

**Understanding the changing social structural  
and corporate agency governance  
characteristics of (UK) policing: Towards a new  
relational policing matrix**

by

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## **Abstract**

**Purpose:** - To investigate governance changes in UK policing from the perspective of serving federated rank police officers. Two research questions ask - *RQ1: What are the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of different UK policing governance systems since 1980?* and; *(RQ2) How have police officers reacted to the social structural and corporate agency governance changes in UK policing since 1980?*

**Design/Methodology:** - Two case studies (Mecronia and Andrad) were conducted following an Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methodology. Critical/relational sociological views of the interaction between non- human structure (Donati, 2007) and corporate agency (Archer, 1995) provided a lens for the analysis. In this manner, the changing social, structural and corporate agency characteristics in policing were brought into focus. In the same way, the feelings and reactions of individual police officers were explored in response to those changes.

**Analysis:** - Using existing policing, management and critical/relational sociological texts and collected research data, a new conceptual relational policing matrix (RPM) is developed and is a major contribution of this work. I argue that NPM structures had a de-humanising effect on police organisations and were at odds with personal public service motivation (Perry and Wise 1990). I argue that the recent removal of numerical targets is greatly welcomed by the officers. Finally, I argue that ongoing austerity measures of successive UK Governments have left police officers feeling greatly overworked and over stressed due to an increasing imbalance between demand and resources.

**Originality/ Value:** - The Relational Policing Matrix (RPM) is a new conceptual framework and using critical/relational sociological theory as a lens for the examination of policing structures and culture has not been attempted before. No one has described the changing governance characteristics in relation to the police from the perspective of serving police officers or analysed the impact of those changes on the police officers using a relational sociological lens. Therefore, through the analysis and use of the RPM the thesis is original and adds value to understanding of police, public-sector and organisational management.

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## Glossary of three letter abbreviations (TLA's) and common acronyms

ACPO.....	Association of Chief Police Officers
BCU.....	Basic Command Unit
BMA .....	British Medical Association
BMJ .....	British Medical Journal
C/INSP.....	Chief Inspector
CAA .....	Comprehensive Area Assessment
CAD .....	Computer Aided Deployment
CP.....	Conflicted Policing
CPS .....	Crown Prosecution Service
DCI .....	Detective Chief Inspector
DI .....	Detective Inspector
DS .....	Detective Sergeant
FMI .....	Financial Management Initiative
HMIC .....	Her Majesties Inspector of Constabulary
ID .....	Identification
INSP.....	Inspector
IOPC.....	Independent Office for Police Conduct
IPA .....	Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis
IPCC .....	Independent Police Complaints Commission
KSI .....	Killed or Seriously Injured
LPA .....	Local Police Authority
NHP .....	Neighbourhood Policing
NPIA .....	National Policing Improvement Agency
NPM .....	New Public Management
NPCC.....	National Police Chiefs Council
NT .....	Neo-Traditional
OCB .....	Organisational Citizen Behaviour
PACT .....	Police and Communities Together
PCC .....	Police and Crime Commissioner
PCSO .....	Police Community Support Officer
PI .....	Public Interest
PITO .....	Police Information Technology Organisation

POI ..... Police Organisational Identity  
PPI ..... Personal Performance Indicators  
PSA..... Police Superintendents Association  
PSEW ..... Police Service England and  
Wales  
PSM ..... Public Service Motivation  
PSU ..... Police Standards Unit  
RPM..... Relational Policing Matrix  
SCT ..... Serious Crime Team  
SDR ..... Sanctioned Detection Rate  
SGT ..... Sergeant  
SUPT ..... Superintendent  
TPI ..... Team Performance Indicators  
TP ..... Traditional Policing



# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Rationale and motivation.

This thesis provides an examination of the governance changes occurring in UK policing since 1980. I will describe the characteristics of those governance changes using accounts from serving police officers of federated ranks (Federated Police ranks are constable, sergeant, inspector and chief inspector), and I will examine the impact of the changes from their perspective. The theoretical rationale for the thesis is taken from several distinct academic fields, but the primary fields are criminology, public-sector management and business studies.

From the body of criminology theoretical texts, it is possible to see the imposition, by central government, of New Public Management (NPM), from the early 1980's, across the UK public sector (Collier, 2006; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017). The growth of NPM was particularly strong with regards to the publicly funded police forces of England and Wales and as such is a central theme for this thesis (Collier, 2006; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017). The drivers for NPM, came directly from the for-profit sector and more importantly from the (then contemporary) business literature, but with very little theoretical underpinning (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). More recently, writers in the field of criminology have heavily criticised these performance management regimes, for example Meekings et al. (2011) and De Maillard and Savage, (2017), who highlight the negative effects arising from an over reliance on numerical targets and goals in police organisations.

I will show that some commentators believe positive results in performance can be directly attributed to the market driven managerialist paradigm, which is reflected in NPM (Loveday, 1999). They believe that performance is delivered by developing better systems, greater integration, improved problem solving and wider performance measures (Loveday, 1999; Bao et al., 2013). Other aspects arising from the market-led nature of NPM is its focus on customers and the consumerist nature of service provision where it

is believed that in order to drive performance you need to ensure that your customers are satisfied (Butterfield et al., 2004; Hoque, et al., 2004; Bao et al., 2013).

However, in the areas of public-sector management and business studies, recent contributions highlight the ongoing negative effects of an over reliance upon numerical goals and targets in organisations. For example, Arnaboldi et al. (2015) claim there are significant adverse outcomes associated with the clumsy use of performance management systems in public services including negative effects on staff morale. Ashkanasy et al. (2016) explore the negative effects of High-Performance Working Practices (HPWP) on public-sector employees following the global financial crisis of 2009. This is mirrored by De Silva and Chandrika (2016), who explore executive burnout when working under High Performance Working Systems (HPWS) in the for-profit sector.

Regardless of which academic field or label is used, NPM, HPWP and HPWS, all share a reliance upon numerical goals and targets as the primary driver of employee performance. Again, common themes emerging from Ashkanasy et al. (2016) and De Silva and Chandrika (2016), are claims that work-related stress, sickness and questionable integrity, can be positively linked to an over reliance upon numerical goals and targets. These theoretical contributions all find complete agreement with Meekings et al. (2011) and De Maillard and Savage (2017) and their analysis linked to policing under NPM.

Much more recently UK Government's austerity measures have had a massive impact upon the numbers of frontline police officers. These staff losses are manifesting in many ways and Sir Tom Winsor (Her Majesties Chief Inspector of Constabulary Fire and Rescue Services) highlights the dangers linked to the rapidly growing gap between demands for policing services and UK police forces ability to deliver Winsor (2016). The combined effects of four decades of many rapid governance changes and recent austerity, sets a context of turbulent times for police forces, and by extension for police officers. Therefore, this is an exciting period for potential police research and provides a clear motivation for this thesis.

The growing consensus linking high performance cultures to negative effects on organisations emerging in three distinct academic sectors provides a potential area of interest for social research in UK policing. Then, coming back to the existing literature

in the field of policing, it is usual for authors to consider events, changes and impact from the perspective of police organisations, not the individual police officers, which is easy to see in the work of Collier (2006), Cockcroft and Beattie (2009), Reiner (2010), De Maillard and Savage (2012, 2017), Gilling (2013) Elliott-Davies et al. (2016) and Mendel et al. (2017).

In this thesis, I will consider the perspective of individual police officers to, highlight the macro level (organisational) and micro level (individual feelings) effects of police governance changes over time. This is a new approach and follows on from existing texts that concentrate on policing from an entirely organisational perspective, for example Reiner (2012, pp. 261-264) and his chronology of police history. My thesis therefore fills a gap in the existing literature which provides the main motivation for my study. Because the rationale and motivation arise from a desire to explore the lived experiences of the research participants the position is best suited to an interpretive qualitative research study.

## 1.2 Research aim and questions

As stated at the outset, this thesis provides an examination of the governance changes occurring in UK policing since 1980. I have explained the rationale and motivation, which arise from a desire to examine the cultural and performance aspects of UK policing from the perspective of police officers. Therefore, the aim of the thesis is: -

***To explore and investigate the evolving nature of the relational, cultural and performance aspects of UK policing since 1980.***

In working towards the aim of this research it will be addressed through two research questions (RQ) that have been developed to guide and focus the thesis, namely:

***RQ1: What are the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of different UK policing governance systems since 1980?***

and

***RQ2: How have police officers reacted to the social structural and corporate agency governance changes in UK policing?***

In Chapters 2 and 3, I will lead the reader through a comprehensive review of the existing literature, each chapter making a different contribution to the thesis. In Chapter 2 – (Background Literature), I will establish the background context of police governance changes since 1980. Then, in Chapter 3 – (Focal literature), I will explore the expected structural and cultural characteristics of police organisations through the existing literature. Thus Chapter 3 begins to establish “*the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of different UK policing governance systems*” albeit from an entirely theoretical position.

In Chapter 3, I will also introduce the reader to some key critical/relational sociological arguments that I will rely upon to develop a theoretical framework. I will argue that management structures emerge in response to NPM mirroring non-human social forms, alluded to by Donati (2007) in his relational sociological work. In this section of the chapter, I will introduce the reader to the long ongoing sociological structure versus agency debate and explain the relevance for the proposed police-based research. During this process, I will clearly define ‘non-human social forms’ (Donati, 2007) and ‘corporate agencies’ (Archer, 1995).

In the final sections of Chapter 3, arguments, taken from the sociological literature, are made that establish the key object for social enquiry as ‘the interaction between social structures/culture and agency’. A conceptual ‘Relational Policing Matrix’ i.e. as a ‘non- human structure’/‘corporate agency’ framework is then developed. The dimensions of the grid are provided by a consideration of the level and influence of non-human social structures and culture on the vertical axis. This provides a potential for non-human structures and culture to be located somewhere on a continuum between low and high states. The horizontal axis of the grid is provided by a consideration of the numbers and influence of corporate agencies that take an interest in policing. Again, this produces the possibility of the number and influence of corporate agencies moving between low and high states. By placing the two axes at 90 degrees to each other it produces a 2 x 2 grid comprising four quadrants. These are based upon the perceived levels of non-human

structure/culture versus corporate agency. In critical/relational sociological terms each of the quadrants represents the area between, or the interaction between, non-human social structures and corporate agencies. By comparing the existing policing literature with the data gathered during this research, I will establish the characteristics of the predominant policing style in each of the four quadrants of the RPM.

In presenting the characteristics of each of the quadrants, I will consider both the dimensions of the axes and the main policing style adopted under those influences. The vertical axis of the RPM considers a move from low to high non-human structures and cultures and in this movement, goes from more person-oriented systems to more task-oriented systems. In the same way, the horizontal axis sees a move from low levels of external influences from corporate agencies, thus policing structures and systems were self – determined. As the influences of corporate agencies increases, police organisations become more externally dependent. This defines the quadrants in terms of the dimensions of the grid, resulting in self-determining person-oriented, self-determining task-oriented, externally-dependent task-oriented and externally-dependent person-oriented quadrants. I will use The Relational Policing Matrix (RPM) to help the reader to understand the complex relationships between police structures/culture and corporate agencies (both internal and external to the police). However, the main contribution of the RPM is that it helps the reader to fully conceptualise the changing characteristics of police organisations over time.

In Chapter 5 (Case study analysis: Governance and cultural changes), the data collected from two case studies (comprising 18 semi-structured interviews) following an Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methodology Smith et al. (2009), is compared to the existing literature and the RPM.

This chapter seeks to answer:

***RQ1: What are the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of different UK policing governance systems since 1980?***

I will provide the reader with conceptual confirmation of the changing characteristics present in policing organisations in response to the ongoing governance changes for each quadrant of the RPM. This gives a clear picture of the impact of

governance changes on the structure/culture of UK police organisations across the relevant time frame. The results of data analysis presented in Chapter 5 lead to the development of two propositions linked to the characteristics of police organisations: -

**Proposition 1: - *The (changing) characteristics of social, structural and corporate agency governance can be explained relationally through a new conceptual Relational Policing Matrix.***

Thus, in Chapter 5, I will take the reader through the data and show how, Proposition 1 arises from an examination of the four quadrants formed by the RPM. Each of the four quadrants, emerges from the interaction between non-human structures and corporate agency. Each of the quadrants, develops distinct characteristics that emerge in response to the prevalent governance at that moment. This produces a visualisation of the changing nature of policing in response to ongoing governance changes over time. Of importance, for police leaders and policy makers, are the current dimensions and characteristics of the RPM and their effect on police officers and organisations. Therefore, emerging from the development of the RPM is proposition 2: -

**Proposition 2: - *In terms of where we are now, the absence of NPM social structures and the influences of many corporate agencies operate together, resulting in a neo-traditional policing style.***

Thus, in Chapter 5, I will use the RPM, to show how the characteristics of two of the quadrants emerge as a reaction to high levels of non-human structures/culture (task oriented) and two of the quadrants are the response to low levels of non-human structures/culture (person oriented). I will use the RPM to highlight, for the reader, how adherence to managerialism and management by numbers removed any sense of human social forms from police structures and behaviour. Furthermore, the characteristics of two of the quadrants emerge as a reaction to low levels of corporate agency (self-determining) and two possess characteristics in response to high levels of corporate agency (externally-dependent). I will show how increasing influence attached to the actions of corporate agents affects police organisational behaviour. Therefore, where Chapter 3 began to answer RQ1 from a theoretical position, Chapter 5 adds the analysis of the data to the theoretical arguments. In this way, the two propositions combined,

provide the reader with insights into the way that police officers perceptions inform changing police structures and culture.

In Chapter 6 (Case study analysis: Personal lived experiences and feelings), I will use a further analysis of the data. In this chapter, the focus moves away from the organisational characteristics, identified by the RPM, turning to the meanings and feelings attached by serving police officers to their own personal lived experiences.

This chapter seeks to address:

***RQ2: How have police officers reacted to the social structural and corporate agency governance changes in UK policing since 1980?***

The results from the data presented in Chapter 6 were collected into two key themes. The first key theme, relates to the de-humanisation of police organisations and the presence of Public Service Motivation (PSM), first introduced by Perry and Wise (1990), in most of the participants. I will use the data to claim PSM influences the feelings police officers attach to key changes in the characteristics present in their organisations. This leads to the development of Proposition 3: -

***Proposition 3: - Reliance upon NPM social structures had a de-humanising effect on UK police organisations.***

In arriving at proposition 3, I will lead the reader through examples of data that highlight negative feelings of the participants. I will show the reader, how the negative feelings arise from a mismatch between the personal motivations of the officer (based on the presence of PSM) and the requirements of policing under high levels of non-human structures/culture. As stated earlier in this chapter, one of the prime motivations for this research is based upon the effects of HM Governments austerity measures. The extent and impact of the changes is well documented in the existing literature (White, 2015; Elliott-Davies, et al., 2016; Boulton, et al., 2017; Grierson, 2017). It is therefore no surprise that the most significant theme emerging from the data is linked to the effects of austerity. Thus, the second key theme emerging from all the participants are their personal reactions to ongoing UK Government austerity measures.

This leads to the development of proposition 4: -

**Proposition 4: - *Police structures and culture since 2010 are greatly affected by the UK Government's austerity measures which have left many police officers feeling stressed and overworked.***

In arriving at proposition 4, there is an enormous amount of relevant data collected in this thesis. I will for example, lead the reader through the officers' feelings of frustration, overwork and fear for public safety. When taken together with the existing literature there is full support for both propositions 3 and 4. Thus, by an examination of the data and comparison to the existing literature I will rely upon the two developed propositions to answer RQ2. The overall structure of the thesis and a brief consideration of the purpose of each chapter are presented in the following two sections (Thesis road map).

### 1.3 Originality and contribution

A major contribution of my thesis is the development of the RPM which is a new conceptual framework. By examining the context of police management through a critical/relational sociological lens my work follows the work of Donati (2007), contributing to the theoretical distinction between human and non-human social forms. In a similar way, I contribute to the work of Archer (1995) and her concepts of social elaboration and the morphogenetic process. Considering police organisations through a lens provided by structures and agency has never been previously attempted and the RPM is therefore an original contribution to knowledge.

In setting the background context for the research, the chronological governance changes in policing between 1980 and 2010 are examined in the background literature chapter. This chapter follows on from the work of Reiner (2010) and Brain (2010), including many of the same elements, for example a consideration of their impact on police organisations. The chapter considers the impact and influence of NPM and new localism on the police organisations and is therefore a contribution to knowledge. Through the analysis of the data I will highlight several areas, however, the key analysis emerges from two areas. These are the de-humanising effect of NPM (1980 – 2010) and



the widening gap between the demand for policing services and police forces capacity to respond.

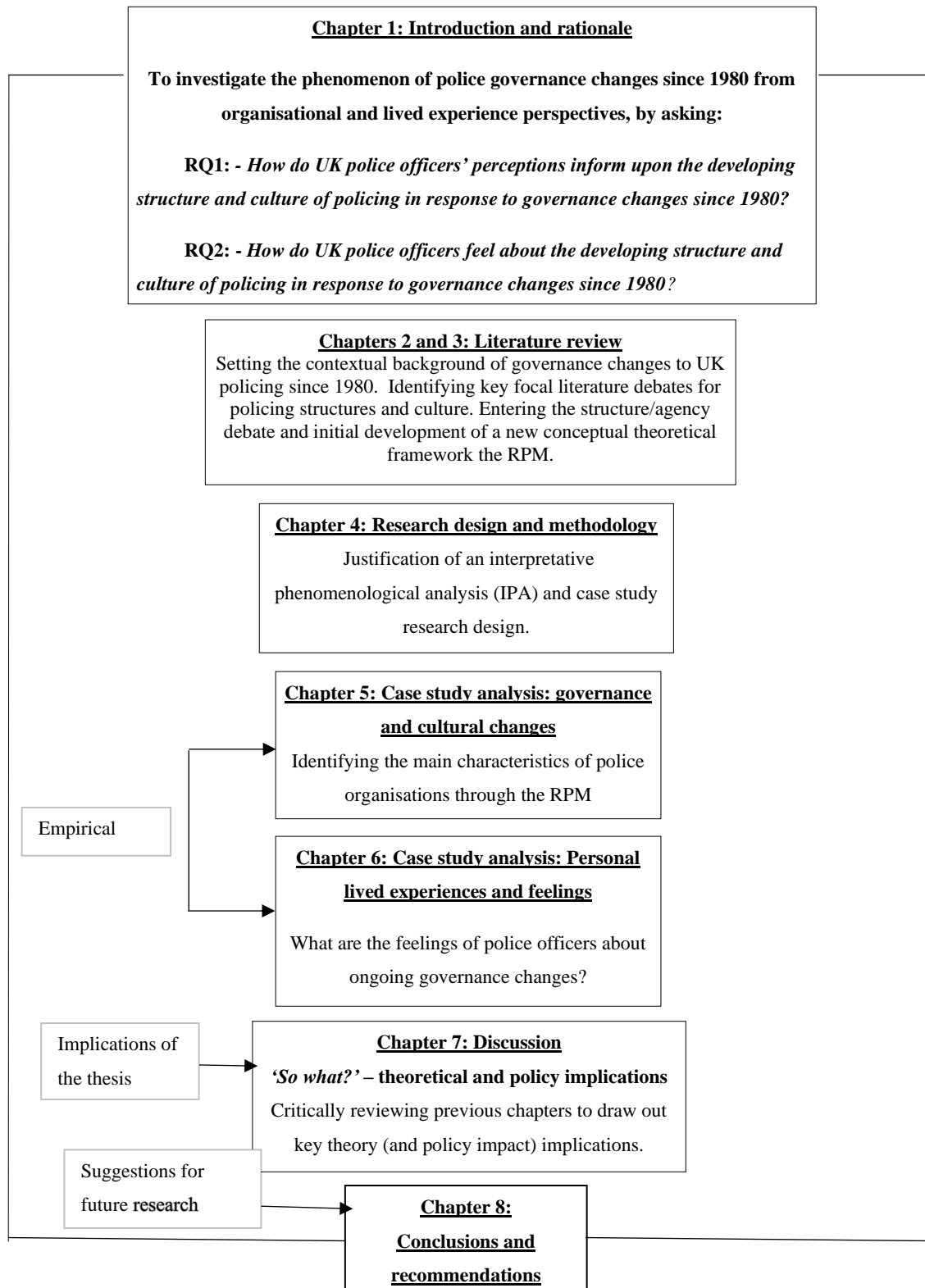
In relation to NPM, I will show how following strict numerically based managerialist practices changed police organisations from people oriented to task oriented and in the process stripped away human social forms. I will show and explain how this process led to the growth of unwanted side effects (De Silva and Chandrika, 2016), or the growth of social pathogens (Donati, 2007). The unwanted side effects emerge as, among other things, dishonest accounting and crime recording practices and a lack of integrity. These kinds of negative effects are harmful for organisations in general but for the police should be avoided at all costs. Therefore, I suggest, an over reliance on numerical goals and targets should be avoided by police leaders and managers and as such my thesis is a contribution for police practice.

