, so in ten days later I'm still no further forward and this is where you increase pressure on yourself, because before I would have just sent all five of them off and I'd got the answer in five days.” (Senior Manager 9)

Detectives' responses suggested the reduction in police staff roles was interacting with the investigative process leading to delays. The subsequent increase in their role responsibilities and workload along with the lack of training for the downloading of digital devices were further contributing to these delays. Detectives also highlighted cuts to the CPS which have been documented within the literature (Fuller, 2014). The police service were appearing to inadvertently contribute to this delay through reducing the number of forensic samples sent for analysis, whilst this was explained as a cost saving exercise, it increased the length of the investigative process, furthermore the literature has raised concerns about this method of forensic analysis arguing it could prevent the full picture being identified, leading to miscarriages of justice (Geddes, 2012). In light of these demands, changes to the BA could put additional pressure on detectives and also the investigative process. The last section explores the quality of investigations in light of the changes discussed within the analysis.

Reduction in Quality

The last theme identified by detectives was a reduction in quality of investigations discussed by (13) of the 14 participants. Detectives highlighted two areas; evidence gathered (6) and the outcome of investigations (5). The former was separated into three sub-themes; Forensics (4), CCTV (2) and Statements (2). The latter was separated into four sub-themes; Complaints (3), detectives disciplined (1) and reports of detectives losing cases (1).

Forensics was identified as an area of concern (4).

“...people are suffering because we haven't got the money to investigate it properly...before, it would have been sod the expense we want to lock this guy up lets send everything off and see what comes back and now it's we're not going to spend £1,000 or whatever sending this off, because is it worth it?” (Constable 6)

A minority of detectives felt they were unable to manage CCTV evidence (2)

“I haven't done as good a job as I could have because I could have deployed the camera but I can't manage the camera because I haven't got time to view the footage and nor has anyone else.” (Senior Manager 9)

A small number of detectives expressed concerns about the quality of statements taken (2)

“That’s just one example, statement takers... You need to have good quality statements and... our investigations aren’t as efficient and effective and we don’t get everything we need.” (Manager 3)

The remaining responses related to the outcome of investigations (5) relating to complaints from members of the public (3) losing cases (1) and detectives being disciplined (1). This may be in part due to the small sample size and a much larger sample may provide a clearer understanding of the themes.

“There will be some complaints as a result of us not being very timely with our investigation...That will be resource levels. It’s lack of supervision where the sergeants are too pressed; if the sergeants hadn’t been so stretched they would be on top of that and monitored that earlier.” (Manager 3)

“I’ve heard this and it feels like another one, another one, but would I be saying this if I hadn’t been the office at that time?”(Constable 12)

“...I’ve had to refer a case which is failure to investigate because, because it’s workload...I’m hoping that professional standards will be quite sympathetic about that... (Manager 11)

The reduction in quality as described by these detectives through the collation of evidence and outcomes of investigations appear to suggest the effect austerity is having on detectives, coupled with the government, societal, cultural, technological and occupational changes. The role of these detectives has increased to incorporate those of police staff or those roles removed from them in the past. There is limited availability for training or remaining up-to-date due to the demands of austerity and reduction in training opportunities, leading many detectives to feel unequipped, with an increase in workload. All these factors appear to be affecting the quality and outcomes of investigations and pose the risk of future and near miscarriages of justice.

In summary, the perceptions of detectives within this police service suggest austerity and non-austerity changes from 2010 to 2015, have interacted to effect the role of the detective and the investigative process. The non-austerity changes have led to more complex investigations and a requirement for new knowledge whilst austerity may have provided the positive effect of improved financial governance and a suggested more streamlined approach. There has been a further decline in detective numbers and police staff, impacting on detectives’ workload, health and morale. This has affected their ability to take annual leave at short notice when required and stay abreast of the non-

austerity changes. Austerity has led to a prioritising approach to investigation, which could pose problems due to evidence suggesting detectives' bias in their decision making (Corsianos, 2001; HMIC, 2014b; Jay, 2014) a delay in the investigative approach and reduction in quality and affected the outcomes of some investigations. The next chapter will explore this analysis further through developing a concluding grounded theory of these findings, exploring the limitation of the research and providing further recommendations and research directions.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Concluding Theory