In relation to recent financial constraints, I will follow on from the concerns of Winsor (2016), highlighting the growing gulf emerging between demands for police services and the capacity of police forces to deliver. I will use my data to draw the reader's attention to very strong feelings of overwork and stress expressed by the police officers. The participants describe a police officers who are at breaking point, which supports the fears of Gillett (2017), linked to the sharp and alarming increase in police sickness levels linked to mental health problems. Therefore, I suggest that there is an immediate and urgent need for the gap to be reduced, or better still, eliminated and this is a matter for police policy makers.

Having led the reader through the rationale and motivation for my study, I have continued and explained the purpose of my analysis and how the analysis informs the creation of four propositions. In this process, I have given a brief indication of the purpose of individual chapters of my thesis. This can be difficult to visualise and therefore a road map highlighting the purpose and contribution of each chapter has been developed. The purpose of the road map is to enable the reader to quickly understand the structure of my thesis, acting to sign-post key elements. The road map is therefore included: -

## 1.4 Thesis road map

Figure 1: Thesis road map



## 1.5 Summary

This introductory chapter sets the context for my research. It offers a clear rationale and motivation for this study, justifying the need for an investigation of governance changes in UK policing viewed from the perspective of federated rank police officers. Furthermore, this chapter develops a useful research map (see 1.4) to help guide the readers through the various chapters of my thesis. The road map sets the rationale and contribution for each chapter, acting as a single point of reference to signpost and assist with navigation through the thesis.

## 2 Background literature

### 2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the key theoretical contributions made in the field of police governance, focussed mainly upon the three-decade period from 1980 – 2010, thereby setting the background context for the research. Despite the focus of the research being on that specific time frame, some consideration of the ongoing impact of contemporary governance changes in policing since 2010 will also be included, to provide a more complete picture of UK policing since 1980.

Emerging from this literature, are four distinct policing structures and cultures. The first are traditional policing structures and culture, established as a baseline for this study, and for the purposes of this thesis describe UK policing from the Police Act 1964 to the of arrival of the Thatcher Conservative Government in 1979. The next structure and culture emerged as a response to new public management (NPM) was prevalent between 1983 and the end of the last century. The third, arising from new localism between 2000 – 2010, saw the advent of neighbourhood policing (NHP). For both emergent policing styles, that is those under NPM and new localism, there are a wealth of theoretical contributions on which to draw. The fourth and final structure, is still emerging and arises from the sudden removal of numerical targets by the new government in 2010 combined with significant reductions to public sector budgets. Whilst there are four structures emerging from the literature, the first (being policing prior to the focal period of this thesis) merely sets the contextual base line for the changes that were to follow. The fourth structure is the current position in policing and the theoretical contributions and existing texts related to this period are therefore still incomplete. Part of the purpose of this, and the following focal literature review is to establish the theoretical contextual characteristics of policing in response to the ongoing governance changes. Therefore, following the description and examination of the actual governance changes, I will determine the characteristics and nuances of policing structures under the effects of NPM and new localism.

In the existing literature, Reiner (2010) and Brain (2010), have compiled a complete chronological breakdown of governance changes affecting the UK police, between 1980 – 2010. Brain (2010), in his book, makes a detailed examination of UK policing since 1972, and Reiner, (2010, pp. 261-264) includes an appendix ‘Chronology of Police History’ that provides a simple list of key events in UK policing history from 1785 to 2009. Reiner’s list contains many of the governance changes covered here, however this background literature chapter, rather than just listing the changes also provides a breakdown of key academic sources and a consideration of the effect on policing of those changes and seeks to establish the changing characteristics of policing in England and Wales.

In the final sections of the chapter, I will undertake a brief examination of the challenges facing the police since 2010 and begin to develop an idea of some of the new emerging characteristics. The final structure of the chapter includes this introduction, followed by an exploration of governance changes, the characteristics of policing under NPM, the characteristics of policing in response to new localism and a final chapter summary. To aid the reader with navigation of the chapter and signpost key elements a road map is provided on the following page: -

Figure 2: Background literature road map



## 2.2 The golden years (1950 – 1979)

This thesis is concerned with the governance of UK police forces during the four-decade period commencing around the arrival of the Conservative Government under Margaret Thatcher in 1979. The events and characteristics of UK policing leading into this period have some salience, particularly the picture of policing in the 1970's. According to Garland (2001), the UK between 1950–1973 went through an unprecedented period of economic growth and increasing prosperity giving rise to the 'Dixonesque', myth of the golden era of policing. The image of policing in this period was reflected in the first empirical police research, which was the work of Michael Banton, titled 'The Policeman in The Community' Banton (1964) cited by Reiner and Newburn (2007).

The reality was a far grittier, flawed and imperfect application of policing, including the frequent use of illicit investigation methods and police deviance as depicted in the ethnographic study of Skolnick (1975, 2011). This was clearly shown by the growing move away from celebratory descriptive studies of the police in the 1960's (Reiner, 1998; Loveday, 2000b), to a trend of focussing on police deviance in the research of the 1970's (Holdaway, 1982; Reiner and Newburn, 2007). During this period of focus on police deviance some writers, Graef (1989) for example, make a distinction between hard core and soft-core corruption. Here, hard core corruption refers to serious misconduct like the taking of bribes from criminal gangs or the commission of offences by police officers which was found to operate on a large scale in the Metropolitan Police during the 1960's and 1970's. Soft core corruption was described as the accepting of gifts, sleeping on duty or other more minor forms of police deviance (Graef, 1989). Included in the consideration of corruption is the concept of noble cause corruption, as described by Skolnick (1975, 2011), which was the practice of creating false evidence to ensure a conviction, usually in the form of false admissions. The growing feeling of mistrust of the police in the UK resulted in The Police Act 1964, which was created on the back of the 1962 Royal Commission, which was in turn implemented to explore rising concerns about police corruption, accountability and complaints (Reiner, 2010). The Police Act 1964 confirmed the governance structures, for provincial police forces, that had been developed over the previous 100 years. The Act described the responsibility of the local

police authority (LPA), its main role was to secure the maintenance of an adequate and efficient police force for the area. The LPA had the power to appoint the chief constable, and in the interests of efficiency to secure the chief officers' retirement, the latter, only with the agreement of the Home Office. The Home Office were responsible for the annual funding and the chief constable for deciding the operational priorities and day to day running of the force (Gilmore, 2012; Newburn, 2012; Sampson, 2012, Millie and Bullock, 2013; Wood, 2016). The tripartite nature of governance, created by the Police Act 1964, gave the Police Forces of the UK a unique position in relation to other public-sector organisations, in that it granted the police a high degree of operational independence (Gilling, 2013). This operational independence formed a significant barrier to later governmental attempts to impose managerial regimes upon the police (Gilling, 2013).

The second half of the 1970's was underlined by a growing public concern over sudden rising levels of rising crime, perpetuated by the outpourings of the popular press and the uptake of an interest in the 'new wave of muggings' (Hall et al., 1978, 2013). The focus of police research at this moment in time remained fixated upon police deviance again, highlighted in the work of Skolnick (1975, 2011). His work was a detailed ethnographic study of a busy urban US police department, and it included many examples of 'deviant' police behaviour. Skolnick (1975, 2011) was also the first to consider the culture of police officers and departments, although, he did not coin the term police culture, instead he referred to the 'police working personality'. It was, however, his depiction of the tough macho male dominated canteen behaviour that led to the proliferation of interest in police culture, particularly what is often referred to as a 'canteen culture' seen after that time. For example, Rose (1996) posits that the earlier described 'canteen culture' of UK policing changed rapidly at the end of the 1970's as a direct response to vastly improved pay and conditions emerging out of the 1979 Edmund Davies Report into police pay and conditions. The change of police culture may well also have been part of the wider changes in social thinking also emerging at that time. During the late 1970's, there was a sudden shift away from the penal welfarism and concern with the rehabilitation of offenders that had been the norm since the late 1800's (Garland, 2001). The earlier welfarism, with crime as a social problem, was suddenly replaced by unbounded managerialism with the focus being more on offender punishment and the



interests of the victim than on the behaviour of the offender (Garland, 2001). In his exploration of the sudden shift in paradigms, Garland cites the report of the Working Party of the American Friends Service Committee as the catalyst of the sudden global move away from rehabilitation methods.

The discussion of pre- 1980's policing has to this point been deliberately brief, as the focus of the thesis is the period between 1980 – 2010. However, the period at the end of the 1970's, is important, as it sets the basis from which the changes, circumstances and characteristics of UK policing going forward can be compared. The concerns of the public, linked to rising crime (Hall et al., 1978) appear to be genuine, for example, Loveday (1996) states there was a 56% rise in recorded crime between 1979 – 1990 and Reiner (2007) indicates that there was a massive rise in crime in the UK after the 1970's. A further, more detailed, discussion of crime rates, clear up rates and the use of crime figures as a measure of effective police performance, is more relevant to policing under new public management (NPM) and as such will be presented during a consideration of NPM later in this chapter.

### 2.3 UK public police governance (1980 – 2010 and beyond)

The commencement of the 1980's for UK policing, was punctuated by serious public disorder in the Bristol riots of 1980 and the Brixton riots of 1981 (Brain, 2010). As an immediate response to the violence of the Brixton riots the government launched the Scarman Inquiry in April 1981. The intent of the Scarman Inquiry was to identify and address the issues of racial unrest in the UK's inner cities. At the same time, with growing concerns over deviant police behaviour and corruption, the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedures (RCCP) was also launched (Newburn, 1999; Brain, 2010). The Scarman Report was published in 1982 and was responsible for several changes to policing, including the introduction of diversity training for all police officers. The most significant, was a real paradigm shift, with a move from police forces to police services and the beginnings of a consideration of more community based, rather than purely reactive policing (Alderson 1998, Savage, 2007). The rise of community policing as a direct result of the Scarman Report is also presented by Rose (1996). Despite the impact

of Scarman on the face of UK policing for the better, it has still received significant criticism, linked to Scarman's refusal to label the Metropolitan Police Service as institutionally racist, which was in fact one of the key analysis of the Macpherson Report (1999) (Savage, 2007). Thus, the 1980's began a turbulent period of rapid change for UK policing that shows no signs of slowing down (Brain, 2010). During this period of public sector reform in the 1980's, police organisations, saw the introduction of NPM (Maguire, 2002). This included the introduction of 'Best Value' and a shift from social welfarism to managerialism (Long, 2003). This was accompanied by a change in social focus from the offender and their potential rehabilitation to a focus on the behaviour of crime victims and the circumstances of the offence (Maguire, 2002). This period of rapid change for police forces in the UK was accompanied by a proliferation of police studies and a focus on police reform as evidenced by 30 studies completed between 1972 and 1994 all of which claimed to be a new paradigm for policing (Brodeur, 1998).

Maguire (2002) discusses the introduction of the British Crime Survey (BCS) in 1982, which highlights, what was a growing governmental fascination with police performance linked to crime figures. The BCS was an independent survey of 40,000 participants intended to give a clearer picture of UK crime patterns than the, already discredited, official police statistics. The introduction of the BCS, immediately revealed the gulf between actual and recorded crime, dubbed the 'dark figure' of crime, but even the BCS did not, and still does not, capture the true picture of the 'total amount of crime' as it concentrates on a limited number of selected categories (Maguire, 2002). Again, as previously stated, a more detailed consideration of the impact of crime figures is presented later in this chapter. In addition to the BCS, Brain (2010) states that key features of 1982 for UK policing, were the already mentioned publication of the Scarman Report and the publication of the Police Bill (1982). This government bill was developed from the recommendations the 1981 RCCP and was therefore concerned with preventing or at least reducing the incidence of deviant police behaviour, and later became The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984.

The first governance changes for UK policing, linked to the emergence of NPM in public sector organisations, occurred in 1983 and became the catalyst for around 30 further governance changes between 1983 – 2011. These further governance changes

occurring between 1983 – 2011 will be discussed in the following sections of the chapter, but, for ease of reference, are listed in the following table, along with details of the key academic sources and a brief synopsis of the changes and their impact: -

*Table 1: Governance changes 1983 - 2011*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Governance change</b>	<b>Synopsis of Changes/ Impact</b>	<b>Authors</b>
1983	Home Office Circular 114/83  (commencement of NPM in UK policing)	Introduced financial management initiative. 'Value for Money' and economy, effectiveness and efficiency on the policing agenda for the first time. Intended to curb what government saw as inefficient use of public resources.	Reiner (1998, 2010), Long (2003), Savage (2007), Cockcroft and Beattie (2009), De Maillard and Savage (2012), Gilling (2013)
1983	Financial management initiative	'Value for Money' and economy, effectiveness and efficiency introduced in response to HOC 114/83	Reiner (1998), Savage (2007), De Maillard and Savage (2012), Gilling (2013) Loader (2016)
1984	Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984	Wide ranging changes linked to detention, treatment and questioning of police suspects.	Reiner (2007)
1987	HMIC: - Police performance indicators matrix	Introduction of 435 police performance measures. Increasing the control of policing from the centre	Loveday (1999), Reiner (2010), De Maillard and Savage (2012)
1989	The Morgan Report	Police accountability	Brown (1996), Brain (2010), IPC (2013)
1990 + (1991)	White paper: Crime Justice + Protecting the Public + (Criminal Justice Act 1991)	Introduced a just deserts rationale to the criminal justice system with respect to the treatment of offenders.	Garland (2001)
1991	Chief Inspector of Constabulary annual report	Recommendation for locally controlled Basic Command Unit structure.	Gilling (2013)
1993	White paper police reform	Fighting crime, as the primary role of police introduced for the first time. Home Office imposed national policing objectives Performance	Loveday (1996), Reiner (2010) De Maillard and Savage (2012), Gilling (2013), Brain (2010)

		indicators and league tables. Tightening central control	
1993	Sheehy Report	Police pay and conditions: - Suggesting short contracts and performance related pay and other recommendations linked to pensions and performance	Reiner (1998, 2010), Davies (1993), Coyles (1993) Loader (2016), Brain (2010)
1994	Police and Magistrates Court Act	Consolidated 1993 White paper and some elements from Sheehy Report. Intended to create a more 'business like' public police.	Reiner (2010), Gilling (2013), Loveday (2000b), Loader (2016), Scott, 1998)
1995	Audit Commission	Statutory national police performance indicators. Further reliance on numerical systems to drive performance	De Maillard and Savage (2012), Gilling (2013), Savage (2007)
1997	HMIC, most similar forces	Grouped police forces into 'most similar' families allowing easy comparison of high/low performers	De Maillard and Savage (2012)
1997	Macpherson Report commenced	Inquiry into the investigation of the murder of Stephen Lawrence.	Brain (2010)
1998	National intelligence model (NIM) launched	Set procedures for intelligence led policing on a national level	Brain (2010); Maguire and John (2006)
1999	HMIC: - Report on Police Integrity	Highlights an emerging trend of growing un-ethical practices to improve performance against the statutory indicators. (First indication of negative effects linked to numerical goals and targets)	Cockcroft and Beattie (2009)
1999	HMSO modernising government	Pushing police reform agenda and increasing managerialism	Savage (2007)
1999	Local Government Act	Local authority responsible for a continuous improvement in police performance	Long (2003)
1999	Macpherson Report published	Metropolitan police branded as 'institutionally racist' professionally incompetent and lacking direction	Long (2003)
2000	Best value (advent of changes under new localism – conflicted policing)	Further extended performance measures and drew other local service providers into the assessment process.	Collier (2006), De Maillard and Savage (2012)

2001	Home Office: -Policing a new century: A blueprint for reform	BCU's placed into 'similar groups' allowing comparisons at foot beat level and increasing micro-control by central government	De Maillard and Savage (2012, 2017), Gilling (2013), Fleming and McLaughlin (2012), Savage (2007), Brain (2010)
2001	Criminal Justice and Police Act	Implementation of the 2001 Home Office recommendations	Reiner (2010), Wasik (2001), Loader (2016)
2002	Police Reform Act	Created police standards unit (PSU). First national policing plan and additionally introduction of neighbourhood policing (NHP)	Cockcroft and Beattie (2009), Barton and Barton (2011), De Maillard and Savage (2012), Reiner (2010)
2003	HO consultative document, Building Safer Communities Together	Challenged the managerialist regime and Stressed the urgent need to reduce central control pushing a strong localised agenda.	Gilling (2013), Fleming and McLaughlin (2012), Savage (2007)
2004	PSU, NPCC, APA, HMIC: - Managing police performance	Pushed the managerialist regime, continued measurement against targets and strong performance culture.	Barton and Barton (2011)
2004	White paper; - Building communities, beating crime	Stressed government's commitment to NHP and the national neighbourhood policing program	Gilling (2013), Fleming and McLaughlin (2012), Brain (2010)
2006	HMIC; Closing the gap	Business case recommending reducing the number of police force through mergers. This would enable far tighter control from central government	Reiner (2010), Brain (2010)
2008	Flanagan Report	Suggested relaxation of central control and abandoning of majority of policing targets. Pushed more customer service-oriented agenda	Barton and Barton (2011), Gilling (2013), De Maillard and Savage (2012), Brain (2010)
2008	Home Office Circular: Improving Public Confidence	'Improving Public Confidence, replaced the target performance framework	De Maillard and Savage (2012), Gilling (2013)
2009	CAA, effective partnership	Closer partnership working at a local level emphasising a relaxation of central controls	Barton and Barton (2011)
2010	White paper: - Policing the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century	Pushed for an immediate removal of the remaining police targets and performance indicators	De Maillard and Savage (2012), Gilling (2013)

(Neo traditional policing styles)			
2011	Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act	Endorsed and implemented the content of the 2010 white paper. Replacement of LPA by Police Crime Commissioners.	Gilling (2013), Williams (2012) Loader (2016), Mawby and Smith (2017)

Considering police governance between 1983 – 1999, the nature of policing was guided by the influences of NPM. The first indication that government intended to impose a managerialist regime on the UK public police came in 1983 in Home Office circular 114/83, it was this paper that created the financial management initiative (FMI) (Reiner, 1998, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Gilling, 2013; Loader, 2016). The expression “value for money” was introduced in Home Office circular 114/83 and represented the first implementation of New Public Management (NPM) for the UK public police (Savage, 2007; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). The FMI, laid down by the then Conservative Government under Margaret Thatcher, started the control from the centre, focusing on the three E’s of economy, efficiency and effectiveness. With a clear focus on objective based management and performance management, the FMI was driven by the view that all public service organisations were inefficient and wasteful of public resources (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). During their term, as well as implementing the ethos of NPM, the Thatcher Government successfully managed to change the image of public sector employees from selfless professionals to self-interested, inefficient empire-builders in need of far greater central control (Long, 2003).

Whilst not strictly a governance change per se, the UK miners’ strike of 1984-85 had a massive impact on the face of UK policing. It was the first time that new public order tactics suggested as part of the Scarman Report (1982) were used to control large crowds and violent disorder, in this case against picketing miners (Alderson, 1998). There was during this year long dispute a shift in the public image of UK police, from friendly local ‘bobby’ to that of a quasi-military national police force who were in effect the enforcement arm of an unrelenting government (Alderson 1998). The use of UK police forces to tackle the striking miners in this manner caused the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) to express concern over this treatment of the police (Savage, 2007). At the same time a very significant piece of legislation, the Police and Criminal

Evidence Act (1984) (PACE), was also passed, not coming into effect until 1985, was intended to prevent further miscarriages of justice due to deviant police behaviour and the creation of false confessions. The actual impact of PACE was at that time greatly disputed, and it is claimed that it failed to deliver the balanced set of safeguards that it was intended to deliver (Reiner, 2007). However, it did successfully transform the position of suspects in police custody in positive ways and greatly reduced the possibility of the gross abuses and miscarriages of justice that occurred during the 1970's (Reiner, 2007). Reiner (2010), states that until the introduction of FMI Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary (HMIC) had been not much more than a loose advisory body made up of retired chief constables, but their role was to change and rapidly. The first significant change was the introduction by HMIC, in 1987, of the computer-based matrix of police indicators (Reiner, 2010). This matrix consisted of some, 435, individual measures of police activity Loveday (1999). It was at this time that inspections began to collate considerable amounts of data about numerous aspects of public police activity, for central government, shaping the face of policing from the centre (Reiner, 2010). It was apparent in the sheer numbers of performance indicators that both HMIC and the Audit Commission had an interest in developing genuine indicators of police performance, not linked to crime, but despite this, the focus remained on recorded crime and clear up rates (Reiner, 1998). Across this period of the late 1980's there were several contradictory police studies emerging from the growth of new realism (Brown, 1996; Reiner and Newburn, 2007). The most 'obvious' was 'New Left Realism', directly opposed to the 'New Right Realism' of the Conservative Government and Home Office. Although they differed, both were fixed upon the idea that "*the police needed to develop new practical, effective tactics for crime control*" (Reiner and Newburn, 2007 pp.350). According to Reiner (1989), one manifestation of the 'New Right Realism' was a keen eye on new police initiatives from Home Office research, the intention being to provide constructive criticism and ultimately to recognise good police practice. However, at the same time those that espoused 'New Left Realism' remained sceptical and critical of Home Office police research.