Austerity has exacerbated the declining CID detective numbers through a rise in workload from the decline and assimilation of police staff roles into the detective role. Non-austerity changes have interacted to provide a more complex, demand intensive, investigative environment, whereby due to the decline in police staff roles PIP training and continual professional opportunities are blocked. This continued demand creates only six avenues of escape: prioritise cases, move into uniformed roles, move to specialist detective teams, leave the organisation, retire, or an additional route where the escape is no longer their choice, become unwell when they are no longer able to cope with the demands. Once detectives have exited, the cycle begins again with increased pressure on remaining detectives, leading to more demand, leading to further declining numbers and this cycle continues becoming more intense for the detective, with increasing declining numbers. This provides a more challenging environment to nurture their role through training or remaining up-to-date, to feel competent with the change in investigative types or government changes, or escape when required through annual leave. The organisations aims to address these issues through recruitment, but fails due to the declining status of the detective role, expressed through the additional responsibility, study and workload, with no motivating factor for uniformed officers to take on these additional demands, relinquish their time to train as a detective with no occupational or financial rewards. This leads to the organisation's attempt to address resourcing again through a change in shift pattern, increased overtime, further increasing the demands on detectives, a further decline in their role and a delay and reduction in quality in the investigative process, increasing demand through complaints, increasing stress and reducing morale, beginning the cycle again, leading to a further decline in numbers.

Limitations of the Research

The research has provided an insight into the effect of police austerity measures and non-austerity changes, on CID detectives' role and the investigation process from 2010 to 2015. It is important to consider the limitations of this research before the future recommendations and research directions are discussed. This research forms a single case study design conducted with detectives working predominately in reactive CID. Therefore the effect of austerity on CID detectives within different geographical territory police services may vary. A further limitation is the time period from which the data was captured. The data was collected over a three month period. During this time there may have been differing austerity and non-austerity changes affecting detectives' and influencing their responses. Before the future research directions are discussed, it would be important to seek to rectify

these limitations in future research, by planning to conduct interviews within a shorter timeframe, with a larger sample by carrying out research within additional CID departments incorporating proactive CID in further territorial police services.

Future Recommendations and Research

Whilst this research has limitations documented above, the decline in detective numbers has been raised by HMIC (2017a) and is currently under review for nationwide direction (NPCC, 2018). This research study has identified a lack of national figures for detective numbers. It is important that the NPCC and COP ensure detective figures are monitored annually for any further decline and includes the characteristics of this group. This would include detectives' age, length of service, specialism and territory police service to determine individuals nearing retirement and levels of experience. This is important as the make-up of the police service is shifting to an aging population (HO, 2017b). This would seek to manage further changes to detective numbers and level of experience in future cohorts, through targeted recruitment prior to periods of retirement. Furthermore, to ensure detective numbers are representative of the communities they serve and any future recruitment process provides equal opportunities to all, it is of paramount importance that diversity data is also captured within these national figures.

The following recommendations and future research considerations have been proposed for the CID department involved in this research to be conducted within the next 12 months, however it is recommended that the NPCC and COP explore within the next 18 months whether these findings are occurring in other police services and if the recommendations suggested below would be beneficial.

CID Department

- Re-evaluate resourcing levels of this CID department through a 3 month time analysis, reviewing workload, taking into account the increased complexity and time intensity of investigations, the evolution of crime types, the assimilation of police staff roles, the delay in forensic submissions and CPS responses and also the resources required to meet the BA and BCM changes.
- Consider the reintroduction of police staff roles to support the workload of CID detectives.

- Address the perceived reduced status of the detective role within this police service, exploring the culture within the organisation through auditing current detective reward and recognition programmes and the current occupational and financial benefits of the detective role.
- Review the criteria for the prioritised investigative approach, to mitigate unconscious bias in the selection and focus of cases for investigation and utilise support services to encourage victims to engage.
- Review the shift pattern in collaboration with detectives working within CID to ensure a fit with the organisation and detectives' work life balance to aid retention.