The last year of the 1980's saw the acquittal of the four men convicted of the 1974 Guilford pub bombing based on new technology, the electrostatic detection

apparatus (ESDA). Rose (1996) claims this technology proved the interviewing police officers had inserted additional sheets into the suspects interviews, making their confessions highly questionable, a prime example of noble cause corruption described by Skolnick (1975, 2011). It must be stressed, that at the time of the investigation (1974), the protections to suspects offered by PACE 1984, were not yet in place. Rose (1996, p.124) makes this very point, himself: - “*unsigned verbal admissions – present in 40 percent of London cases in 1980 – did not figure at all in post PACE research*”. The final event of the decade for UK policing was the publication of the 1989 Morgan Report: The Police Function and The Investigation of Crime (Independent Police Commission, 2013). According to Brown (1996), the Morgan Report performed an important accountability function by describing the constitutional position of the police. It was also suggested by the report that the police alone could not hope to reduce crime rates, the report therefore pushed the multiagency approach as the way to proceed and was responsible for replacing the term ‘crime prevention’ with ‘community safety’ (Brain, 2010).

Building on the growing consensus that offenders should be punished and not rehabilitated, as a move away from welfarism, the first event of the new decade was the 1990 White Paper ‘Crime Justice and Protecting the Public’. This later became the ‘Criminal Justice Act 1991’, a piece of legislation that had a distinctly ‘just deserts’ rationale (Garland, 2001). The Criminal Justice Act 1991 highlighted the Conservative Government’s appetite for police reform (Garland, 2001). Indeed, the rate of change for police organisations, already at unprecedented levels, was about to shift into a higher gear. This increasing desire for police reform was apparent when concern was expressed by the 1990 Operational Policing Review, who claimed that government were putting too much pressure on the police and current trends would be likely to see an end to the traditional concept of policing (Brown, 1996). Introduced in the report: ‘Effective Performance Review in Police Forces 1990’, the police would now ‘benefit’ from two regulating bodies, HMIC and the Audit Commission, resulting in much more intensive performance reviews (Brain, 2010). It is probable, but somewhat anecdotal, that the concerns of the Operational Policing Review were made in response to the Effective Performance Review in Police Forces. However, the heightened influence of HMIC, created by its ability to



name and shame poorly performing or non-compliant police forces, could be seen in the 1991 annual report of the Chief Inspector of Constabulary (Gilling, 2013). In the 1991 report the Chief Inspector or Constabulary endorsed and supported the 1991 Audit Commission Report which strongly criticised the top-heavy over bureaucratic divisional structures, recommending a move to locally controlled Basic Command Units (BCU) (Gilling, 2013). The strength of the influence of HMIC at this time was evidenced by the fact that, by the end of 1991, 28 of the 43 police forces in the UK had already adopted the new BCU structure (Gilling, 2013).

Following in the footsteps of the Guilford Four scandal, another major police investigation came under scrutiny of the press in March 1991 when a second set of convictions linked to Irish republican terrorism from 1974 were overturned. On this occasion the six men linked to the 1974 Birmingham pub bombing were acquitted and the actions of the West Midlands Serious Crime Squad were brought into question (Brain, 2010). It is almost certain that the unsafe convictions of the Guilford four in 1989 and then the Birmingham Six in 1991 acted as a catalyst for further police reform as a Royal Commission chaired by Lord Runciman was announced on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1991, the same day as the acquittal of the Birmingham Six (Brain, 2010). By now, senior police officers were under great pressure linked to police reform and more effective performance, and it is therefore no surprise that they chose 1991 as the ideal moment to express their combined view of the purpose of public police forces. This was achieved by the 1991 Police Service Statement of Common Purpose, which was in effect an articulation of the concept of traditional British policing claiming responsibility for crime prevention, law enforcement, peace keeping, the maintenance of order and a diffuse service role (Cassels, 1996; Brain, 2010).

The next significant change is discussed by De Maillard and Savage (2012) and came from the 1993 Police Reform white paper introduced by the then Home Secretary, Kenneth Clarke. When discussing the content of the white paper Loveday (1996), states that it often argued the clarity and purpose of the police was lacking going on to point out that only 18% of calls were crime related and only around 40% of police time was spent dealing with crime. This paper introduced the idea that crime fighting was the primary role of the police and was the first time that the public police were held responsible for

crime rates (De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Gilling, 2013; Loader, 2016). The 1993 Police reform white paper also proposed the introduction of new powers for the secretary of state to impose national policing objectives backed by publishable performance standards (De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Gilling, 2013). The 1993 white paper was intended to drive home and standardise the management of performance, using central performance indicators and league tables, in much the same way as already in place in health and education (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). It is on the back of this fascination with crime as a measure of police success that the Posen Inquiry (1995) 'Police Core and Ancillary Tasks' was commenced, its purpose being to identify those tasks that could only be completed by the 'regular' police and those tasks that could be undertaken by others (Savage, 2007). The creation of the Posen Inquiry (1995) reflected a firm view in the UK Government that rising crime was the province of the police, but the answer was not extra resources, their primary focus was directed towards fighting crime (Loveday, 2000b). Both Coyles (1993) and Davies (1993) examine the Sheehy Report which was published during the same week as the police reform white paper 1993. The Sheehy Report investigated police pay and conditions and made several recommendations, for example, short term contracts for police officers and performance related pay Changes envisaged in the 1993 Police reform white paper (Coyles, 1993; Davies, 1993; Reiner, 1998, 2010; Brain, 2010; Loader, 2016). To a certain extent, some of those in the Sheehy Report (1993), were enacted in the Police and Magistrates Courts Act 1994 (Reiner, 2010; Gilling, 2013). The 1993 Police Reform white paper and the 1993 Sheehy Report, together with the Police and Magistrates Courts Act 1994 formed a governmental policy package, aimed at creating a 'more business-like' public police, constrained by market disciplines and values, to provide greater economy and efficiency (Reiner, 2010).

The activity of the Audit Commission in 1995 is explored by De Maillard and Savage (2012), who claim the audit commission pushed the police to fully accept the ethos of performance management which reflected the New Public Management (NPM) agenda in the rest of the public sector. This was evidenced when the audit commission used the powers granted in the 1994 Police and Magistrates Courts Act (MCA), to introduce the first set of statutory national police performance indicators (De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Gilling, 2013; Tiwana et al., 2015). Following on the heels of the 1993

Police Reform white paper the Magistrates Courts Act 1994 ensured that the government exerted increased central control over the public police, imposing and publishing performance indicators, to significantly influence police activity (Loveday, 2000a, 2000b; Loader, 2016). Not coming as a governance change but as a response to Scarman (1982) and reflected in the community policing approach advocated by Alderson (1998), in 1993 the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) introduced sector policing to replace their more traditional reactive response team setup (Scott, 1998). Through sectorisation, the MPS wanted to encourage their rank-and-file frontline officers to move away from action-centred crime fighting to a much more community-oriented problem-solving approach. An immediate problem for the MPS was that the MCA 1994 was crime focussed and introduced many key performance indicators that had nothing to do with sector policing or community problem solving (Scott, 1998).

The middle of the 1990's decade was punctuated by the publication of the Posen Inquiry in 1995, with its focus on identifying essential police roles in order to provide more time for crime fighting functions. The effect of the Posen Inquiry (1995) saw the civilianisation of several police roles, for example the old police scenes of crime officers (SOCO's) became the new civilian crime scene investigators (CSI's) (Loveday, 2000b; Independent Police Commission, 2013). Also published that year, by the audit commission, were the first police National Performance Indicators which immediately allowed for a force by force comparison and produced the first set of 'league tables' (Savage, 2007). Cassels (1996) considered the underpinning of several major police inquiries from the early 1990's, including Sheehy and Posen, and claimed that they all assumed that the role and responsibilities of the police were not only well known but also subject to a consensus, which was in fact not the case and there was no consensus. It also became the trend in the late 1990's for police research to move away from an interest in police deviant behaviour to a focus on police efficiency and effectiveness, interestingly, very much in line with police governance at that time (Reiner, 1998). Whilst perfectly aligned to the governments NPM managerial agenda, the shift in research focus was possibly a little premature, given the comments of the report 'Police Integrity' HMIC (1999), cited by Loveday (2000b): -

*“Increasingly aggressive performance culture has emerged as a major factor affecting integrity – some forces trawl the margins for detections and use every means to portray their performance in a good light”*

(HMIC 1999, pp.19)

The arrival of the ‘New Labour’ Government in 1997, saw the launch of the Macpherson Inquiry into the MPS investigation of the 1993 murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence. The report was published after two years and was a landmark for police reform, as it saw an introduction of diversity training for all police officers and staff and set out rules for the investigation of ‘racially aggravated’ offences (Brain, 2010). Another impact of the arrival of ‘New Labour’ for the police was the response of HMIC who grouped the police forces of the UK into their most similar families, allowing for greater comparison between high and low performers (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). This increase of control of the police from the centre was a true reflection of the intention of the New Labour Government to make public sector organisations far less autonomous and interdependent (Long, 2003). The final event of 1997 was the publication of the Crime and Disorder Bill which then became law in 1998 (Brain, 2010). The intention of the government to reform the police was highlighted as a part of the much wider agenda of public sector reform seen in the HMSO (1999) publication ‘modernising government’ (Savage, 2007). This government publication pushed for more joined up public services (improved interagency working), the introduction (or expansion) of performance related pay, an increased focus on ‘delivering’ results and much closer monitoring of public services with increased use of performance management (Savage, 2007). The crime fighting function imposed upon the police under the 1993 white paper again came to the fore with the 1999 creation of the Crime Fighting Fund, that had one goal, and this was a significant increase in numbers of police officers (Brain, 2010). The final major event of the decade was the 1999 publication of the Macpherson Report, which finally introduced the expression ‘institutionally racist’, which some including Savage (2007) would argue, should have been identified by Scarman (1982). The Report also labelled the MPS as professionally incompetent and lacking direction and organisation.

By this time, late in the last century, the managerialism inherent in systems under NPM were firmly embedded on the policing landscape. However, the turn of the century also began to see a turn in direction in which the public police were being steered. The following section of the chapter will concentrate on the decade commencing in April 2000 with the growth of new localism and introduction of neighbourhood policing whilst remaining under enormous pressure and micro-control by the Home Office.

Following the NPM years, central focus shifted and between 2000 – 2009 UK police forces came under the growing influences of new localism. Despite the concerns of the HMIC raised in their 1999 report the expression ‘best value’ was introduced to the police in April 2000 and delivered new and extended performance measures (Collier, 2006). Under best value, the government placed much greater emphasis on drawing comparisons between police forces and other service providers in the local community, this being the first indication of an attempt to increase community engagement (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). Along with the, by now, standard performance indicators such as crime levels or efficiency they also attempted to include some measures of quality, for example levels of public user satisfaction or fair access indicators, showing a desire to fit into the governments citizen focussed agenda (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). According to Long and Silverman (2005), the government’s intention was to empower middle managers, however the process brought with it significant unintended side effects, potentially as a reaction to the naming, shaming and blaming of police managers.

After the 2001 general election, David Blunkett replaced Jack Straw as the Home Secretary and had as his goal the tackling of the bureau-professional resistance of the police. He arrived with a strong reputation for top-down micro-control, hitting the ground running and applying extreme managerialist pressure with his first paper, “Home Office: Policing a New Century: A Blueprint for Reform 2001” (Savage, 2007; Brain, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Fleming and McLaughlin, 2012; Gilling, 2013). Savage (2007) posits that, the 2001 white paper, together with later Green Paper Policing: Building safer Communities Together (Home Office 2003), launched a government programme for police reform which it labelled as ‘radical’. This ‘radical’ police reform was delivered in two phases; the first phase had a focus on governance and regulation of the police and as such was characterised by centralism and micro control; the second

phase began the implementation of a more community-based approach supported by an ethos of localism (Savage, 2007). Fleming and McLaughlin (2012) are among several authors who describe the effects of the blueprint for reform. One effect was to place BCU's into groups of families in a similar fashion to that already adopted for police forces and tasked HMIC with undertaking ongoing inspections of BCU performance (Fleming and Mclaughlin, 2012; Gilling, 2013). The 2001 blueprint paper was created to address an apparent crisis in policing, the Home Office believed that levels of recorded crime were too high, fear of crime was too high, detection rates were too low and there was too much variance in apparent performance between police forces (Fleming and Mclaughlin, 2012; Gilling, 2013). The Blueprint for Reform led to the creation of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 (Wasik, 2001; Reiner, 2010; Loader, 2016) rapidly followed by the Police Reform Act 2002 (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). Also, suggested in the 2001 Blueprint for Reform paper was the creation of the Police Standards Unit (PSU) intended to complete the inspections of BCU performance (Reiner, 2010; Loader, 2016). The following year, 2002, saw further implementation of the recommendations of the 2001 Blueprint for Reform in the "Police Reform Act 2002", including the creation of the PSU, this was a pivotal piece of legislation consolidating far greater central government control of policing, through the first national policing plan (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Brain, 2010; Reiner, 2010; Barton and Barton, 2011; De Maillard and Savage, 2012). Local BCU commanders were still expected to deliver on local policing strategies whilst at the same time giving full regard to the national policing plan, and the introduction of Neighbourhood Policing (NHP) (Reiner, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Loader, 2016). In 2003 the Home Office published a further paper, the Consultative Document: "Building safer communities together", which stressed a need to reduce central control and heavily pushed a localised agenda, suggesting far greater community engagement (Savage, 2007; Fleming and Mclaughlin, 2012; Gilling, 2013, 2014). The 2003 consultative document challenged the principal-agent theory basis of the previous managerialist regime and was published whilst the reforms of the Police Reform Act 2002 were still embedding, the haste of this change in direction showing governments acceptance of the need for a new approach (Gilling, 2013). Whilst the changes went ahead apace, Fleming and Mclaughlin (2012) and Gilling (2013) explain the difficulty faced by police leadership due to the mixed messages coming from the Labour

Government. Government approach to policing in this period was confused because the government espoused the need for greater localism whilst at the same time still driving the centralist agenda (Fleming and Mclaughlin, 2012; Gilling, 2013). This can be seen more clearly by looking at the 2004 white paper *Building Communities, Beating Crime*, which affirmed the government's commitment to NHP and pushed the creation of the ambitious national neighbourhood policing program (Brain, 2010; Fleming and Mclaughlin, 2012; Gilling, 2013). In stark contrast was the joint consultative document, created by the Police Standards Unit (PSU) (created under the Police Reform Act 2002) together with the Association Chief Police officers (ACPO) and HMIC in 2004, "Managing Police Performance". This document pushed a strong managerialist agenda of continued measurement against the existing performance indicators and strong culture of performance management (Barton and Barton, 2011). The centralist theme of NPM had not produced the expected results in terms of improved performance and had met greater resistance from police managers than had been experienced in other public sectors, leading to increased scrutiny of police behaviour (Barton and Barton, 2011). Therefore in 2006 HMIC published the report "Closing the Gap", which was effectively an extended business case exploring and promoting the amalgamation of the existing 43 police forces into far fewer strategic forces allowing far greater central control (Reiner, 2010, Gilling, 2014). When commenting on the report 'Closing the Gap' Brain (2010), describes larger police forces resulting from the loss of several 'smaller' police forces and claims that by the end of the year its flaws and misconceptions were apparent. Reiner (2010) claims there then followed a series of internal governmental crises which resulted in the termination of the then Home Secretary's tenure, being replaced by John Reid. These rapidly developing crises, saw an end to the idea of police force amalgamations, but signalled a clear indication of the continued drive for greater central control of the police (Reiner, 2010).

This left the government in a position where the managerialist drive to control policing through the BCU structure had become derailed (Barton and Barton, 2011) and left the government somewhat confused as to how to proceed, they therefore commissioned Sir Ronnie Flanagan to undertake a review of policing, with the intention to determine how best to sustain neighbourhood policing and to allow local communities

greater control of policing (Brain, 2010; Barton and Barton, 2011; Gilling, 2013, 2014). Flanagan delivered his report in 2008 and it stressed a greater focus on achieving an enhanced customer service orientation, doing away with the overly interventionist performance regime and recommending the creation of a single performance measure, which was how well the public believed the police and local authority were doing at tackling crime and local anti-social behaviour matters (De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Gilling, 2013, 2014). The overall effect of the Flanagan Report was to see the government appear to step away from tight central control, emphasising more local issues and a simplification of the target performance framework to the single measure of improving public confidence, this being activated in the Home Office Circular: “Improving Public Confidence 2008” (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). Also published in 2008 was the HMIC report that confirmed all police forces in England and Wales had successfully implemented neighbourhood policing teams, a requirement of the 2004 white paper ‘Building Communities, Beating Crime’ (Brain, 2010). Some writers, for example Brodeur (1998), favour problem-oriented policing to community-based policing believing that the latter will perpetuate the ‘means over the ends’ syndrome. Indeed, the effectiveness of community-based policing as a means to control crime is questioned by McElroy (1998) where he states that there is no significant effect on burglaries or calls for service, adding fuel to the claim that little of what the police do has any effect on crime rates.

The shift in focus to more localised issues can also be seen in the Comprehensive Area Assessment (CAA) report of April 2009, this concentrated on the experiences of local service users and tax payers, using a local assessment framework, the overall intention being to recognise the need for closer partnership working at the local level (Barton and Barton, 2011). By this stage the police had worked through a decade of mixed messages but in 2010 the arrival of the new Coalition Government saw an apparent crystallisation of the expectations emerging from HM Government. The period from 2010 onwards and the apparent removal of most goals and targets will be covered in the following section.

By the time the new Coalition Government came to power in 2010 the managerialist paradigm of the NPM agenda had completely changed the face of policing



in the UK, but not in a simple manner (Gilling, 2013). The BCU, at its inception, had been at the forefront of the drive for greater police managerialism, but by this time had clearly begun to fade into obsolescence as increasing numbers of UK police forces abandoned the BCU structure (De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Gilling, 2013, 2014). New Labour's years in power had, for the police, been marked by a multitude of national directives and performance targets that were enforced by a regime of external inspections and audit which were clearly intended to control the police from the centre (Loader, 2016). The Coalition Government's radical reforms to local police governance were set out in the consultative document "Policing the 21st Century 2010" and the subsequent "Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011" (Williams, 2012; Gilling, 2013; Mawby and Smith 2017). The two documents, "Policing the 21st Century" and the "Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011" when taken together, sought to reverse the overly controlling centralised regime of previous governments and to remove the power of the Home Office to impose centrally dictated policing plans and performance indicators (Williams, 2012; Gilling, 2013; Mawby and Smith 2017). Whilst the new government abolished the remaining performance targets, in an apparent abandonment of centralised control, they did however firmly state that the police had two priorities, one being crime reduction the other public satisfaction, and it was only against these that the police would be measured. The idea that police performance would still be measured, is perhaps why De Maillard and Savage (2017), identified a trend among police managers of continuing to manage by maintaining numerically based systems. The final significant change implemented by the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 was the abolishment of the LPA in favour of the newly created and locally elected Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC) (Gilling, 2013). In their exploration of the introduction of PCCs Mawby and Smith (2017), claim the intention of government was to increase police accountability and to redress the imbalance between central and local control of policing. Regardless of their intentions the new PCCs were not widely welcomed with a lukewarm turnout at the first PCC elections in Nov 2012 (around 17% of the electorate). By 2016 the first four-year term had resulted in considerable criticism of the operation of the PCCs. Regardless of these criticisms and fears of party politics creeping into policing it seems parliament were determined to retain the recently created system and even unveiled plans to extend the responsibility to include fire services (Mawby and Smith, 2017). Indeed,

the determination of central government to not only retain PCCs but to blur the governance between police and fire and rescue services became clearer when in July 2017 HMIC adopted responsibility for inspections of fire and rescue services becoming the newly created HMICFRS (HMICFRS, 2017).

The question of the future for PCCs was firmly addressed by the Home Affairs Committee and the tone and guidance from parliament is easy to see in their report (Home Affairs Committee, 2016) which is titled ‘Police and Crime Commissioners: Here to Stay’. It is really no surprise that parliament is determined to keep the PCC system as it forms part of their ‘Big Society Agenda’ (Mawby and Smith, 2017). Another aspect of the ‘Big Society Agenda’, are the long term severe budgetary cuts imposed across the public sector under the banner of austerity measures (Loader, 2016). In his paper Loader (2016), describes ‘Big Society’ as being the ethos for management across the public sector, the aim being to replace a lot of the central government responsibility, for providing for the public, with communities taking care of themselves. A good example of the nature and extent of austerity measures impacting the police is provided by Elliott-Davies et al. (2016) who highlight an overall 12% loss of serving police officers between 2010 and 2014. They also comment on the growing imbalance between the demand for policing services and police forces’ ability to respond. The response of UK police forces, under the pressures of austerity and the government’s insistence that they are crime fighters, appears to have been to revert to a discredited model of policing with neighbourhood policing at risk of disappearing (Independent Police Commission 2013, pp.26). There are many authors who share the fears and concerns of Elliott-Davies et al. (2016), such as Blanchard (2014), Shaw (2014, 2015), May (2015), and Mendel et al. (2017), who all talk about the extent of the cuts to police budgets since 2010. There is therefore a consensus of authors, who are concerned about the resultant loss of police officer numbers, and together hold the view that the police forces are now under unprecedented pressures due to an imbalance between demand and capacity. When considering the impact of austerity on UK police forces the Independent Police Commission (2013, pp.36) state:

*“Clearly the police cannot do everything, so they must identify and prioritise the greatest risks and use of their resources to protect the most*

*vulnerable with the aim of leaving people better off as a result of their interventions”*,

which makes no mention of their crime fighting function or capacity. Thus, it seems the Independent Police Commission are recommending a review of core police responsibility, similar to the Posen Report (HomeOffice,1995) but with a focus on helping people not fighting crime. Indeed, the Independent Police Commission (2013, pp.61) do comment on the Posen Report (HomeOffice,1995), when they highlight HMIC’s response, who in providing their own descriptions of police tasks show little faith in the crime centric focus coming from the Home Office. The loss of staff affects not only the police organisations but also the officers themselves. Graef (1989 p.342) claims few jobs are as stressful as that of a police officer, claiming that many accumulated frustrations are a cause for adverse effects and risks to personal wellbeing. There is a growing wealth of police research concerned with the effect of staff losses on the wellbeing and mental health of those officers who remain (Hesketh, 2015; Hesketh et al., 2015; Padhy et al., 2015; Hesketh et al., 2016; Elgmark Andersson, et al., 2017; Maran et al., 2018; Van Thielen et al., 2018). It is necessary to highlight the degree of increasing pressure, appearing as a significant driver for change, that is being applied to UK police forces since the arrival of the Coalition Government in 2010. According to a review of the National Statistics Crime Survey 2016 by (Loveday, 2017a) one area that threatens police performance is the growth in fraud and cybercrime. The figures, he claims, are around 5.8 million combined cases annually, meaning that the numbers reported are similar in magnitude to the total for all other offences covered by the survey. This problem is also identified by Sir Tom Winsor in his capacity as Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Constabulary Winsor (2016). In this document, Winsor also highlights the change from highly centralised control to a fully devolved system heralded by the introduction of the PCCs. He considers the current plight of the police who he describes as under significant pressure from the sharp increase in non-criminal incidents they are having to deal with, particularly those involving persons suffering from poor mental health. This finds agreement from Vitale (2017) who states that where there is a fundamentally flawed mental health system the responsibility for dealing with people in crisis invariably falls upon the police. Winsor (2016) also highlights the potential impact of rapidly changing

profile of reported crime and the dramatic rise in fraud and cybercrime (Loveday, 2017b). Another issue for public-sector organisations and therefore by association the police, is the rise of High-Performance Working Practices (HPWP), in essence, a continued over reliance upon numerical targets and goals, on the heels of the 2009 global financial crisis (Ashkanasy et al., 2016: De Silva and Chandrika, 2016). These HPWP's are heavily criticised as sources of negative psychological outcomes among managers including ill-health, stress and overwork.

What can be seen from the above outline of governance changes for the police forces in the UK since 1980, is the domination of NPM ideals and increasing centralism from the mid 1980's, followed by the rise of new localism and community focussed NHP from around 2002. The result of these two opposing influences was a period of around 10 years (2000 – 2010) where the messages coming out from central government were somewhat confused. This is finally followed by significant pressures since 2010, arising mainly from austerity and an apparent removal of numerical targets, resulting in four distinct phases of policing. These four phases are: phase 1, policing pre- 1980, particularly the period of the late 1970's, prior to the governance changes discussed; phase 2, policing in response to the NPM (1980 - 2000); phase 3, policing in response to emerging new localism (2000 – 2010) and; phase 4, policing post 2010. The overall aim of the thesis is concerned with the effects of changes occurring in policing since 1980, therefore, the characteristics emerging during phase 1 merely set the background context for policing in the remaining three phases. Governance changes from 1980 – 2000, under NPM, resulted in changes to UK police structures and systems giving rise to distinct characteristics. The same can be said about policing after the growth of new localism, 2000 – 2010, whilst the characteristics of the final phase are still developing. Therefore, what follows in the next two sections of the chapter is an exploration of the literature to determine the key characteristics of policing under the NPM and new localism.

## 2.4 Characteristics of policing structures in response to NPM

The management of public sector organisations, on a global scale, saw the unchecked growth of the new public management (NPM) agenda in the 20-year period

from 1980 to 2000 (Levy, 2010). This style of management was based upon the principles of a free trade market and owed much of its underpinning to the for-profit sector. It brought with it several assumptions, ideas and key characteristics that have been written about by very many authors since its first arrival. The literature review conducted in this thesis focuses on the implementation of NPM for UK police forces and has explored this area and several key writers in the field have emerged. To provide the reader with a feel for the material reviewed, the main authors (although not exhaustive) together with the specific characteristics that their work informs upon are presented in the following table. After the table, the rest of the section on the NPM, explores the main elements from this table and the way they appear to impact upon the policing of the period: -

*Table 2: Characteristics of NPM led policing*

Characteristic	Supported by Author
Managerialism and market led performance management	Loveday (1999), Loveday (2000a), Hoque et al. (2004), Collier (2006), Fielding and Innes (2006), Coleman (2008), De Maillard and Savage (2012), Bao et al. (2013)
NPM based on principal-agent theory	Fry et al. (2013), Gilling (2013)
Reduced professional discretion	Loveday (1999), Butterfield et al. (2004), Cockcroft and Beattie (2009), De Maillard and Savage (2012)
Increased managerial power	Loveday (1999), De Maillard and Savage (2012)
Responsive and publicly accountable	Hoque et al. (2004), Coleman (2008), Cockcroft and Beattie (2009), Bao et al. (2013)
Effectiveness and cost efficiency	Hoque et al. (2004), Fielding and Innes (2006), Coleman (2008), Cockcroft and Beattie (2009), Barton and Barton (2011), De Maillard and Savage (2012)
Performance targets, performance indicators, league tables	Loveday (1996, 1999), Scott (1998), Loveday (2000b), Butterfield et al. (2004), Hoque et al. (2004), Fielding and Innes (2006), Barton and Barton (2011), De Maillard and Savage (2012), Bao et al. (2013)
Customer/consumerist focus	Butterfield et al. (2004), Hoque et al. (2004), Bao et al. (2013),

Concentration on easily measured outputs	Loveday (1999), Cockcroft and Beattie (2009), Hoque et al. (2004)
Performance culture positive impact on crime figures	HMIC (1998), Loveday (1999), Bao et al. (2013)
Increased competition	Scott (1998), Loveday (1999)
No common denominator eg profit	Coleman (2008), Bao et al. (2013)
Measure outputs not outcomes	Coleman (2008), Cockcroft and Beattie (2009)
Partial success/police resistance	Butterfield et al. (2004), Barton and Barton (2011)
Centralised control /reduced ability respond at the local level	Scott (1998), Loveday (2000b), Butterfield et al. (2004), De Maillard and Savage (2012), Bullock and Sindall (2014)
Behaviour controlled through performance-based appraisal	Winstanley and Smith (1996)
Belief by rank and file that core police issues cannot be measured	Rose (1996), Cockcroft and Beattie (2009)
Form of disciplinary surveillance	Fielding and Innes (2006)
More for less under austerity measures feeds the cost efficiency and sustains Performance culture	De Maillard and Savage (2012)
Predominantly law enforcement based	Scott (1998)
Negative unintended effects	Loveday (1996,1999, 2000b), Scott (1998), Cockcroft and Beattie (2009), Shane (2010), Fry et al. (2013),

The above table has been included to signpost the key characteristics attributed to police systems under the guise of NPM and as indicated above is not exhaustive of the material presented in this thesis. A more detailed examination of the literature linked to those characteristics is presented in the following section of the chapter.

The first consideration for NPM is the market driven agenda. In his paper on the effects of performance culture on UK based criminal justice agencies Loveday (2000a), describes several of the features listed in the above table, for instance, he claims that NPM is essentially based upon market driven values and practices, it curbs professional discretion making professionals and managers more competitive and less collaborative, increasing managerial power with an over emphasis on measurable results (Loveday,

1999). The question of police discretion has been discussed by many police academics since the work of Skolnick (1975) introduced the exercise of police discretion as a possible cause of police deviant behaviour. In the fourth edition of his book, Skolnick (2011, pp. viii), again expresses the opinion that low-level discretion is a fundamental function that “*cops will always exercise*”. The idea that NPM is based upon market driven ideals and managerialist practices is supported by many authors, in addition to (Loveday, 1999), for example these previously discussed studies (Loveday, 2000a; Hoque, et al., 2004; Collier, 2006; Fielding and Innes, 2006; Coleman, 2008; De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Bao et al., 2013), to name but a few. Together, these authors serve as an indicator of the level of agreement on this point. Management under NPM has been described as a form of over accounting, using the introduction of commercial accounting practices to justify public expenditure, bringing performance indicators, managerialism and the deliberate managing of outputs (Hoque, et al., 2004). It is claimed that a major problem with the implementation of NPM is, that it lacks theoretical underpinning, an issue that was identified as early as 1986 but was largely ignored and therefore, it still persists (Frey et al., 2013). The issue is really that NPM is based on the principal-agent theory suggesting that financial reward, motives and punishments would ultimately lead to increased productivity, which misses a key point for many public-sector employees, where, for them, the social value of the work itself is a far stronger motivator (Perry and Wise, 1990; Frey et al., 2013). The work on Public Service Motivation (PSM) introduced by Perry and Wise (1990) forms a key element in the arguments presented in the ‘Case Study Analysis: Personal Lived experiences and feelings’ (Chapter 6) and is discussed in detail in that chapter and is therefore not covered further here. The principal-agent nature of NPM was used by politicians to devolve responsibility for crime figures downwards, deflecting the blame for rising crime figures onto the bureau-professionals, the police (Gilling, 2013, 2014). This potential mismatch between management styles under NPM and the drivers of police officer behaviour is highlighted by Rose (1996), when he claims:

*“reforming police officers have stressed the negative aspects of the ‘numbers culture’, the drive to improve the figures, whatever the real quality of the work they represented”.*

Rose (1996, pp.107)

Since its first arrival, the focus on performance regimes, has led to much criticism by academics and senior police officers alike who have highlighted the contradictory nature of contemporary police performance (De Maillard and Savage, 2017). However, the impact of the NPM was not restricted to the public police but extended across the wider public sector (Fielding and Innes, 2006). Rose (1996) is highly critical of the use of numerical targets and goals across the wider public sector and blames the performance culture for the ‘trend’ for the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) to ‘drop’ cases before trial. This thesis is primarily a thesis about management and governance and is only concerned with its effects on policing. Therefore, whilst the researcher accepts that there is a large amount of literature concerned with the wider public sector, these other wider areas, are beyond the scope of this thesis and the literature review remains focussed on policing.

The next area for consideration for NPM management systems and cultures arises from the use of performance indicators. The use of centrally standardized performance indicators restricted and constrained the ability of frontline supervisors to react in a flexible manner, bringing with it greatly reduced professional discretion, it was identified as a scene of micro-management and the degree and nature of government interference severely limited any ability to respond (Butterfield, et al., 2004; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017). Whilst restricting professional discretion, particularly at the point of service delivery, it must be remembered that NPM is based upon a set of ideals that pushes managerialism and carries with it a claim to organisational power and champions the interests of a set of individuals, namely the managers (Loveday, 1999; Gilling, 2013). Attempts to define the key characteristics of NPM have been made by several writers, for example Cockcroft and Beattie (2009) mention seven principals and explicitly describe efficiency, effectiveness, responsiveness and public accountability. The ideas of public accountability, efficiency and effectiveness, are further supported by Hoque et al. (2004), Coleman (2008) and Bao et al. (2013). Loveday (1996) expresses concerns over the use of police performance indicators which he feels is particularly problematic, this is based upon the nature of service provision and the diverse demands upon the police. The specific idea of increased efficiency and cost effectiveness was central to NPM, the use of performance indicators was intended to drive improvement of effectiveness and



efficiency (Barton and Barton, 2011; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017) The “value for money” introduced in Home Office circular 114/83 has already been identified as the first sign of the introduction of NPM to the UK public police and it was clear from this single step that cost effectiveness was of paramount importance for policing under NPM (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). In the earlier discussion on governance changes it was explained that many of the changes implemented between 1983 and 2011 included the introduction of very many performance indicators thus it can be argued that the use of performance targets, performance indicators and league tables form a key characteristic of NPM. The use of numerical targets and goals is not missed by the majority of writers in this discipline support this idea (Scott, 1998; Loveday, 1999, 2000a; Hoque, et al., 2004; Fielding and Innes, 2006; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Barton and Barton, 2011; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Bao et al., 2013). There are some, who believe positive results in performance can be directly attributed to the market driven managerialist paradigm, which is reflected in NPM. For example, performance is delivered by developing better systems, greater integration, improved problem solving and wider performance measures (Loveday, 1999; Bao et al., 2013). Another feature of the market led nature of NPM is its focus on customers and the consumerist nature of service provision where it is believed that to drive performance you need to ensure that your customers are satisfied (Butterfield, et al., 2004; Hoque, et al., 2004; Bao et al., 2013). The use of performance indicators, to drive performance, seems to represent a logical argument, however, the things being measured need to be relevant to the overall goals of the organisation. In designing the performance indicators for the police, it seems that only the easy to identify easily quantifiable factors were used, as opposed to wider more difficult to measure social goals (Loveday, 1999; Hoque, et al., 2004; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009).

A major flaw in setting numerical goal and targets for police forces arises from the difficulty associated with clear identification of the true purpose and mission of the police. For Loveday (1996), if even the purpose and mission of the police defy clarification, then any attempt to impose performance targets and goals for crime control purposes can only result in professional obfuscation and fabrication of crime figures. One of the difficulties faced by government in determining the most suitable performance

measures for the police and in driving a market based consumerist agenda for policing is the absence of a common denominator like profit or sales on which to base their assumptions (Bao et al., 2013). A similar held view to the lack of an identifiable profit is, that it is virtually impossible to identify what the bottom line for policing is, that it is difficult to determine what the key product is and thus impossible to state what their actual productivity is, essentially asking what is the profit for the police? (Coleman, 2008). Using easily identified and easy to measure performance indicators has caused the police to focus on their outputs rather than their outcomes, that is, they count what they do rather than qualifying what they have achieved (Coleman, 2008; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; De Maillard and Savage, 2017). The measurement of outcomes is far harder to deliver than the measurement of outputs (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). NPM has forced the police to measure its outputs in terms of crime figures, disorder, anti-social behaviour and community safety, rather than measuring their engagement with these key issues (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009).

The introduction of NPM to other UK public sectors was seen to proceed far more smoothly than in the UK public police, the NPM based reforms had not delivered the anticipated changes and improvements to police performance which led to increasing scrutiny and the numerous attempts to change police governance (Barton and Barton, 2011). Rank and file police officers were resistant to these changes as they honestly believed that most core police activity was intangible and could not be measured (Loveday, 1996; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). Police organisations do not sit comfortably with economic ideals or with a scientific emphasis on effectiveness and cost efficiency found in the NPM and it may well be impossible to fully integrate NPM into such a service based, value driven workforce that comprises the UK police forces (Butterfield et al., 2004). The net effect of very many performance indicators was to increase political control of the police resources, the performance indicators were used to control policing activity, giving far greater control, or steering of police forces, to central government (Butterfield et al., 2004). This steering caused the use of predominantly law enforcement methodologies making the police interactions with the public and each other increasingly transactional (non-human Donati (2007)) and developed an internally competitive ethos which also led to a reduction in collaboration, which was opposite to

the intended effect (Scott, 1998). This increasing centralism limited the ability of the police to respond to local issues and prevented any degree of local variance or the use of discretion (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). One of the mechanisms utilised to drive the behaviour of police officers towards achieving the performance indicators was a statutory appraisal system that focused on the setting of performance-based goals (Winstanley and Stuart-Smith, 1996). This degree of central control, micro-management and government interference could be viewed as a form of disciplinary surveillance (Fielding and Innes, 2006).

The 2010 Coalition Government's austerity measures called for ever increasing cost effectiveness with the police being called upon to continue to deliver on performance goals despite massive budget cuts (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). Considering all of the above identified characteristics of NPM, it can be seen that cost effectiveness is one of the key elements of NPM and it is therefore likely that the overall effect of budgetary restrictions will be to sustain the managerialist performance regimes and this is the case despite an increasing government focus on local solutions (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). The continuing importance placed upon measurement of goals can be evidenced by the government's refusal to completely drop the setting of targets with an insistence on retaining public satisfaction and crime targets (De Maillard and Savage, 2012).

A major consideration for UK police forces arising from NPM is their treatment of and responses to crime. In the latter years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the rate of crime in the UK accelerated at an almost exponential rate Hall et al. (1978, 2013). On this topic, Garland (2001) quotes crime rates moving from 1 reported crime per 100 head of population in 1950 to 10 per head by 1994. Crime prevention and detection has always been at the heart of the functioning of our public police, but it was not until the 1993 White Paper for Police Reform that crime rates were held to be the responsibility of the police, as prior to that moment it was the remit of government (De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Gilling 2013; Loader 2016). The timing of this shift is not totally surprising as there had been a 56% increase in recorded crime between 1979 – 1990, placing unwanted public and media attention on the government (Loveday, 1996). However, this shift may well have done more harm than good to policing and perceptions of policing, because crime is a social issue and as Garland (2001) points out, crime rates are more a reflection

of society than a suitable measure of police efficiency. The social nature of the incidence of crime, supporting the claims of Garland (2001), are discussed in detail by Rose (1996), who expressly blames the neo-liberal fiscal policies of the Conservative government that favour the rich, and (Reiner, 2007) blames the dominance of the neo-liberal political economy since the 1970's as being responsible for the massive rise in crime and the associated shift in focus from welfarism to law and order. Rose (1996) goes on, stating that the government refused to accept that rising crime could in anyway be linked to rising unemployment or their financial policies, however, the Home Office funding formula for 1994 included a consideration of unemployment as one of its factors for determining police budgets (Rose, 1996). Loveday (1996) is a little more cautious on this topic and claims the causes of crime remain unclear and contested but explanations often include suggestions that the rate of crime can be linked to the level of unemployment. Another author wishing to approach the topic with a degree of caution or balance is Brain (2010), who believes that causes for the rapid rise in crime are unclear but does emphasise the unreliable nature of police crime recording practices. The rules the police apply in determining whether a reported incident should be recorded as a crime are provided by the Home Office Counting Rules (HOCR), and these rules have a massive impact upon the published totals of recorded and cleared up crime (Maguire, 2002). A good example of the effect of rule changes, which occur annually in April, was the criminalisation of nonindictable criminal damage (that is damage below a threshold value), common assault and assault on a police constable, in 1998 (all offences that before this date were not counted as crimes). This change of rules saw a massive jump in recorded crime over the numbers of the previous year, making any true and meaningful ongoing year on year comparison of recorded crime difficult at best (Maguire, 2002; Reiner, 2007).