COP

- Two approaches have sought to address the declining detective numbers and further research is needed in these areas. The first, the Surrey police introduction of police staff investigators (Chatterton, 2008) and second, the MPS direct entry program (MPS, 2018). Seek to pilot and evaluate these approaches over a 6 month period.
- Develop a new strategy for recruitment; surveying officers to understand their views of the role, any recruitment barriers, what attracted them to the career and drivers for retention. Implement a 6 month audit CID of detective exit interviews for detectives leaving the role or transferring to another department to understand retention issues.
- Due to the rates of stress and illness, annually monitor the health and wellbeing of CID, survey detectives to monitor areas of occupational demand and concern and provide additional signposting information for avenues of support.
- Develop a process to collect the data outlined within the previous section to monitor CID detective numbers and other investigative departments.
- Consider a 3 month cost-benefit analysis of individual submissions of forensic evidence. Due to the concerns raised by the FSS surrounding issues with viewing forensic submissions in isolation (Geddes, 2012) and the delay this can have on the investigative process in light of the introduction of the BA and BCM.

NPCC

- Review the PIP training and the knowledge of detectives in line with the non-austerity changes introduced throughout the period of austerity and to the present day and develop a new and unified communication strategy for CID detectives to ensure future changes are assimilated appropriately.

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APPENDIX A

ETHICS APPLICATION AND APPROVAL



| |
|-------------------------|
| For Research Office Use |
| Checklist No: |
| Date Received: |

PROPORTIONATE ETHICAL REVIEW

ETHICS REVIEW CHECKLIST

Sections A and B of this checklist must be completed for every research or knowledge transfer project that involves human or animal¹ participants. These sections serve as a toolkit that will identify whether a full application for ethics approval needs to be submitted.

If the toolkit shows that there is no need for a full ethical review, Sections D, E and F should be completed and the checklist forwarded to the Research Governance Manager as described in Section C.

If the toolkit shows that a full application is required, this checklist should be set aside and an Application for Faculty Research Ethics Committee Approval Form - or an appropriate external application form - should be completed and submitted. There is no need to complete both documents.

Before completing this checklist, please refer to Ethics Policy for Research Involving Human Participants in the University Research Governance Handbook.

The principal researcher/project leader (or, where the principal researcher/project leader is a student, their supervisor) is responsible for exercising appropriate professional judgement in this review.

N.B. This checklist must be completed - and any resulting follow-up action taken - before potential participants are approached to take part in any study.

| Type of Project - please mark (x) as appropriate | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Research | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Knowledge Exchange | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Section A: Applicant Details

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| A1. Name of applicant: | Jane Hurn |
| A2. Status (please underline): | Undergraduate Student / <u>Postgraduate Student</u> / Staff Member |
| A3. Email address: | j.s.hurn846@canterbury.ac.uk |
| A4. Contact address: | XXXXXXX |
| A5. Telephone number | XXXXXXX |

- 1 Sentient animals, generally all vertebrates and certain invertebrates such as cephalopods and crustaceans
- 2 Checklists for Undergraduates should be retained within the academic department concerned

Section B: Ethics Checklist

Please answer each question by marking (X) in the appropriate box:

| | | Yes | No |
|-----|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Does the study involve participants who are particularly <u>vulnerable</u> or unable to give informed consent (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities), or in unequal relationships (e.g. people in prison, your own staff or students)? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. | Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to any <u>vulnerable</u> groups or individuals to be recruited (e.g. students at school, members of self-help groups, residents of nursing home)? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. | Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without usual informed consent procedures having been implemented in advance (e.g. covert observation, certain ethnographic studies)? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. | Will the study use deliberate deception (this does not include randomly assigning participants to groups in an experimental design)? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. | Will the study involve discussion of, or collection of information on, topics of a sensitive nature (e.g. sexual activity, drug use) <u>personal to the participants</u> ? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. | Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to human or animal participants? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. | Does the study involve invasive or intrusive procedures such as blood taking or muscle biopsy from human or animal participants? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. | Is physiological stress, pain, or more than mild discomfort to humans or animals likely to result from the study? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. | Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences in humans (including the researcher) or animals beyond the risks encountered in normal life? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. | Will the study involve interaction with animals? (If you are simply observing them - e.g. in a zoo or in their natural habitat - without having any contact at all, you can answer "No") | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. | Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. | Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

| | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------|---|
| 13. | Is the study a survey that involves University-wide recruitment of students from Canterbury Christ Church University? | <input type="checkbox"/> | X |
| 14. | Will the study involve recruitment of adult participants (aged 16 and over) who are unable to make decisions for themselves, i.e. lack capacity, and come under the jurisdiction of the Mental Capacity Act (2005)? | <input type="checkbox"/> | X |
| 15. | Will the study involve recruitment of participants (excluding staff) through the NHS? | <input type="checkbox"/> | X |
| 16. | Will the study involve recruitment of participants through the Department of Social Services of a Local Authority (e.g. Kent County Council)? | <input type="checkbox"/> | X |