There are dangers associated with using crime detection rates as a measure of police performance and these are included, among other negative unintended effects, as being a response to NPM (Loveday, 1999). The wider reforms under NPM in policing terms often have little impact on the policing services provided and very often the actual effect is far from that intended (Frey et al., 2013). There is evidence to suggest that criminal justice performance cultures have developed increasing cynicism and negative approaches amongst the staff subjected to it, taking this point further, in order to deliver

against performance targets manipulation of information and obfuscation have attained high salience (Loveday, 1999). According to Reiner (1998), there is a wide acceptance of the flaws in relying upon both police recorded crime rates and crime clear up rates, due to what he claims, is the tendency of police organisations to ‘massage the figures’ to produce more favourable statistics. It is against this backdrop of distorted figures and apparent performance successes that the truth might hide, masking organisational failure (Loveday, 1999). Official Home Office crime figures for the year 1993-1994 showed a 5.5% fall in recorded offences but the BCS figures for the same year indicated a 10 – 11% rise in crime (Loveday, 1996), supporting the suggestion that official figures hide the truth. Reiner (2007) states that the BCS, highlighting the ‘Dark Figure’ for crime is more reliable as official figures represent the tip of the iceberg. However, both the official Home Office and BCS figures give an incomplete picture, and reliance upon crime figures is a deeply imperfect system that is subject to very many extraneous influences (Rose, 1996). Since its introduction in 1982, the BCS has consistently highlighted the ‘Dark Figure’ of crime, which is those crimes that are either simply not reported or are reported and not recorded (Loveday, 1999, 2000b). Although officially acknowledged, the ‘Dark Figure’ was generally deemed as unimportant (Maguire, 2002). This was because, despite the sample size of around 40,000 participants it concentrates upon a limited number of selected crime categories, thus giving an incomplete picture (Maguire, 2002). Fielding and Innes (2006), claim that another potential problem linked to using crime rates as an indicator of police performance is displayed in the willingness, or otherwise, of the public to actually report crime, where trust in the police is low high numbers of less serious crimes go unreported, therefore low reported levels of crime may be an indicator of poor police performance, not good, as currently assumed. This point is reiterated by Rose (1996), who states that:

*“people can no longer be bothered to report crime to the police. After my experience I can’t say that I blame them”.*

Rose (1996, pp. 114-115)

In looking at the attitudes of police officers in their research, most police officers who were questioned, expressed the belief that the performance indicators imposed upon

them could not measure normal police activity and that this was due in the main part to the intangible nature of the social and community-oriented aspects of police work (Rose, 1996; Loveday, 1999). This discussion goes further with the idea that the managerialist practices demoralise staff and increase the distrust and cynicism aimed at police managers and a belief that nothing the police do, that is of value to the community, can be measured. However, the police have subscribed to a philosophy of what gets counted gets done and the police now focus on the easily measured outputs rather than the wider social issues (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Shane, 2010). One of the key performance measures for the police since the 1993 white paper has been recorded and detected crime figures. The use of crime figures to assess police performance is one of the most unreliable imaginable possible measures, the incidence of crime has far greater links to social and economic factors than it has to the activity of police forces and despite this fact, the police must deal with recorded crime rates as a major indicator of their overall performance (Loveday, 2000a; Shane, 2010). Despite the overwhelming amount of police research and literature that criticise the use of crime statistics as a measure of police effectiveness it seems to retain an almost mythical status as the core police function. A point that is well made by Rose (1996), where he claims that regardless of the intentions of police reformers crime clear up rates remain the standard by which the service is judged externally, or as Maguire (2002, pp.322) puts it, *'statements about crime numbers or trends should always be approached in a critical frame of mind'*. Rose (1996), also believed that the national police objectives of the early 1990's together with published performance indicators increased the salience of crime figures as the measure of police performance. This is most likely due to Barry Lovedays observation that the government perceive the primary task of the police to be fighting crime (Loveday, 1996). Writing just after the turn of the last century Maguire (2002) expressed concerns over the portrayal of crime rates by the government and sensationalist media coverage of crime that led to a general perception that crime is getting out of control. There has however been a downward trend in recorded crime levels, certainly since the end of the 1990's, for example Loveday (2000b) points to a recent sharp fall in recorded crime, that the police inspectorate claimed as the success of performance management in police forces, but Loveday attributes to the increased economic growth and reduced unemployment at that time. The steady fall in reported crime since the mid 1990's is also referred to by the Independent Police Commission

(2013) who comment upon the statistics of the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW).

The recording and counting of crime has become increasingly important for UK police forces due to the governmental commitment to increasing police crime fighting activity but this focus over-estimates the ability of the police to influence the rate of crime (Loveday, 1996). Indeed, fighting crime is clearly designed as a primary police task by government which Loveday (1996, pp. 66) claims “*exhibits an almost pathological commitment to that which is measurable*”. The governments fixation on police as crime fighters and the significance they attach to police crime figures has eroded the scope for discretion resulting in the unnecessary criminalisation of many young people (Hale and FitzGerald, 2007). Reiner (2007) states that, despite this fascination with police crime fighting, the reality is that policing policy and practice has only marginal effects on crime with the real factors being rooted in complex social causes. One reason for this is the ‘supply-side’ nature of crime figures where changes in Home Office policy and police bureaucracy have far more impact on recorded numbers than the activities of offenders and victims (Reiner, 2007). Another author who firmly believes that crimes are socially generated is Vitale (2017) who in his book ‘The End of Policing’ explores many key contemporary policing issues such as immigration, terror, gang violence, sex-trade and drugs. Throughout the book, for each of the highlighted policing problems, his solutions are through social provision and not through increased police activity. The fact is, that the demands on the police are diverse and ‘crime-work’ represents a relatively minor part of police activity, thus the policies and capacity to control crime are limited, a view which successive governments fail to properly address (Johnston, 2000). The limitations of the police as crime fighters was perhaps brought into focus by the Morgan Report in 1989 which simply stated that the police could not bring down crime by themselves, pushing a multi-agency approach (Brain, 2010). Again, it is here that the very concept of police as ‘crime-fighters’ is challenged by Vitale (2017) who believes that in order to see true police reform we need to “*get rid of the warrior mindset and militarized tactics*” (Vitale, 2017 pp. 221). Indeed, the ineffectiveness of police organisations employing traditional crime control methods was a concern of the new Thatcher government in 1979 leading to the implementation of NPM systems and ethos (Reiner and Newburn, 2007). A direct

effect of the fascination of government and media with police performance linked to crime is that when it comes to an assessment of true effectiveness the police are normally judged by criteria that are one dimensional and narrow (Hough, 1987). Evidence from both research and academia is that the police have a much more limited ability for crime control than is generally assumed in fact research has yielded no consistent relationship between police behaviour and recorded crime levels (Hough, 1987). Whilst still open for debate, as already stated, there is much research that suggests crime rates are linked to social issues rather than police activity, where crime is linked to demographics. This image of crime linked to social causes, together with the growing wealth of research indicating the limited ability of police to affect crime rates, might have been expected to temper government commitment to police crime reduction targets, which is in fact the opposite of governmental approach to policing (Loveday, 2000b). The evidence suggesting that the police can only ever have a limited impact upon crime rates is almost overwhelming, indeed it is not only the police that have a limited effect, it is the whole of the criminal justice apparatus, suggesting a need to consider much wider socially linked overall strategies for crime reduction (Cassels, 1996). Hale and FitzGerald (2007, pp. 156) ask our government to find the courage to change tack and openly admit that the criminal justice system has minimal effect on long-term crime trends. Therefore, as indicated by Loveday (2000b, pp. 235) “*any judgement of police efficiency made on the basis of crime clearance continues to be problematical*”. The view that the police should not be held responsible for crime rates is also expressed by FitzGerald et al. (2002) when they explore the deeper more complex social causes of crime in London.

It is possible that the extreme pressure to achieve targets, in particular those linked to crime, under NPM has seen the re-emergence of old unethical working practices that enable police forces to achieve these goals (Loveday, 2000a). By 2000 a lot of evidence had been collated to suggest that the application of performance management techniques in policing may have had serious unwanted consequences that undermine the quality of service and bring the whole NPM agenda into question (Loveday, 2000a; Shane, 2010). Which then brings us to consider the continuing changes following in the wake of new localism from around 2000 which will be discussed in the following section.



## 2.5 Characteristics of policing in response to new localism

The change of governmental direction towards increased community focus and neighbourhood policing can be seen as a result of the rise of new localism, which came about on the premise that, strict limits exist in how far elected representatives can deliver true democracy and accountability (Millie et al., 2013). The introduction of neighbourhood policing (NHP) therefore fits into a wider pattern of government strategies intended to make public sector services far more responsive to local needs (Foster and Jones, 2010). The growth of NHP in the UK after 2002 came directly out of the idea of new localism and was believed at the time to be the panacea for the overly controlling, overly centralised features of NPM implemented by the first new labour administration (Bullock and Sindall, 2013). Part of the idea of NHP was that it was responsive to local demands, therefore there was no central guidance or clear instructions to the police on how to implement NHP. Nor in fact, what it entailed, so at its introduction the NHP model was poorly defined and this resulted in widely different and varied implementation across the UK police forces (Fielding and Innes, 2006; Bullock and Sindall, 2013). There was great difficulty in effectively implementing NHP, the steer from government was confused as both the agendas of centralism and localism were being pursued at the same time, thus NHP implementation was constrained by the need to achieve centrally imposed targets (Savage, 2007; De Maillard and Savage, 2012). This idea of neighbourhood policing and a change of direction arrived at a time when the management structures and cultures under the NPM were at a high. The newly emerging NHP like the NPM had its own definite characteristics, that have been identified and written about by several authors as can be seen from the following table, which like the table for NPM is non-exhaustive providing the reader with a feel for the material presented: -

*Table 3: Characteristics for neighbourhood policing (NHP)*

Characteristic	Supported by Author
New localism	Foster and Jones (2010), Millie et al. (2013), Bullock and Sindall (2014)
Intended to reduce the over centralised controlling influence of the NPM	Bullock and Sindall (2014)

Widely different implementation across UK police forces	Fielding and Innes (2006), Bullock and Sindall (2014)
Public reassurance	Foster and Jones (2010), De Maillard and Savage (2012)
Confused – centralism vs localism, local solutions hampered by central performance measures	Loveday (2000b), Fielding and Innes (2006), Savage (2007), Foster and Jones (2010), De Maillard and Savage (2012), Millie et al. (2013)
Despite goals ongoing long term low public engagement	Millie et al. (2013), Bullock and Sindall (2014)
Public tend to focus on quality of life which is often in conflict with the police focus on crime.	Millie et al. (2013)
Regular published local meetings chaired by NHP teams	Bullock and Sindall (2014)
Every area has dedicated NHP team	Home Office (2005, pp. 3), Bullock and Sindall (2014)
Visible, accessible and accountable	Home Office (2005, pp. 3), Bullock and Sindall (2014)
Each person will know who their local officer(s) is/are and how to contact them.	Home Office (2005, pp. 3)
Community say in local policing issues and setting local priorities	Home Office (2005, pp. 3), De Maillard and Savage (2012)
Development of deep understanding and connection between local people and the police	Home Office (2005, pp. 4), Myhill and Quinton (2010)
Fighting crime through public cooperation rather than consent	Home Office (2005, pp. 5)
Dedicated resources-same officers – tackling locally determined priorities	Home Office (2005, pp. 5), Bullock and Sindall (2014)
Partnership approach	Home Office (2005, pp. 9), Myhill and Quinton (2010)
Police to develop creative, flexible, innovative solutions to solve local problems	Home Office (2005, pp. 9), Innes (2005), Millie et al. (2013)

The aspirations of NHP were greatly hampered if not entirely compromised by the rigidity of central performance indicators (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). It is claimed that NHP in the UK failed and that this was due to a conflict of models, there

was always a trade-off between localism and fighting crime and attaining performance goals with the latter always winning (Fielding and Innes, 2006). Millie, et al. (2013) state that between 2002 and 2010 the governments focus moved towards more community-oriented policing under NHP, however the ethos of NPM remained in place and despite the pressure to deliver locally police forces were still expected to attain the existing performance indicators. The approach of the Labour Government was therefore confused as they displayed a bifurcation of ideals and espoused both centralism and localism at the same time (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). The ideas provided by new localism for NHP included greater public consultation and participation and increased public engagement (Foster and Jones, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012). However, the apparent failings of the police to fully engage with the communities they serve, and an overwhelming desire to control NHP meetings is highlighted by Gasper and Davies (2016). It has been said that new localism and NHP may in fact be meaningless in the face of an overwhelming raft of central government targets, inspections and standards, which may well account for the police reluctance to relinquish control of locally set policing agendas (Millie et al., 2013). Part of NHP are regular publicised local consultation meetings chaired by members of the local NHP team, run in order to determine what are the issues for the members of the local community, giving the police the information, they need to develop creative and innovative solutions to local problems (Bullock and Sindall, 2013). The drive of NHP was to increase community engagement and reassurance, thus allowing the police to develop strategies aimed at tackling local issues, however, the reality was that there has been very little response from the public and attendance at consultation meetings remained very low (Bullock and Sindall, 2013; Millie et al., 2013). The net result of this low attendance seems to be that local priorities become skewed and lean towards the minority who do attend, this minority tends to comprise of those elements and members of the public who already enjoy a degree of political advantage (Millie et al., 2013; Gasper and Davies, 2016). The highest uptake and participation in community consultations most usually occurs in reasonably wealthy areas that are subject to low crime rates, low poverty and low in other areas of social need (Bullock and Sindall, 2013; Millie et al., 2013). Another claim made by Millie et al. (2013), is that whilst the police continue to concentrate on crime rates and law enforcement options, the interest of the public tends

to focus on quality of life issues which have little meaning for the police and come into direct conflict with the perceived need to hit performance goal.

Following the fractured and disjointed introduction of NHP across the UK the government decided that their expectations of the police and their commitment to their communities needed clarification which resulted in the publication of a booklet in 2005 entitled 'Neighbourhood Policing – Your Police; Your Community – Our Commitment' (HomeOffice, 2005). The 2005 Home Office booklet explained that every area must have a dedicated NHP team comprising of both sworn officers and Police Community Support Officers (PCSO) and that these officers would be highly visible, easily accessible and locally accountable (Home Office, 2005; Bullock and Sindall, 2013). There was an expectation that the same officers would be responsible for the policing of their areas and that everyone would know who their local officers were and would also know how to contact them directly (Home Office, 2005). The use of a dedicated NHP team would allow the officers to build trust, to develop a deep understanding of the community and to develop a better connection between the community and the police (Home Office, 2005; De Maillard and Savage, 2012). The community would be empowered and able to determine what the local policing priorities were this would lead to the fighting of crime through public cooperation rather than through public consent and would engender a community partnership approach (Home Office, 2005; Myhill and Quinton, 2010; Fleming and Mclaughlin, 2012). The final expectation was for NHP teams to develop creative, flexible and innovative solutions to solve local problems utilising a high degree of professional discretion rather than a reliance on law enforcement activity (Home Office, 2005; Innes and Williamson, 2005; Millie et al., 2013).

The final phase of policing changes, phase 4, is the present shape and structure emerging in response to the combined effects of a removal of policing targets (May, 2010) and a significant reduction in policing budgets. These final changes are the most recent and perhaps the most impactful and therefore figure as important sections in the analysis and discussion chapters (post). As such they will not be discussed fully here. In exploring the impact of governance changes on policing since 1980, the main considerations have come from the impact of changes imposed by central government. However, Henry (2017), claims that police governance includes multiple agencies including, but not

limited to, courts, central and local government and other external agencies, commercial and voluntary sectors, which supports the work of Archer (1995) and her concept of social change through the actions of corporate agencies (see focal literature chapter post). One of the external agencies that has become a recent driver for police reform since its creation is the College of Policing. This independent body was established in 2012 and was intended to be the body that ‘defined and disseminated core knowledge about what works in policing’. It was intended to determine national policing standards, professional practice and best local practice (Holdaway, 2017). In this paper Holdaway (2017), considers the ongoing implications for police leadership and training and concludes that one of the major challenges for the police is the increasing question of police integrity which he claims is increasingly being called into doubt. It is here that he cites several highly publicized incidents that question police integrity, all of which received considerable attention from the media including several cases involving chief officers of police. The question of police integrity is another area that has been discussed in this chapter and figures prominently in the analysis and discussion chapters and is therefore again not covered further here. The creation of the College of Policing was a single element in a contemporary program of police reform driven by the government and labelled Evidence Based Policing (EBP) (Fleming and Wingrove, 2017, pp. 10). A definition of EBP is provided by Sherman (2013) and simply put is about making policing decisions based on the best available evidence about what does or does not work. This then ties in with the government’s plan to create and sustain a body of knowledge through what it labelled its ‘What Works Network’ (WWN), and the College of Policing was part of that plan. Also, created in 2013, as part of this process was the ‘What Works Centre for Crime Reduction’ (WWCCR) (HM Government, 2011; Fleming and Wingrove, 2017). This emphasis for evidence-based policing is easy to see in the article of Heaton and Tong (2016) who, initially describe the lack of meaningful quantitative policing research and following their discussion, suggest the adoption of performance management systems borrowed from the NHS to improve upon policing performance and cost effectiveness. Other police researchers are less optimistic for example Brogden and Ellison (2013) posit that any claims arising from evidence-based research focussed on police practice as a means to offset cuts in police personnel have little merit. They further state:

*“The policing crisis will not be resolved without clearer determination of police goals”* (Brogden and Ellison 2013, pp. 62)

Whilst I appreciate the need for meaningful quantitative research in policing, as suggested by the college of policing, the arguments and theoretical position laid out in the background literature suggest an interpretive development of theory for my thesis. One of the later recommendations arising from my thesis is for research of the newly generated theories for positivistic hypothesis testing, thereby satisfying the need for more quantitative police research. This then, completes the picture of governance changes affecting UK police forces since the early 1980's setting the background and context for interpretive social research in UK policing.

## 2.6 Summary

This sets the background for the research, highlighting an extended period of almost four decades of turbulent changes for UK police forces. The literature to this point suggests four clear periods of policing, each having its own characteristics and responding to different changes of governance. It appears from the literature that the main challenges for police moving forwards could well be dealing with the effects of austerity, managing an increasing perception in the media of lack of police integrity and coping with the political pressures arising from the creation of PCCs and the college of policing. In the next chapter, I will concentrate on the focal literature, bringing together elements from policing, management and business studies and critical/relational sociology to develop a new theoretical framework. The purpose of the framework will be to allow the reader to clearly visualise the characteristics of policing structures/culture at an organisational level in response to the ongoing governance changes. This therefore provides the key underpinning and theoretical positioning for the research.

## 3 Focal literature

### 3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to further examine the existing literature, combining the literature linked to policing governance and focussing on a detailed examination of the wider issues of societal change, organisational cultures and management and their relevance for police organisations and staff. In the early sections of the chapter, I will consider the views of organisational culture provided by Hare and Collinson (2013) and Smircich (1983) arguing that the view of organisational culture proffered by them closely resembles the relational sociological views of society of Donati (2007, 2011), Crossley (2011) and Archer (1989, 1995, 2000, 2003) and the cultural view of policing offered by Chan (1996). The compelling similarities in theoretical contributions bring into clear focus several areas of crossover between different theoretical fields allowing me to move between the fields to develop a new conceptual framework.

I will lead the reader through a comparison between the theories applied to organisations and those from critical/relational sociology, applied in a wider societal context, highlighting key similarities. Having established the similarities between organisational cultural changes and societal changes from critical/relational sociology, I will progress onto an examination of the long ongoing structure versus agency debate from the relational sociological view. The argument being that what holds for society at the macro level must also hold for organisations, which are in effect their own micro level societies. I will therefore suggest, the relational sociological view of societal changes emerging from Archer (1989, 1995, 2000, 2003) and Donati (2007, 2011) are equally relevant in the context of an organisational setting, because organisations are in effect micro-level societies.

The aim of my thesis is *“To explore and investigate the evolving nature of the relational, cultural and performance aspects of UK policing since 1980”* which has at its heart three key areas for exploration, these being relational, cultural and performance aspects. Anthony Giddens (1987), in the preface to his book, gives the following depiction of sociology: -

*“But sociology, whose prime field of study is the social world brought about by the advent of modernity, has a peculiar and privileged relation to social theory. For modernity involves the systematic study of social relations, as part of the forging and re forging of those relations, something integral to its dynamic character. The scope of ‘modern’ can virtually be defined in these terms. Our understanding of ourselves, as discursively formulated and reflexively applied to transforming the conditions of our lives, is intrinsic to the nature of modern societies”*

(Giddens, 1987, pp. vii-viii)

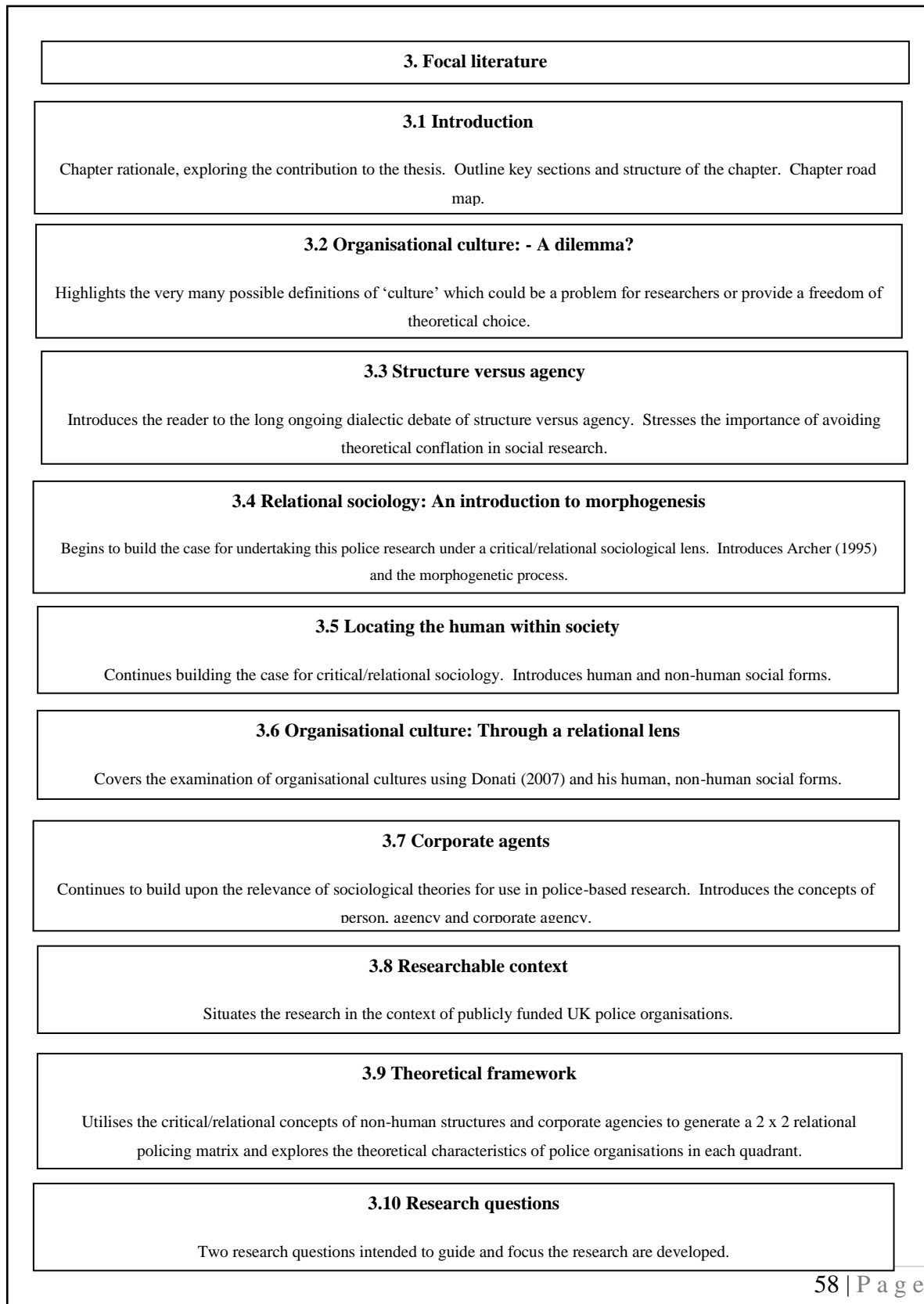
As my intention is to explore relational and cultural aspects of policing it would seem, from Giddens description of sociology, that considering sociological texts and theories provides an ideal lens. The, previously described, strong similarity and areas of cross-over, in the fields of policing, business and critical/relational sociology also justifies the choice of a critical/ relational sociological theoretical lens to examine police relational, cultural and performance aspects. In the later sections of the chapter the work of Donati (2007) and Archer (1995) are used to explore how the ‘Human’ can be located in society and therefore also in organisations. The morphogenetic process of Archer is introduced together with a full examination of the actions and effects of corporate agencies. At this stage, further parallels are drawn between the critical/ relational sociological views and some further key management, organisational culture and organisational behaviour texts. The management theories of Arnaboldi et al. (2015), Ashkanasy et al. (2016) and De Silva and Chandrika (2016) are used to consider the theoretical effects of management structures and cultures that are reliant upon numerical goals and targets. These are supported by the much earlier contributions of Ouchi (1981), Deal and Kennedy (1988) and Peters and Waterman (2004). All suggest, that an over-reliance on numerical measures will result in a variety of unwanted negative side effects in the organisation. I will argue that the concept of non-human social forms, introduced by Donati (2007), closely mirrors the management structures described by the previous authors, as being overly reliant on numerical targets and goals. In his exploration of non-human social forms, Donati (2007) claims that where they exist, society will develop negative symptoms, that he refers to as social pathogens. I will then



argue that because of the close similarity between the numerical goals described in the management texts and the non-human social forms of Donati (2007) a parallel can also be drawn between the unwanted negative side effects from the management literature and the social pathogens from the relational sociological literature. The negative side effects discussed in the management literature also appear in the literature linked to policing structures under NPM (Butterfield et al., 2004; Frey et al., 2013; De Maillard and Savage, 2017).

Towards the end of the chapter I will draw upon the grid/group matrix approach first used by Douglas (1996), to develop a theoretical framework. The framework will combine the morphogenetic change process of Archer (1995), with non-human social forms of Donati (2007), to produce a grid that enables a visualization of the effects of governance changes over time occurring in UK policing. The visualization provided by this grid helps to fully understand the characteristics of policing emerging in response to the governance changes explored in the background chapter (ante). This takes place from the perspective of the sociological impact on the organisations affected by those governance changes and is therefore most easily seen through the eyes of individuals affected by those changes. This new Relational Policing Matrix (RPM) is an approach that has not been seen before. None of the existing literature on policing considers the sociological impact on organisations and individuals in this manner and this new approach therefore fills a gap in the policing literature. The RPM introduced here is a contribution to knowledge in the field of UK policing, however this is also a new approach when considering the literature linked to the wider public sector and adds to the relational sociological arguments. The use of the RPM is therefore a contribution to knowledge for UK and global policing literature, critical/relational sociology and public-sector management both in the UK and globally. In the final section of the chapter, I will introduce two research questions intended to guide and focus the research. This then gives a structure to the chapter that can be easily seen in the roadmap, on the following page: -

Figure 3: Focal literature road map



### 3.2 Organisational culture: - A dilemma?

There are several problems associated with the study of organisational culture. The biggest dilemma facing students in this field is that there is still very little agreement on the precise meaning of the term organisational culture. The proliferation of differing and at times conflicting paradigms most probably arises from the confusion caused when trying to define culture. Hare and Collinson (2013), refer to a 1952 study of culture that finds 156 different definitions of culture. This difficulty probably arises because culture sits at the junction of a number of different social sciences for example sociology, social psychology, anthropology, and business or organisational studies (Ouchi, 1981; Smircich, 1983; Schein, 1990). This dilemma or problem can also be of benefit as it allows researchers a wide choice of paradigms or even a blend or mix of paradigms, or mixed methods to be used in the study of organisational culture (Smircich, 1983). One view of organisational culture that can be useful is provided in Hare and Collinson (2013), the culture that exists in an organisation is something akin to that in society. It has layers and elements many of which are intangible including basic beliefs and assumptions, perceptions and behavioural norms. It is generally unseen and to the outsider the unobservable force behind all organisational activities that can be seen and observed. They go on stating it is organic and grows from within. It is impossible to impose externally. It is the result of interactions within the organisation, between members but also the external environment. This organic view of organisational culture could in some ways be seen to be akin to the social facts alluded to by Durkheim (1969), but an even closer analogy can be drawn to the critical/relational works of Archer (1989, 1995, 2000, 2003), Donati (2007, 2011) and Crossley (2011). Also, importantly for this thesis, the cultural view expressed by Hare and Collinson (2013) is also startlingly similar, to the view of police culture expressed by Waddington (1999) and Holdaway (1982). The point of crossover between the culture in organisational studies, policing literature and the critical/relational cultural theories described allows a researcher to draw upon theories from all three fields. Therefore, in the following section I will outline the choice of theories I have made together with the sociological reasons for my choices.

### 3.3 Structure versus agency

In the field of sociology, the dialectic debate over which should take primacy, structure or agency, has raged for many years. Indeed, many contemporary sociological theories are based one on or other of these poles or are based on an aggregation of the two. Writers from critical/relational sociology believe that models claiming superiority of one over the other or some form of aggregation are guilty of theoretical conflation (Giddens, 1984; Archer, 1995; Luhman, 1997; Donati, 2007, 2011; Crossley, 2011). For example, Archer (1995) claims that any social theory based on modernity's empirical observable facts will be bound to failure due to the necessary and unavoidable conflation found in these concepts. The main argument put forward here is that conflation in these concepts, on one side deny people (agents) their individual freedoms because of the determinism inherent where all social phenomena are the result of structures and culture. On the reverse side, conflation denies any influence for structures in concepts that considers all social phenomena as the result of individual intentions and actions. Here Archer (1995), stresses the point that neither Durkheim with his focus on functions (structure) or Weber with his focus on the individual (agents) were ever able to consistently hold to their own explanation when conducting practical social analyses. Archer (1995), makes a long argument supporting the assertion that individualism leads to upwards conflation where the impact of structures and culture are reduced into the individual, thereby robbing the existing structure and culture of any influence. She makes a similar assertion for holism leading to downwards conflation where the individual is reduced into actions determined by the structures and culture in which they live, thereby removing from them of any form of individual freedom or autonomy. These problems appear to have been generated by the theories of Durkheim and Weber and have remained as the central dialectic argument from this point on (Giddens, 1984; Archer, 1995; Donati, 2007, 2011; Crossley, 2011). This dialectic debate has been argued in a number of guises over many years and has been presented as individual versus society, voluntarism versus determinism, structure versus agency, micro versus macro. According to Archer (1995) all are, however, simply different forms of the same original dialectic debate and all carry the same inherent flaws. More recently attempts have been made to overcome both upwards and downwards conflation by producing sociological theories that consider

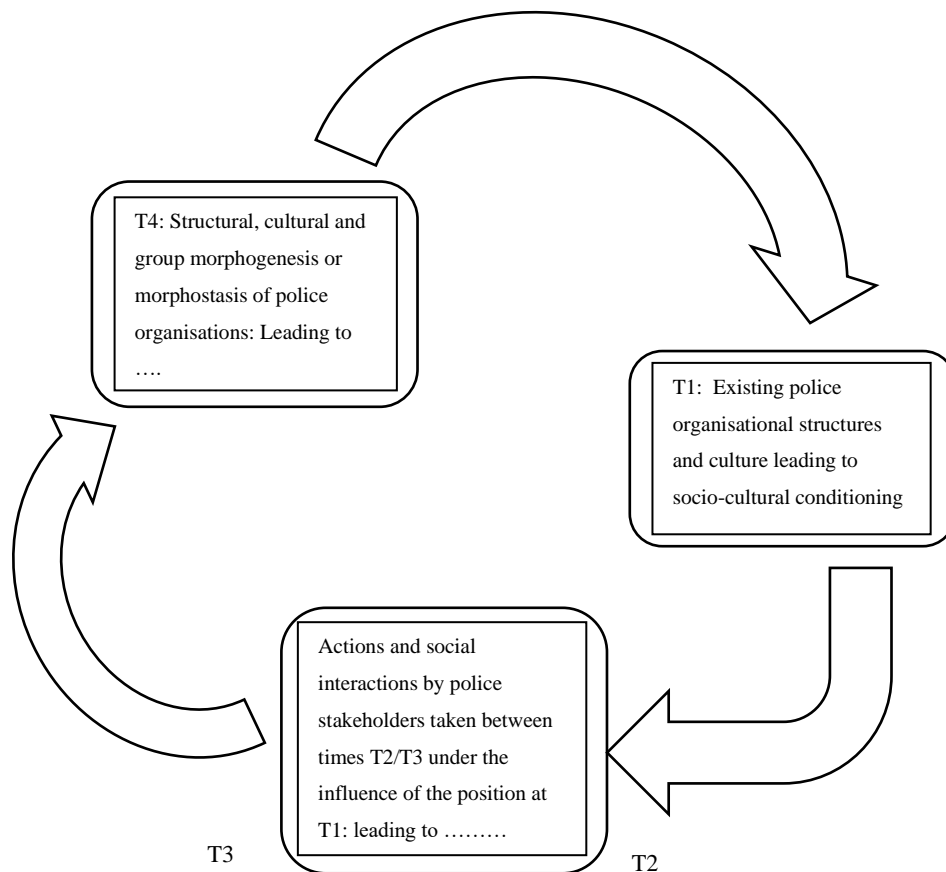
society as some form of aggregate of both structure and agency. The most prominent of these is the structuration theory of Giddens (1984). For those who follow this and similar models, society at any given instant, is the result of both structure and agency. At first glance, this seems to be a far more reasonable argument; however, in social terms it denies anything that came before or anything that will emerge later. This results in central conflation which is temporally limited denying any historical influence or any possible future emerging properties (Archer, 1995; Donati, 2007, 2011; Crossley, 2011). This then sets the avoidance of conflationary theorising as an essential element for the critical/relational writers. This also becomes crucial for this thesis as I will later examine the interplay between policing structures/culture and the actions of agents linked to policing to highlight the impact of governance changes. The next section of the chapter will provide a very brief examination of the critical/relational theories and introduce the reader to Archer (1995), her concepts of morphogenesis and corporate agencies.

### 3.4 Relational sociology: An introduction to morphogenesis

During this and the following theoretical examination under three further sub-headings, it is important to keep in mind, the central pillar of the argument and its relevance is built upon the interaction between structure/culture and agency. Also, of key importance to this thesis is the later adaptation of critical/relational concepts to the examination of the interactions of policing structures/culture and agency to highlight the impact of ongoing governance changes. Those writers who criticise any form of conflation in sociology have put forward their own alternative views some of which can be gathered under the banner entitled critical/relational sociology. Each author has a slightly different view, but all agree that the unit to be examined in sociology is not that of agency, or of structure and culture, or indeed of any form of aggregation between the two but is the relation between them. For instance, Archer (1995), aims to examine the emerging properties arising from the interaction between agency and structure, she does not refer to this as relational sociology but uses the term critical sociology, there is however little difference between her views and those of Donati (2007, 2011) or Crossley (2011) who both, independently, put forward their own versions of a relational sociology.

Archer (1995), looks at the emergent properties of structures and culture over time, which she calls the morphogenetic cycle. She explains that at any given time T1, the social world in which a person finds themselves is a pre-existing reality not of their own making. This reality offers both enablement and constraint to individuals, thus the opportunities offered to the child of a wealthy landowner in the UK will be vastly different to those offered to an orphaned child residing in a South American favela. Exactly the same could be said of the constraints acting upon the same two children. This enablement and constraint is therefore seen as structural conditioning, which affects, but does not determine the actions or social interaction of the individual taken between times T2 and T3. The structural conditioning is not viewed as deterministic as the resulting interactions are also dependent on the personality, character and freedoms of the individuals experiencing that particular form of structural conditioning at that time. The social interactions taken between times T2 and T3 will have an effect on the existing structures and culture. Archer refers to this effect as structural elaboration, and the interaction can either reinforce the existing structures or culture resulting in morphostasis or change them resulting in morphogenesis. Thus, at time T4 a new position will have emerged, and this position will be the structural conditioning for the next cycle starting at T1 (Archer, 1995). A consideration of the morphogenetic process and its application to police organisations is presented in the diagram on the following page: -

Figure 4: The morphogenetic cycle: Hypothetical police organisational application adapted from Archer (1995).



Having established the emergent nature of morphogenetic change according to Archer (1995), I will conduct a similar investigation of the work of Donati (2007). In his version of relational sociology, he makes several strong references to the work of Margaret Archer, and not surprisingly, concentrates on the emerging properties of the interaction between structure and agency, which he calls the relation. It is his view that all social phenomena consist of the relation, in fact he claims that “*in the beginning was the relation*” Donati (2007, pp. 1) and it is the relation which leads to all social reality. Donati (2007), is in full agreement over the position regarding upwards, downwards and central conflation stressing that the unit of sociological examination lies in the relation between structure and agency. He explains that each individual resides within a network of relations that enable and constrain his behaviour which is very similar to Archer’s concept of structural conditioning. For Donati each individual (agent) resides within society and their relations, and this therefore forms a network of individuals, each of

which is a network in their own right, thus society can be represented by a network of networks. These networks will all have a conditioning effect on the individual whose actions and interactions as an actor or agent also have a reciprocal effect on these networks and the key here is the reciprocity of the relation. This view of society is strikingly similar to Archer's social interaction and group elaboration and is also very close to the view of networks taken by Crossley (2011). Donati (2007) sees relational sociology as a new paradigm for social science explaining that it is a form of critical realism being offered to explain the historical processes of social change. Within this, he describes the emergence of new and differing forms of social behaviour, thus allowing for both, a pre-existing state and new emergent properties. A position that he claims is denied by all forms of conflation. This idea of a network of networks is put forward again by Crossley (2011), who describes individual actors as important movers in society capable of a degree of free action. These actors are however not self-contained atoms, but always act as agents in relation to the networks in which they reside. He explains that the interactions, relations and networks have an emergent effect over time, in a historical sense, developing emergent properties, which are irreducible to the agents and structures that formed them for example the development of language or moral and ethical codes. For Crossley, these emergent properties are the relation and they lie at the point of interaction between structure and agency.

At this point, in the literature review, the main dialectic discussed so far is that of the structure versus agency debate as that dialectic is central to the relational sociological theories presented. It is, however, also apparent when looking at the available literature that there are other arguments that are contributory to the field of relational sociology. In addition to the structure agency dialectic Donati (2011), among others, believes that the social world in which we currently find ourselves has reached a junction which results from the ongoing effects of globalisation and many of the currently emerging social phenomena can be attributed directly to this (Giddens, 1984; Luhmaan, 1997; Bauman, 1998; Donati, 2007, 2011). Also, of relevance to the ideas of these and many other authors, is the ongoing question of what Donati (2011), calls the lib/lab complex, or in other words, the modern balance found between the free market and the welfare state. Both ongoing issues, globalism and the lib/lab complex, are worthy of in-depth



investigation in their own right. However, to do so is a major sociological undertaking and as such is beyond the scope of this work, which is primarily focused on police management and governance and not all of the wider sociological issues. The restriction of the sociological argument in this way has been validated by Horrock (2009), who successfully uses the morphogenetic approach of Archer (1995), in a longitudinal study, to examine the development of IT in UK local government. In his approach Horrock (2009), limits his theoretical discussion to the structure agency debate, and I will limit my debate in a similar fashion. The approach of Horrock (2009) and his application of critical/relational theorising in the study of a public-sector organisation also validates its use in this thesis in the exploration and examination of police organisations.

### 3.5 Locating the human within society

According to the relational approach of Donati (2007), society is the relation and in this the distinction between the human and non-human components cannot be hidden, however, the process of differentiating them varies according to the elements under investigation. This view of the human is opposed to many modern or post-modern theories which according to Donati (2007) dehumanize society. According to Donati (2007), where these types of theories, i.e. those that are reliant upon the inherent flaws of conflation under modern or post-modern paradigms, are applied to organisations it will result in a de-humanising effect. Donati (2007), claims, that when considering social forms, they are to be considered as human, as long as the social relations are produced between subjects who are reciprocally oriented. Taking this further a social form is not human if the social processes forming it are not reciprocally oriented, because in this case, there is no relation, merely simple reactivity. A lack of reciprocity is not the only way in which non-human forms arise, they also occur when the sense given to any action is purely functional deriving from systemic autopoiesis. In the latter case actions become merely operations and actors become automata, lacking any human intentionality, even if performed by agents who are human individuals (Donati, 2007). If we wish to think of society (or organisations) as human we must accept that it is produced reflexively, giving meaning to the links between the human and non-human. This view of society rejects

main stream sociological thought which sees society as either ‘animal society’ (natural view or individualism) or ‘technical society’ (structural – functional view or holism) which therefore brings us back to the central arguments of avoiding conflation in the structure or agency debate (Donati, 2007). The critical/ relational views of Archer (1995) and Donati (2007) have been considered (in brief) and the emergent nature of societal change arising out of the interaction between social structures and corporate agencies will provide a central pillar for my thesis. Because organisational theories can be applied to police organisations, I will now examine the idea of culture in the context of business and management texts and will attempt to link some of the ideas presented to the human/non-human forms described by Donati (2007).