Now please assess outcomes and actions by referring to Section C 

Section C: How to Proceed

C1. If you have answered 'NO' to **all** the questions in Section B, you should complete Sections D–F as appropriate and send the completed and signed Checklist to the Research Governance Manager in the Research and Enterprise Development Centre for the record. **That is all you need to do.** You will receive a letter confirming compliance with University Research Governance procedures.

[Master's students should retain copies of the form and letter; the letter should be bound into their research report or dissertation. Work that is submitted without this document will be returned un-assessed.]

C2. If you have answered 'YES' to **any** of the questions in Section B, you will need to describe more fully how you plan to deal with the ethical issues raised by your project. This does not mean that you cannot do the study, only that your proposal will need to be approved by a Research Ethics Committee. **Depending upon which questions you answered 'YES' to, you should proceed as follows**

(a) If you answered 'YES' to any of **questions 1 – 12 ONLY** (i.e. not questions 13,14, 15 or 16), you will have to submit an application to your Faculty Research Ethics Committee (FREC) using your Faculty's version of the **Application for Faculty Research Ethics Committee Approval Form**. This should be submitted as directed on the form. The *Application for Faculty Research Ethics Committee Approval Form* can be obtained from the Governance and Ethics pages of the Research and Enterprise Development Centre on the University web site.

(b) If you answered 'YES' to **question 13** you have two options:

(i) If you answered 'YES' to **question 13 ONLY** you must send copies of this checklist to the Student Survey Unit. Subject to their approval you may then proceed as at C1 above.

(ii) If you answered 'YES' to **question 13 PLUS any other of questions 1 – 12**, you must proceed as at C2(b)(i) above and then submit an application to your Faculty Research Ethics Committee (FREC) as at C2(a).

(c) If you answered 'YES' to **question 14** you do not need to submit an application to your Faculty Research Ethics Committee. **INSTEAD**, you **must** submit an application to the appropriate external NHS or Social Care Research Ethics Committee [see C2(d) below].

(d) If you answered 'YES' to **question 15** you do not need to submit an application to your Faculty Research Ethics Committee. **INSTEAD**, you must submit an application to the appropriate external NHS or Social Care Research Ethics Committee (REC), *after* your proposal has received a satisfactory Peer Review (see *Research Governance Handbook*). Applications to an NHS or Social Care REC must be signed by the appropriate Faculty Director of Research or other authorised Faculty signatory before they are submitted.

(e) If you answered 'YES' to **question 16** you do not need to submit an application to your Faculty Research Ethics Committee. **INSTEAD**, you must submit an application to the appropriate external Local Authority REC, *after* your proposal has received a satisfactory Peer Review (see *Research Governance Handbook*). Applications to a Local Authority REC must be signed by the appropriate Faculty Director of Research or other authorised Faculty signatory before they are submitted.

IMPORTANT

Please note that it is your responsibility in the conduct of your study to follow the policies and procedures set out in the University's Research Governance Handbook, and any relevant

academic or professional guidelines. This includes providing appropriate information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data. Any significant change in the question, design or conduct over the course of the study should be notified to the **Faculty and/or other Research Ethics Committee** that received your original proposal. Depending on the nature of the changes, a new application for ethics approval may be required.

Section D: Project Details

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>D1. Project title:</p> <p>D2. Start date</p> <p>D3. End date</p> <p>D4. Lay summary (max 300 words which must include a brief description of the methodology to be used for gathering your data)</p> | <p>An investigation into the effect of austerity on Detectives working within CID and the investigative process</p> <p>May 2015</p> <p>September 2015</p> <p><u>Aims</u></p> <p>This research aims to examine the perceptions of Detectives surrounding the effect of austerity on two key areas; their role as Detectives and the investigative process within CID.</p> <p><u>Theoretical Approach</u></p> <p>Grounded Theory will inform the theoretical approach within this research study. This decision has been made in light of the new challenge austerity has placed on policing. It is envisioned that Grounded Theory will enable this impact to be captured in a broader sense without the constraint of an initial theoretical model.</p> <p><u>Study Design</u></p> <p>A qualitative study involving semi-structured interviews.</p> <p><u>Methods</u></p> <p><u>Sample</u></p> <p>Adopting a snowball sampling technique 15-20, Detectives from two separate police forces will be recruited for this research study. Adhering to the inclusion and exclusion criteria set out within this research proposal.</p> <p><u>Semi-structured Interviews</u></p> <p>Semi-structured interviews will allow the collation of rich information avoiding preconceived ideas to direct answers to the research questions.</p> <p><u>Data Analysis</u></p> <p><u>Qualitative</u></p> <p>Grounded Theory - Independent researcher's coding of responses</p> |
|--|---|

| | |
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| | |
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Section E1: For Students Only

| | |
|--|--|
| E1. Module name and number or course and Department: | Masters in Research (Policing), Paul Mckeever Policing Scholarship |
| E2. Name of Supervisor or module leader | Dr Steve Tong, Director of Policing & Criminal Justice |
| E3. Email address of Supervisor or Module leader | steve.tong@canterbury.ac.uk |
| E4. Contact address: | School of Law, Criminal Justice & Computing, Canterbury Christ Church University, North Holmes Road, Canterbury, Kent, CT1 1QU. |

Section E2: For Supervisors

Please tick the appropriate boxes. The study should not begin until all boxes are ticked:

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| The student has read the relevant sections of the University's Research Governance Handbook, available on the University web pages at: http://www.canterbury.ac.uk/centres/red/ethics-governance/governance-and-ethics.asp | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| The topic merits further investigation | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

| | |
|--|---|
| The student has the skills to carry out the study | X |
| The participant information sheet or leaflet is appropriate | X |
| The procedures for recruitment and obtaining informed consent are appropriate | X |
| If a Disclosure & Barring Service (DBS) check is required, this has been carried out | X |

Comments from supervisor:

This qualitative study will provide further exploration of the perspectives of detectives on the impact of austerity. This will be a timely study and provide an insight into the perspectives of detectives into the changes in their work post 2010 and will provide a new contribution to knowledge.

Section F: Signatures

- I certify that the information in this form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief and I take full responsibility for it.
- I certify that a risk assessment for this study has been carried out in compliance with the University's Health and Safety policy.
- I certify that any required Disclosure & Barring Service (DBS) check has been carried out.
- I undertake to carry out this project under the terms specified in the Canterbury Christ Church University Research Governance Handbook.
- I undertake to inform the relevant Faculty Research Ethics Committee of any significant change in the question, design or conduct of the study over the course of the study. I understand that such changes may require a new application for ethics approval.
- I undertake to inform the Research Governance Manager in the Research and Enterprise Development Centre when the proposed study has been completed.
- I am aware of my responsibility to comply with the requirements of the law and appropriate University guidelines relating to the security and confidentiality of participant or other personal data.
- I understand that project records/data may be subject to inspection for audit purposes if required in future and that project records should be kept securely for five years or other specified period.
- I understand that the personal data about me contained in this application will be held by the Research and Enterprise Development Centre and that this will be managed according to the principles established in the Data Protection Act.

| | |
|--|---|
| As the Principal Investigator for this study, I confirm that this application has been shared with all other members of the study team | X |
|--|---|

| Principal Investigator | Supervisor or module leader (as appropriate) |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Name: Jane Hurn Date: 28.04.15 | Name: Dr Steve Tong Date: 29.04.15 |

Section G: Submission

This form should be returned, as an attachment to a covering email, to the Research Governance Manager at roger.bone@canterbury.ac.uk

N.B. YOU MUST include copies of the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form that you will be using in your study (Model versions on which to base these are appended below for your convenience). Also copies of any data gathering tools such as questionnaires, and a COMPLETED RISK ASSESSMENT FORM.

Providing the covering email is from a verifiable address, there is no longer a need to submit a signed hard copy version.



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: An investigation into the effect of austerity on Detectives working within CID and the investigative process

Name of Researcher: Jane Hurn

Contact details:

Address:

School of Law, Criminal Justice & Computing,
Canterbury Christ Church University,
North Holmes Road,
Canterbury,
Kent,
CT1 1QU.