### 3.6 Organisational culture: Through a relational lens

Donati (2007), applies his ideas of human/non-human social forms to the examination of a hypothetical organisation, as one example, when explaining the border between human and non-human social forms. In his clear explanations he describes a corporation that has its own goals, which relate to its particular environment, thereby taking note of other social actors for example customers or other stakeholders and the political and cultural sphere. The resultant effect is to cause the organisation to continually modify its own internal relationality. He goes on to state, that if the corporation, in setting out its business plans modifies itself in a purely functional way, seeking only profit, or if the corporation is allowed to function as an autopoietic, self-referential mechanism it then conforms to the preceding description of non-human social forms and it is the view of Donati (2007), that this reliance on non-human social forms results in social pathogens within the organisation. When considering this examination of non-human social forms in organisations, it is immediately obvious that the descriptions of police structures/culture under NPM (Chapter 2), closely mirror those organisations described by Donati (2007), as non-human. This again reinforces the relevance of critical/relational theories for social research in policing. It is also of note that Skolnick (1975, 2011) describes the working policeman of the 1960’s as realizing

that his work consists mainly of dealing with human beings, which suggests high levels of reciprocity or human social forms.

Early in the 1980's, a key moment in time for this thesis as it encompasses the advent of the governance changes for the police, most western businesses were adopting very numerative analytical management processes, utilising modern technology to produce greatly increased data and numerical analysis. Some writers from that time, including (Ouchi, 1981; Deal and Kennedy, 1988; Peters and Waterman, 2004) were very critical of this over-reliance on numerical means to drive performance. Collectively, they claimed that this purely numerical analytical component has an in-built conservatism leading to cost reduction becoming the overriding priority which becomes an obsession at the expense of quality. The absence of focus on staff or quality is generally caused by a focus on another factor and in this case, it is claimed to be cost or efficiency or value for money, both terms that have been applied to police governance under the NPM

I have already discussed the development of managerialism in the UK police, under the guise of NPM in some detail in the preceding chapter, including contributions by Butterfield et al. (2004), Frey et al. (2013) and De Maillard and Savage (2017). It is very easy to see when looking at the governance changes imposed that increasing reliance on market-based strategies was the order of the day. There was a growing reliance on numerical data to drive performance and as the police approached the turn of the century purely functional auto-poietic self-referential systems were the main management tool. From the sociological discussion presented here those management practices clearly fit the description of Donati (2007), as being non-human social forms and therefore would be expected to result in social pathogens in the organisation. The expectations of Donati (2007), are confirmed by the growth and presence of negative effects linked to NPM in police organisations described by Butterfield et al. (2004), Frey et al. (2013) and De Maillard and Savage (2017).

### 3.7 Corporate agents

The central argument in the preceding theoretical discussions of relational sociology has been that social phenomena are the emergent trends and properties arising from the interaction between structure and agency. In the last few sections I looked at the effects of non-human structures in an organisational context and linked this to the governance changes occurring in UK police forces. However, to properly examine the interaction between structure and agency it is also necessary to explore agency. To this end, I will return to the work of Archer (1995), in which she presents a stratified view of the human, comprised of many layers, but concentrating on persons, agents and actors. In this context, the nature of social enquiry determines which view of the human is relevant. Thus, for a census all that is required is to identify who is counted as a person, whereas a survey taker needs to know details of the relations and group identities in order to determine what the sample represents. Here we are looking at persons who are members of groups and it is in this grouping that we find agency. Finally, when undertaking an examination or applying for a new job or promotion the performance and suitability of a specific candidate are examined and in this context the human becomes an actor. These views of the person, agency and actor are discussed by Archer (1995) in great detail and a full discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, coming toward the end of her arguments she defines agency as being collective groups (of agents) that share life opportunities. This view of agents, as groups, hands the responsibility for social morphogenesis or morphostasis to collectives rather than to the actions of individuals, this is because the morphogenetic process relies upon the actions and interactions of agents. Examples of agents, in this context, could be the unemployed, landowners, members of a particular ethnic background or a multitude of many other social groups. The key to membership of an agency is that all members share the same life chances. In this discussion Archer (1995), further states, that at certain moments, in a historical time frame, organised interest groups emerge, they are aware of what it is that they want and have the ability to articulate this to themselves and others, they can engage in a concerted, organised effort, to reshape or retain the structural or cultural feature in question and these agencies are of a particular type which Archer (1995) calls corporate agents. When looking at the morphogenetic approach it could be claimed that corporate

agents have a clear and loud say in terms of systemic stability or change, due to their ability to articulate and promote their position. At the same time, primary agents, are considered to be those collectives that have no say in structural or cultural morphostasis or morphogenesis, they do not express interests or organise for a specific purpose, the unemployed would be a particularly good example of a primary agency. Lacking a say in systemic stasis or change is not the same as having no effect upon it and primary agents will still react and respond to their own context.

Earlier, I described the process by which the morphogenetic approach moves from structural conditioning through interaction to structural elaboration and this is exactly the same process for agency. As an agency is a collective the process begins with socio-cultural conditioning of groups (corporate agency and primary agency), going through group interaction (between corporate agents and primary agents) and resulting in group elaboration (increase of corporate agents) (Archer, 1995). This idea of group elaboration (increasing numbers of corporate agents) can be applied to the changes witnessed in the management, structure and culture of the UK police over time, in a similar manner to the earlier examination of structural changes. Over the almost four decades, from the early 1980's to the current time, there have been vast increases in the numbers of corporate agents acting on the police forces in the UK. Some of these have been imposed and created through government and governance changes and were touched upon in the background literature review, for instance HMIC, PITO, NPIA (now the College of Policing). Other corporate agents are external to the police for example the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) (now the Independent Office for Police Complaints IOPC) or the human rights commission; also, external to the police we have corporate agents like local authorities and neighbourhood partnerships. Other emerging corporate agents were internally created, in the police, like the Police Superintendents Association (PSA), the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) (now the National Police Chiefs Council NPCC), Gay Police Association or National Black Police Association. This growth in numbers of corporate agents is easily evidenced and closely fits the idea of group elaboration in Archer (1995). Those agencies listed here do not include all of the corporate agents acting to influence the police at this time but are merely examples. However, all of the corporate agents, with an interest in the police, have their

own agenda and will have an effect on the day to day activity of police officers. The majority of the corporate agents, affecting the police, are concerned with people and the way they are treated and function with high levels of reciprocity, looking at issues of equality and fairness and as such build relations between their members, the police as an institution and society as a whole.

The development of relations, as witnessed here, according to Donati (2007), requires reciprocity and where reciprocal relations exist there is a human social form. Thus, over time the number of corporate agents acting on the police has greatly increased, and this has occurred in an increasingly human manner. A good example of this is the PACT (police and communities together) process imposed as part of the neighbourhood policing initiative, where, publicly attended meetings chaired by police officers to discuss local policing issues, drive the policing priorities for specific neighbourhoods. There is a high level of reciprocity between the police and the community in this PACT meeting process and as such it has a human social form. This then begins to show how critical/relational theory can be used to explain the long term social, structural and cultural changes occurring in police organisations in response to governance changes. The logical steps arriving at this juncture are; that police structures and culture adopted under NPM were driven by numerical goals and targets; management structures/culture that rely upon numerical targets produce negative effects for the staff and the organisations using them; management structures that rely upon numerical targets and goals mirror the critical/relational view of non-human social forms; a parallel can be drawn between negative effects emerging in organisations under the business paradigm and negative effects emerging in social organisations under the influences of non-human structures. Thus, using critical/relational sociological theories to highlight the impact of ongoing police governance changes can be seen to be a valid exercise. In the following section I will clarify the contextual setting for my research.

### 3.8 Researchable context

In his book Reiner (2010), explains the plural nature of the provision of policing functions within the UK, for example private security within a gated community, or

security officers within private organisations. There are a multitude of other groups or individuals who provide policing functions within our modern society, however most people when they refer to the police, mean the publicly funded police forces that provide the majority of policing functions within the public sphere (Reiner, 2010). This view of a very diverse range of policing organisations and functions is reinforced by Brodeur (2010) who also claims that most researchers focus on the visible part of public policing which is the uniformed patrol function. He goes on, suggesting that any theory of policing should encompass the complexity of this wide policing web, however in the same passage he claims the complexity of that web defies any attempt to encompass all elements. He extends his view of complexity to include the actual functions and role of the public police by stating “*the diversity of events requiring police intervention precludes a single definition of that role*” (Brodeur, 2010, pp. 35). Despite the criticism of Brodeur (2010) most police research is concerned with the provision of policing services by our public police and this is the chosen area for my own research. During his book, Brodeur (2010) provides numerous early definitions of policing that share a constant theme, that is the preservation of peace and of doing good. Interestingly, the crime fighting function that fascinates our government and media does not figure as a priority in these definitions.

One of the very interesting features of the governance of the public police within the UK is its tripartite nature, which is unique to the police. This tripartite system was introduced by the Police Act 1964 and consisted of a three-way responsibility for policing between the Chief Officer of police, the Home Office and the Local Police Authority (LPA). This system was intended to allow the police to retain their independence from political influences. The tripartite system is still in place however the LPA were recently replaced by the Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC). When considering the governance of police forces, Henry (2017) states that multiple agencies including the courts, central and local government agencies, plus influences from the commercial and voluntary sectors all contribute to the governance of our public police. Thus, the relevance of group elaboration of Archer (1995), and therefore critical/relational sociological views, when considering social research of the police is brought to the fore. The actual changes in governance (by central government) in the area of the public police from the 1980’s right up to the introduction of the new PCC’s have been discussed in

detail in the background literature review. For example, the 1993 White paper introduced by Kenneth Clarke which made the police responsible for the number of recorded and detected crimes for the first time. In terms of the politics of policing it has been claimed that this was a political move at that time to deflect the public's perception of rising crime away from government and onto the police (Gilling, 2013).

### 3.9 Theoretical framework

The central argument of the focal literature to this point has been that social scientists need to avoid any form of conflation when conducting social research. The most appropriate way to achieve this is to accept that social phenomena emerge from the interaction between structure and agency (Archer, 1995; Donati, 2007, 2011; Crossley, 2011). A very useful tool for looking at anthropological issues was provided by Douglas, (1996), when she created her model of grid and group when examining the dialectic relationships in her study. In this model, she represented the individual elements by laying grid, representing the influence of public versus private spheres and group, representing individual versus group influence, onto a separate perpendicular axis thus creating four quadrants, enabling her to describe the individual characteristics of different types of society and display them visually. The grid/group model of Douglas (1996) has been adopted and used widely across many fields and research areas. The suitability of the grid/group approach in police research is perhaps best supported by Maguire et al. (2013) and their exploration police child protection units. In their work they also consider a dichotomous orientation of factors, but from their perspective this is provided by the outward facing cultural perspective of Douglas (1996) and the inward facing perspective of contingency theory. The result for Douglas (1996), Maguire et al. (2013) and my own research is to produce a grid of four quadrants each with its own distinct characteristics.

The key to the critical/relational sociological approach is to examine the interplay between the dialectic relationships of structure and agency. This is a similar situation to the dialectic orientation presented to Douglas (1996). It therefore seems appropriate to lay structure and agency onto a chart in a similar way to Douglas (1996) thereby creating four quadrants. From the theoretical discussions one axis, structure, will be provided by



the social structures/culture, and in governance terms for the police will reflect the increasing non-human social forms, thus moving from low to high. The other axis, agency, will be provided by the increasing numbers of corporate agents presenting human social forms therefore this will again move from low to high. From the literature reviewed in the previous chapter I highlighted that the nature of policing has changed significantly since the 1980's. Relating the nature of policing to the non-human structure/culture and human corporate agency grid it is possible to identify four distinct phases in UK public policing linked to the governance of the police and these are represented on the new theoretical framework 'The Relational Policing Matrix' (RPM). In this analysis, all four of the quadrants produced will contain elements of non-human structures and human corporate agency but where, in a specific quadrant, an element is deemed high (or low) it means that is the predominant feature of that element in that quadrant. In the following sections, I will establish the theoretical characteristics of policing in each of the four quadrants of the new matrix. In creating the new RPM, the characteristics of each quadrant represent the primary method of the provision of policing services under the influences provided by the dimensions of the grid. Whilst I fully accept the diverse, plural nature of modern policing, the focus for this thesis is UK public police forces and their response to everyday policing issues. Therefore, the dimensions of the RPM (grid/group) represent how UK public police forces adopted structures and procedures intended to respond to calls for service from the public. Thus, it is the characteristics of each quadrant that indicate the predominant features of public policing under those influences, or more simply the policing style for that quadrant.

The first quadrant, traditional policing (TP), is the period pre-1980's, commencing after the implementation of the tri-partite governance of UK police forces in the Police Act 1964, and ending with the arrival of the conservative government in 1979, immediately before the governance changes discussed in the thesis commenced; I will refer to this period as "Traditional Policing" (TP). Considering the literature, it is well known that in the UK the modern public police were introduced into London as the Metropolitan Police in 1829. At that time, the force was created as a quasi-military uniformed force who were from the outset a rigid bureaucratic organisation with strict hierarchies and a rank structure (Silver, 2005). When first introduced the police in the

UK were very unpopular with most sections of the public, however due to their early success they were rapidly accepted and within a few years became the face of traditional British policing which was to change little over the following 150 years (Silver, 2005). This can be easily evidenced in the 1976 longitudinal study carried out by Reuss and Ianni which resulted in their famous paper on the cultural differences between ‘Street Cops’ and ‘Management Cops’ Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2005). The timing of this study covers the exact time frame represented by the lower left quadrant of the relational policing matrix, i.e. the late 1970’s. In their paper, they identify police forces as being bureaucratic organisations with a rigid hierarchy and tight centralised control systems and although their study was based upon the police in the USA it is widely accepted as an important indicator of modern public police forces wherever they are located, which is why it was included as a key reading in Newburn (2005). During their examination of street cop culture these authors describe a high level of accepted rule breaking, hence the focus on police deviance in research trends at that time, with officers conforming to the norms of behaviour as just being ‘the way things are done’. The picture they paint is for individual officers to have extremely high levels of personal professional discretion in their day to day dealings with the public (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni, 2005). The idea of two distinct police cultures was at the time ground breaking as all research on police culture to that point had presented a very monolithic view, focussed on the behaviour and ‘canteen culture’ of patrol officers, for example Holdaway (1982) and even earlier the original work by Skolnick (1975, 2011) and his view of ‘police working personality’. When considering the proliferation of research on police culture, Chan (1996) describes the commonly held belief, among earlier writers, that the ability to exercise enormous discretion and informal working rules allowed police officers to subvert or obstruct attempts at police reform. Chan (1996) criticises the tendency to assume that police culture is monolithic, universal and unchanging but instead offers the view that police culture should account for the existence of multiple cultures within a police force. In her work she draws on the sociological view of Pierre Bourdieu and his concepts of ‘field’ and ‘habitus’ which adds further support to my decision to rely upon critical relational sociology in my exploration of police organisations. Picking up on the work of Chan (1996), Waddington (1999) also alludes to multiple versions of police sub-cultures, he includes a consideration of ‘street cop’ and ‘management cop’ but extends this to think

about command, middle and lower levels as well as potential differences between patrol and community-based patrol teams. It is common for commentators on the topic of police culture to highlight a range of negative attitudes and working practices as being the ‘norm’ for working police officers but Chan (1996) cited by Waddington (1999) believes this is nothing more than a convenient label. Indeed, it is common for canteen bravado to be little more than boasting, having no reflection on the behaviour of officers when dealing with the public (Holdaway, 1982). Furthermore, it is not limited to the police who are not considered as unusual in saying one thing in the work environment whilst doing another (Waddington, 1999). Indeed, on the topic of police culture, Waddington (1999) asks:

*“If the concept of police sub-culture explains so little why do police researchers adhere so tenaciously to the concept of police sub-culture?”.*

Waddington (1999 pp. 293)

Considering the dimensions of the RPM the characteristics described here, particularly high levels of professional discretion, suggest policing systems that engaged with the public on a person by person, case by case basis. This meant that policing services were tailored to meet the needs of individual members of the public giving policing a very person-oriented focus. Another source that examines the structure and politics of UK policing is the book by Loader and Mulcahy (2003), which describes police organisations in the UK. Their book claims that UK police forces during the late 1970’s were large and complex bureaucratic organisations with long chains of command and a network of specialist departments and roles, giving further support to the global nature of the work of Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2005). Whilst Loader and Mulcahy (2003), refer to specialist departments and roles the situation in modern policing in the late 1970’s was that the greatest single function of any police force was uniformed patrol duties with around 60% of police officers in the USA being employed in this role. In the UK, the figure at that time was closer to 56% but this is still by far the largest single role as all other functions and specialised roles were divided among the remaining percentage of staff, resulting in large teams of patrol officers (Bittner, 2005). It therefore appears that the literature covering UK policing in the latter part of the 1970’s, and as such being the

period occupying the lower left quadrant of the relational policing matrix (1964 – 1979), is of complex bureaucratic organisations having strict hierarchies and rank structures. These bureaucratic quasi-military organisations had clear control coming from the centre of the organisation with the largest portion of the force being engaged in routine uniformed patrol duties with some other specialist departments resulting in large teams of patrol officers. Those officers engaged in patrol duties learned ‘the way things are done’ from their colleagues and were empowered with very high levels of professional discretion (Loader and Mulcahy, 2003; Bittner, 2005; Reuss-Ianni and Ianni, 2005; Tong and Wood, 2011) and this is therefore the picture of the traditional style of policing populating the late 1970’s TP quadrant of the relational policing matrix. This then suggests the key characteristics of this quadrant, suggested by the literature, are bureaucratic hierarchies, large uniformed teams engaged in patrol duties, processes via ‘the way things are done’ and high levels of professional discretion. During this period, the police were centrally driven following tight quasi-militaristic rank structures. The rank and file were inculcated in the way things were expected to be done by their peers (Reiner, 2010). However once accepted they were trusted as professionals and were allowed high degrees of discretion. At that time, the structures were hierarchical, and the focus was on quality and providing a good service but without relying on reams of data. In considering Donati (2007), the non-human management practices and structures were at low levels. At the same time, there were very few groups or collectives taking an interest in the workings or performance of the police and as such the level of corporate agents supporting human social forms affecting the police was also low, therefore the TP quadrant forms the lower left low/low quadrant (quadrant 1) of the new RPM. According to Reiner (1998), police research can be mapped into distinct stages, consensus, controversy, conflict and contradiction. The earliest, consensus, was ‘celebratory’ in tone and was prevalent from the mid 1960’s up to the 1970’s. Research during this phase was much more concerned with a simple description than any attempt at analysis, but very interestingly, the timing of the initial changes in research style are almost simultaneous to changes in police governance, which may be a wider reflection of social changes.