Email:

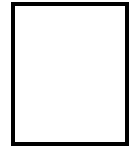
j.s.hurn846@canterbury.ac.uk

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that any personal information that I provide to the researchers will be kept strictly confidential

| |
|--|
| |
| |
| |

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



Name of Participant Date Signature

Name of Person taking consent
(if different from researcher) Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

Copies: 1 for participant
 1 for researcher



An investigation into the effect of austerity on Detectives working within CID and the investigative process

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Researcher Jane Hurn is conducting a research study sponsored by the Metropolitan Police Federation Paul Mckeever Policing Scholarship and supported by Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU), within Crime Investigation Departments. Dr Steve Tong Director of Policing and Criminal Justice at CCCU, is the supervisor of this research.

Background

In light of the Austerity measures enforced from 2010, police forces have received substantial cuts to their to their police budgets.

The purpose of this study is to explore the effect of austerity on Detectives' role within CID and the investigative process. The study has been approved within the University by the Faculty of Business and Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

What will you be required to do?

Participants in this study will be invited to participate in an interview with the researcher Jane Hurn. Interviews will last no longer than one hour and will be recorded.

To participate in this research you must:

Be a trained Detective employed working within CID pre 2010 and up until 2015.

Procedures

Interviews will be conducted at a time and place convenient to you. You will be requested to keep your answers confidential to ensure you do not influence the responses of others.

Feedback

You will be given additional information after your interview, explaining more about the research study.

Confidentiality

All interview transcripts and personal information will be anonymised (i.e. your personal information will be removed) and stored securely within CCCU premises in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and the University's own data protection requirements. Data can only be accessed by Jane Hurn and Dr Steve Tong. After completion of the study, all data will be made anonymous.

Deciding Whether to Participate

If you have any questions or concerns about the nature, procedures or requirements for participation do not hesitate to contact me. Should you decide to participate, you will be free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason.

Any Questions?

If you have any further questions please feel free to contact Jane Hurn email j.s.hurn846@canterbury.ac.uk School of Law, Criminal Justice & Computing, North Holmes Road, Canterbury CT1 1QU

APPENDIX B

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT



NOTICE OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Title of Project: Examining the effect of austerity on detectives and the investigative process

Name of Researcher: Jane Susan Hurn

Contact details: j.s.hurn846@canterbury.ac.uk

I, (full name)
understand that I am to commence the transcription of research interviews.

I acknowledge that I will be provided with access to material, which I am required to protect. I undertake not to divulge this information to anyone.

I understand that I must continue to safeguard the material after my contractual involvement has ceased.

Signed:.....

Name (Block Capitals).....

Title.....

Date.....

Counter Signed (Researcher:.....

Name (Block Capitals).....

Title.....

Date.....

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Examining the effect of austerity on detectives and the investigative process

Name of Researcher: Jane Susan Hurn

Contact details:

| | |
|----------|--|
| Address: | Canterbury Christ Church University |
| | North Holmes Road |
| | Canterbury |
| | Kent CT1 1QU |
| | |
| Tel: | 01227 767700 |
| | |
| Email: | j.s.hurn846@canterbury.ac.uk |

Please initial box

| | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|
| 1. | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| | | |
|----|---|--------------------------|
| 3. | I understand that any personal information that I provide to the researchers will be kept strictly confidential | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. | To my knowledge I have not taken any substances that will adversely or otherwise affect this study | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. | I agree to take part in the above study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Person taking consent
(if different from researcher)

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Copies:

1 for participant, 1 for researcher

APPENDIX D

INFORMATION SHEET



An investigation into the effect of austerity on Detectives working within CID and the investigative process

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Researcher Jane Hurn is conducting a research study sponsored by the Metropolitan Police Federation Paul McKeever Policing Scholarship and supported by Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU), within the School of Law, Criminal Justice & Computing. Dr Steve Tong Director of Policing and Criminal Justice at CCCU, and Professor Robin Bryant Director of Criminal Justice Practice at CCCU, are both supervising this Research Project.

Background

In light of the austerity measures enforced from 2010, police forces have received substantial cuts to their police budgets.

The purpose of this study is to explore the effect of austerity on Detectives' role within CID and the investigative process. This study has been approved within the University: by the Faculty of Business and Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

What will you be required to do?

Participants in this study will be invited to participate in an interview with the researcher Jane Hurn. Interviews will last no longer than one hour and will be recorded.

To participate in this research you must:

Be a trained detective employed by xxxx Police pre 2010 to 2014/5, and currently be working within CID.

Procedures

Interviews will be conducted at a time and place convenient to you. You will be requested to keep your answers confidential to ensure you do not influence the responses of others.

Feedback

You will be given additional information after your interview, explaining more about the research study.

Confidentiality

All interview transcripts and personal information will be anonymised (i.e. your personal information will be removed) and stored securely within CCCU premises in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and the University's own data protection requirements. Data can only be accessed by Jane Hurn and Dr Steve Tong After completion of the study; all data will be made anonymous.

Deciding Whether to Participate

If you have any questions or concerns about the nature, procedures or requirements for participation do not hesitate to contact me. Should you decide to participate, you will be free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason.

Any Questions?

If you have any further questions please feel free to contact Jane Hurn via email j.s.hurn846@canterbury.ac.uk School of Law, Criminal Justice & Computing, Canterbury Christ Church University, North Holmes Road, Canterbury CT1 1QU

APPENDIX E
INTERVIEW SCRIPT

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INITIAL QUESTIONS

Could you give me a brief overview of your police career from joining up to your detective career now?

Why did you become a detective?

INTERMEDIATE QUESTIONS

What have been the main changes you have noticed in police work over the past 5 years?

Why do you think these changes have taken place?

Prompt if not mentioned

What police austerity measures (if any) have been employed in CID over the last 5 years?

How have these changes impacted on detective work?

If so, how have police austerity measures affected your role as a detective?

- **Training and professional development opportunities available**
- **Time to stay up-to-date with the latest developments in their area of work?**
- **Workload?**
- **Booking either annual leave or time off. (If you could tell me more about this?)**
- **Management of increased demands**

Prompt if not mentioned

If so, how have police austerity measures effected a CID investigation?

Have their been any changes (if any) to the set up of CID in the last 5 years due to austerity?

When (if at all) did you first experience or notice changes to departments within the police organisation that support detectives?

What police austerity measures have been employed in these departments that may have had an impact on detective work?

Has the way you do your job changed in the last five years?

Do you feel your role to the public has changed during austerity?

If so how?

- Service to victims and witnesses
- Securing convictions

How have these changes made you feel?

APPENDIX F

ACCESS APPROVAL

From: Jane Hurn
Sent: 07 July 2015 16:28
To: D/CH/SUPT
Subject: FW: Jane Hurn Masters Information

Dear xxxx,

Thank you for your help.

I am presently conducting a Masters in research, with Canterbury Christ Church University. This is funded by the Metropolitan Police Federation under the Paul McKeever scholarship. The work will involve an operational report, dissertation and potential publication.

The focus of the research will be **The effect of austerity on CID Detectives, their role and the investigative process**. The aims of this research are to identify the perceptions of detectives surrounding austerity, its impact on their role and an investigation. The research will be gathered through interviews with serving detectives ranging from XXXX to XXXX.

I have been made aware that Detectives come under the command of Assistant Chief Constable xxxx. With this in mind I would like to seek permission from him before I email Detectives inviting them to participant in this research study.

Kind regards,

Jane Hurn

From: Chief Constable
Sent: 07 April 2015 11:32
To: xxxx
Subject: FW: Jane Hurn Masters Information

Dear Jane,

Thank you for providing the attached memo via xxxx outlining your request to speak to officers as part of your full time Masters degree, which will focus on the impact of austerity on CID detectives, their role and the investigative process.

I am more than happy for you to engage with police officers as part of your degree, so please take this e-mail as my permission for you to do so.

I have also copied in xxxx for xxxx information as the Director of HR as there may be some learning that we can take from your findings on this topic.

Regards,

xxxxx

APPENDIX G

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this study is to explore the effect of austerity on Detectives' role within CID and the investigative process.

Participants in this study will be invited to participate in an interview with the researcher Jane Hurn. Interviews will last no longer than one hour and will be recorded. The identity of participants will be kept confidential and participants are advised that they are free to withdraw from this research study at any point.

The University Faculty of Business and Sciences Research Ethics Committee have approved this study.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Age.....

Rank.....

When did you complete your detective training?.....

How long have you been employed within this role?.....