Considering the effects or influence of the dimensions of the grid in the low/low quadrant, where non-human structures/culture are low, police organisations and police

officers are free to operate using mainly human social forms. The key for Donati (2007), in defining human social forms, is that the parties in any social exchange are reciprocally oriented, suggesting a sharing and empathic relationship where both parties affect each other. This means that police officers, police organisations and indeed police work were reciprocally oriented in their dealings with each other and the public. This is a human exchange and is therefore ‘person oriented’ which then provides the low dimension of the vertical axis of the matrix (person oriented). The horizontal axis for the low/low quadrant is provided by the number and influence of corporate agencies that take an interest in policing. The corporate agency dimension is low, that is the number and influence of groups and organisations taking an interest in policing is low and equates to an absence of influences other than those provided by police policy makers and managers. This means that police organisations were free to set their own priorities and to define their own shape and structure. In this way police organisations were self-determining without any need to consider the views or interests of any external groups, which then provides the low dimension of the horizontal axis of the matrix (self-determining). The combined influences of the vertical and horizontal axes of the grid result in the low/low (TP) quadrant, representing policing styles that were self-determining person-oriented in line with the dimensions of the grid. Given these influences and suggested characteristics I define the Traditional Policing (TP) quadrant as:

*“Policing styles that are self-determined, responding to their own internally set priorities to deliver person-oriented services to the public”*

The second quadrant, new public management (NPM), is the period from 1980 to 2000 that I will refer to as “NPM” led or performance led policing. This is the period that saw the advent of performance cultures and rampant managerialism in the police, bringing with it autopoietic self-referential management systems. The background literature chapter examines the rise of NPM in detail and therefore the need to establish the characteristics of the NPM quadrant, has already been achieved through this literature review. As a brief summary, the key characteristics coming from the literature were, a market driven agenda that sought to improve the efficiency, effectiveness and economy of publicly funded police forces through a reliance on numerical targets and goals (Rose, 1996; Scott, 1998; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017;

Bao et al., 2013; Frey et al., 2013; Bullock and Sindall, 2014; Arnaboldi et al., 2015). There was a move away from mainly large responsive uniformed patrol duties to diverse small specialist teams working in proactive systems under the intelligence led policing of the NIM (Maguire and John, 2006). There was a very strong reliance on numerical data targets and goals, which led to poor community engagement and greatly reduced professional discretion. These non-human structures rapidly increased during this period also resulting in effects that fitted Donati (2007) and his view of social pathogens. Thus, for the era of NPM led policing the non-human structures were increasingly high whilst the human corporate agencies acting in this quadrant, whilst showing some signs of growth, were predominantly low. Therefore, looking at the interplay between structure/culture and corporate agency we can see that policing under NPM fills the upper left low/high quadrant (quadrant 2). Coming back to the ebb and flow of police research across this phase, Reiner (1998), describes two stages in the 1970's and 1980's, these being controversy and conflict. The controversy phase of police research considered empirical data to explore culture and discretion with a real focus on police deviant behaviour and how this could be controlled. The conflict stage of research was far more concerned with police organisational failings, considering the implementation of adequate democratic accountability (Reiner, 1998). There is one final phase described by Reiner (1998) that is contradiction and Reiner and Newburn (2007) reinforce the earlier work describing the contradiction phase as having a definite crime control agenda. It is possible to suggest that the flow and change of police research can again been seen as a reflection of the contemporary drivers for police reforms prevalent at that time. The focus of research in the late 1990's shifted away from police deviance and malpractice evident in the controversy and conflict stages to a consideration of more effective policing services (Reiner and Newburn, 2007). Indeed, the policing environment at that time was of rampant managerialism with a desire for police research coming from new right realism on one side and new left realists on the other. Both sides had their own view of the correct direction for police reform, the right were concerned with catching criminals and the left espoused a much more minimalist view of policing. Regardless of the approach, both however were almost entirely focussed on the police crime control function (Reiner and Newburn, 2007).

Returning to a consideration of the dimensions of the matrix the horizontal axis in this quadrant is defined as low corporate agency, therefore the arguments in relation to the absence of external influences still apply, meaning the horizontal dimension is (self-determining) as in quadrant 1. Moving to the vertical axis however, the situation has changed and the vertical axis in this quadrant is for high levels of non-human structures/culture. As discussed in the theoretical exploration, the motivation and driver for the NPM arises from the desire to make police organisations more efficient, effective and economic. Under these influences the salience of numerical targets and goals takes precedence over individual considerations on a case by case basis. This then shifts the focus of police organisations from a person- oriented position to a task-oriented position where the focus is on hitting goals removing reciprocity from the exchanges. Police organisations were therefore ‘task-oriented’ which then provides the high dimension of the vertical axis of the grid (task-oriented). The combined influences of the vertical and horizontal axes of the grid result in the low/high quadrant (NPM) representing policing styles that were self-determining task-oriented in line with the dimensions of the matrix. Given these influences and suggested characteristics I define the new public management (NPM) quadrant as: -

*“Policing styles that are self-determined, responding to their own internally set priorities to deliver task-oriented, efficiency driven services to the public”*

The third quadrant, conflicted policing (CP), falls in the years 2000 – 2010. The high-performance culture, of NPM and the need for UK police forces to provide masses of data to central government has been thoroughly covered by very many authors and explored in full in the background literature chapter of this thesis and the preceding section of this chapter. The fact that the managerialism created under the NPM during the 1990’s remained in place until the arrival of the new coalition government and home secretary Theresa May is made clear by her speech made at the 2010 police federation conference. In this speech, which is very long, she promises to remove centrally set targets and goals allowing the police to concentrate on more local solutions, a small section is presented here: -

*“We will also look at dismantling the targets in disguise - the Key Performance Indicators - which set national, one-size-fits-all priorities for local forces and instead allow you to pursue the crimes and criminals you believe you should”*  
(May, 2010 pp. 1)

The fact that the home secretary, in 2010, felt the need for central government to make a point of removing targets and goals from UK police forces is a very clear indicator that drive for efficiency, effectiveness and economy generated by the NPM between 1980 – 2000, was still present in UK police forces right up to that moment in time i.e. 2010. Thus, for this quadrant, the presence of non-human structures/culture (linked to NPM) remain High and as seen in the previous quadrant, where non-human structures and culture are high the resultant policing systems and culture are very task-oriented and efficiency driven, establishing one dimension for this quadrant. Almost a decade before the speech of (May, 2010) the UK police were about to feel the effects of new localism (Fielding and Innes, 2006; Bullock and Sindall, 2013; Millie et al., 2013) with the introduction of neighbourhood policing (NHP) by the New Labour Government. Rising out of this new local agenda all UK police forces were required to implement the governments NHP model. The full characteristics of the NHP model from that period have been examined in detail in the background literature chapter. Looking at table 3) ‘Characteristics for neighbourhood policing (NHP)’ the fifth characteristic is listed as ‘confused’ and this is slightly expanded to include ‘local solutions hampered by central performance measures’ with justification for these claims being found in the writing of Loveday (2000a), Fielding and Innes (2006), Foster and Jones (2010) De Maillard and Savage (2012), Millie et al. (2013) and Gasper and Davies (2016). This phase saw the introduction of NHP, produced under the government’s new localism policies and the already discussed duality of governance, which adds a confusing complexity to the picture. Under this influence there were high levels of community engagement with specifically designated neighbourhood officers attending PACT meetings. However, at the same time the police were expected to deliver upon the dearth of centrally imposed goals and targets. Thus, the messages from government were confused resulting in a decade I will refer to as “conflicted policing” (CP). In terms of the quadrants generated by the new grid, the influences of NPM remained meaning that non-human



structures/culture also remained high. However, the growth over time of increasing numbers of corporate agencies and the emergence of new localism with the police needing to adopt more human processes under NHP. This therefore fills the upper right, the high/high quadrant of the grid. In effect the key characteristics for policing in this quadrant was a blend or hybrid replacing the totally task oriented characteristics of NPM with more person-oriented community based NHP.

In relation to the dimensions of the grid, the low and high states for the vertical axis has already been stated. For the horizontal axis however, the move from low levels of corporate agencies to high levels of corporate agencies must be considered. In the low state police organisations were free to set their own priorities however as the number and influence of external agents grows so the structural freedoms are constrained. This means that over time, as the number and influence of corporate agencies grows, in line with Archer (1995) and social elaboration, police organisations become increasingly influenced by or dependant on those external influences. The combined influences of the vertical and horizontal axes of the grid result in the high/high quadrant (CP) representing policing styles that were externally-dependent task-oriented in line with the dimensions of the grid. Given these influences and suggested characteristics I define the conflicted policing (CP) quadrant as: -

*“Policing styles that are responsive to the demands of local communities and other external agencies whilst attempting to provide task-oriented, efficiency driven services to the public”.*

Quadrant 4, neo-traditional policing (NTP), represents the governance of UK police forces since 2010. The characteristics of the last phase are new and as such the existing theoretical contributions are few, therefore the establishment of the characteristics of policing in the final quadrant will need to emerge from the data. However, in developing the new theoretical framework the influences in this quadrant can be considered from a theoretical position. The key changes to police governance in this quadrant are provided by the sudden withdrawal of goals and targets from the policing agenda by the new government in 2010. Which, in terms of the theoretical framework means a return to low levels of non-human structures as seen in the TP quadrant (quadrant

1). Also, of key relevance for police forces are the significant budgetary cuts imposed under the government's austerity measures. For example, recent contributions, in the management and business texts explore recent claims of overwork in police organisations due to severe staff losses. For example, in 2016 two papers, one related to the public-sector and one related to the for-profit sector were published. The content and analysis of the independently written papers was startlingly similar. Ashkanasy et al., (2016), examine the effects of what they term, High Performance Working Practices (HPWP) in the public-sector. Whilst, De Silva and Chandrika (2016), examine the effects of High-Performance Working Systems (HPWS) on elites working in the for-profit sector. Both, HPWP and HPWS are described as systems of management that share an over-reliance on numerical targets and goals as the primary means of driving organisational performance. Not only do these papers share striking similarity in the systems and process they examine they also make a causal link between those systems and the growth of negative effects within the organisations, including but not limited to, over-work, stress related sickness and unethical integrity issues. At this point a consideration of the work of Hesketh (2015), and his new concept of leavism is relevant. Hesketh defines leavism as: -

“1/ *Using allocated time off (leave/rest days etc) to take time off when unwell*

2/ *taking work home that cannot be completed in normal working hours*

3/ *working on leave or holiday to catch up.* “

Hesketh (2015, pp. 123)

Whilst this may not at first appear to be a problem, he highlights positive links between employee wellbeing and organizational performance and then also highlights the increased incidence of police sickness due to mental health issues since the introduction of UK austerity measures in 2010. On this topic he claims that in 2014 UK police forces lost 600, 000 working days to stress, anxiety or depression adding support to the claims of Brogden and Ellison (2013). In developing his thesis, he goes on to

explore the phenomenon of staff 'burnout' which has been described as a prolonged response to chronic job stresses. The extent of stress related illness in police organisations is also covered in detail by Maran et al. (2018) making links to several other studies of police sickness. In his study he reports that a third of respondents admitted to regularly adopting working practices that fit his definition of 'leavism'. He further claims, that with current workloads it is highly likely that once staff begin to 'burnout', the practice of leavism will cease or reduce as officers reach their personal resilience limits. Two separate studies of police organisations utilising the Job Demand Control Model (JCD) Van Thielen et al. (2018) and Job Demand Control Support Model (JDSC) Elmark Andersson et al. (2017) make claims that police reforms aimed at greater efficiency run the risk of negative health impact on staff due to the creation of an unbalanced work environment. Both studies recommend that police managers should focus on maintaining a bearable level of job demands. Given the current high levels of stress and overwork, that I alluded to in the work of Ashkanasy et al. (2016) and De Silva and Chandrika (2016), the possibility of a sudden decline in leavism in UK police forces is a real possibility that could impact heavily on police organisations. One key recommendation coming out of the ongoing work of Hesketh (2015) is for resilience training to be delivered to police officers to provide them with the mental tools to help them cope with the rigorous demands of police work. It has been suggested that police work is an emotional roller coaster that exposes police officers to a high risk of stress and mental health related sickness (Andersen et al., 2015). Given the emotional nature of police work as described here, and the growing imbalance between demand and resources in UK police forces under austerity Winsor (2016), the figures quoted by Hesketh (2015) and Brogden and Ellison (2013) can come as no surprise. Andersen et al. (2015) suggest that police officers should be given, 'mental preparedness' training but the material they cover could be considered as 'resilience' training, indeed they even state that the idea of fostering resilience in police officers is a topic of growing interest. The successful implementation of resilience training of Hesketh (2015) or mental preparedness training of Andersen et al. (2015) is likely to improve the optimism of the officers undergoing the training which also links to the work of Padhy et al. (2015) who make positive correlations between officer wellbeing and optimism. The study of Maran et al. (2018) also makes positive correlations between physical and mental wellbeing courses and the

health of police officers. Another recent study examining police wellbeing considers the effect of leadership styles on the health of subordinates and concludes that more transformative support leadership styles have positive effects on staff health and wellbeing (Santa Maria et al., 2018). Given the number of different approaches listed above there appears to be no real consensus on how best to address police officer health and wellbeing, however, the last-mentioned study Santa Maria et al. (2018) promotes the concept of health oriented leadership (HoL) which incorporates much of the ground covered by the other studies. The effect of ongoing financial cuts on police officer numbers has been raised as a cause for concern by academics such as Elliott-Davies et al. (2016), in their paper “Getting a Battering”. They highlight the growing imbalance between police demand and resources and the negative effects on the health and wellbeing of the remaining police officers, a point that is also made by the chairman of the police federation White (2015) and further supported by Boulton et al. (2017). The extent of the impact of cuts on the wellbeing of officers is perhaps best highlighted by Brogden and Ellison (2013) who state that almost 10% of police officers in England and Wales are on long term sick leave. When considered together with the 12% of staff losses since 2010 claimed by Elliott-Davies et al. (2016), this adds up to a reduction of available officers of a staggering 22% or almost a quarter of officers. Brogden and Ellison (2013) go on to highlight the limited impact of police numbers on the rate of recorded crime or the experience of crime victims and then add “*so much for problems in reductions in police manpower in the fiscal crisis!*” (Brogden and Ellison, 2013, pp. 48). The implication here is clearly that police numbers don’t matter, however, they completely miss, either by accidental omission or deliberate act, the protection of life and property and the emergency response functions that are severely hampered by a lack of staff. For example, White (2015) and Winsor (2016) do not only raise concerns for officer wellbeing they also warn of serious risks to public safety caused by the reduction of police officer numbers. After almost a decade of public sector austerity there is a public perception that crime is rising against the official version showing a decline. The decline in recorded crime numbers is confirmed by the Independent Crime Commission (2013), who quote a crime reduction figure of 9% for the year ending March 2013. The fears of the public are easily and constantly fanned by the activity of the media as evidenced by the Daily Telegraph article from 26<sup>th</sup> April 2018 “Knife Crime Soars by Almost a Quarter Amid

Warnings Drop in Stop and Search is Fuelling Violence” Evans and Kirk (2018). Public fears over knife crime were also reported by the press to be at epidemic proportions throughout the course of 2008, however the causes and solutions are according to Squires (2009), more linked to social remedies than police activity. Of interest, for police researchers, is the striking similarity between the behaviour of the contemporary media and its reaction to knife crime and the reaction of the media to the perceived mugging epidemic of the 1970’s examined in the work of Hall et al. (1978, 2013). This attitude of the public, media and government, assumes that police activity, including stop and search, can have an effect on the rate and incidence of crime. The academic literature linked to police and crime reduction consistently claims that police activity has little or no effect on the rate or incidence of crime, which is far more linked to social issues (see Chapter 2 section 2.4 post). On the subject of police stop and search the paper by Tiratelli et al. (2018), examines ten years of police stop search and crime data and concludes that police stop and search, has little effect on the incidence of crime and therefore stop search is more a tool of social control than of crime fighting. Their argument is, that despite any clear evidence of the efficacy of stop and search as a crime fighting tool it is still a widely used and exercised police power. Seen here: -

*“On one level, the answer is simple: police officers believe that S and S is a useful tool of crime control. Yet it is equally important to recognize that S and S is not solely about crime. As research over three decades has suggested, it is also a tool of order maintenance, used by police officers seeking to assert power and control in a situation or locale (Smith and Gray 1985; Choongh 1997; Quinton 2011). S and S may also play a structural role linked to the basic function of police as an institution of social ordering: a way for police to discipline and ascribe identity to the populations they police (Bradford and Loader, 2016).”*

Tiratelli et al. (2018 pp. 1226)

Continuing from the previous paragraph, it appears a major issue facing the UK police under austerity is the continued fascination of government with presenting the primary role of police forces as crime fighters. This is because despite the pleas and protestations of police forces about the growing gap between resources and demands, crime rates continue to fall as indicated in the following text: -

*“Police reform is working, and crime is falling. Recorded crime has dropped yet again, by more than ten per cent under the coalition government and the crime survey says that crime has more than halved since its peak in 1995.”*

(Baker 2013, pp. 1)

In this report it is clear HM Government wish to take credit for their treatment of policing claiming that their policies are responsible for an ongoing decline in recorded crime. However, the section on crime in the previous chapter highlighted that using recorded crime to measure police performance and effectiveness was flawed and unreliable (Loveday, 1999, 2000b; Reiner, 1998, 2007; Brain, 2010). The problems associated with recorded crime are exacerbated by frequent changes to Home Office counting rules, making year on year comparisons virtually worthless (Maguire, 2007; Reiner, 2007). The sharp rise in violent crime reported by the popular press and discussed in the previous paragraph may indicate a mismatch between crime figures (both police and crime survey) and the actual incidence of crime. For me, the greatest criticism of the use of recorded crime figures is provided by Fielding and Innes (2006) where their research suggest that reduced crime rates are very often a reflection of poor police performance as increasing numbers of offences go unreported due to a loss of public confidence. My final consideration of currently falling crime in the UK is that it is in fact a reflection of an international trend across the Western World for example the article of Tonry (2014) “Why crime rates are falling throughout the Western World”. Their paper explores this phenomenon in detail and looks at many potential causes for the decline and they state

*“Diverse explanations have been offered for both the long- and short-term declines. Most agree that, whatever the explanations may be, they do not include direct effects of changes in policing or sanctioning policies”*

(Tonry, 2014, pp. 1)

The previous sections of this chapter have looked at the forces and drivers affecting UK police forces since 2010. The purpose of this section of the thesis is to

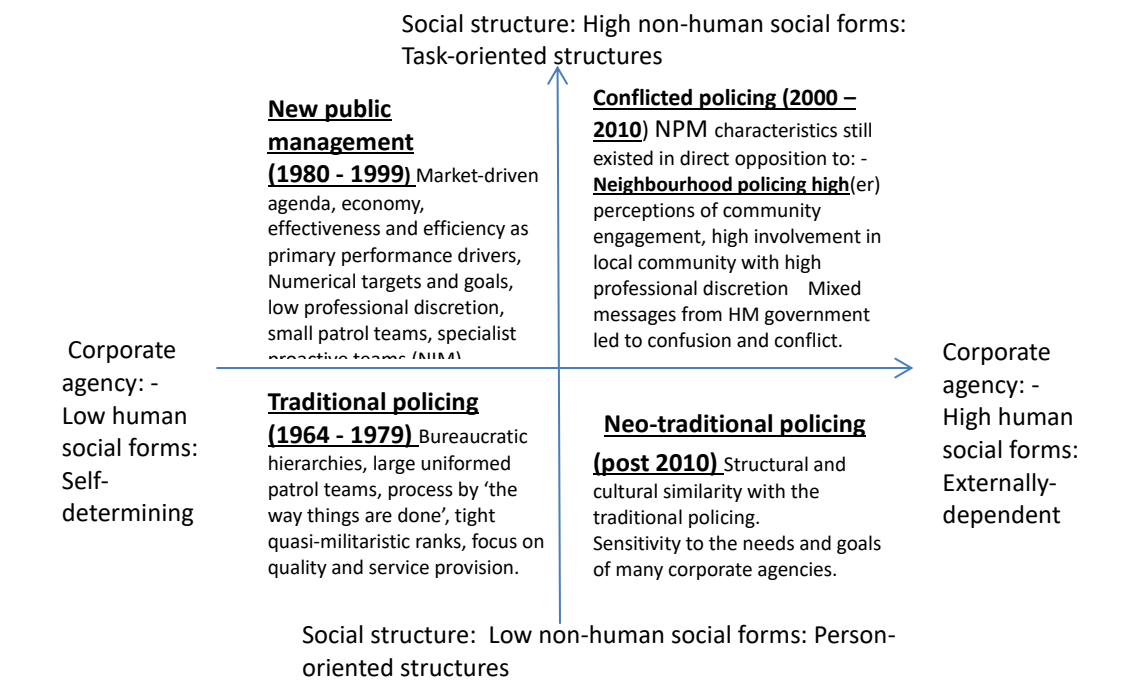
establish the characteristics of policing in each of the four quadrants of the RPM. Indeed, the topic at this juncture are the characteristics for the final, fourth quadrant. As already stated, as the idea of neo-traditional policing is new there is very little existing literature to describe the characteristics. I can say from an initial examination of the data gathered for this thesis that the shape and structures for this final quadrant are very similar to those found in the TP quadrant and as such the quadrant will share many of the characteristics, including higher levels of discretion and a return to large patrol teams and a subsequent reduction in specialist functions. Whilst the removal of goals and targets sees an immediate drop from high levels of non-human structures/culture the same cannot be said for the number and influence of corporate agencies which remain high. Indeed, the group elaboration of Archer (1995) is theoretically linked to social complexity and as such, it should be theoretically impossible for the number and influence of corporate agencies to fall without a linked fall in social complexity. Contemporary police forces, therefore, must remain sensitive to partnership working and the influence of very many interested parties, or corporate agents, which was never a consideration in the TP quadrant. Therefore, at this juncture the lower right quadrant, the high/low, is populated by what I will refer to as “Neo-traditional policing” (NTP). As the dimensions of the grid in terms of both low and high states for the horizontal and vertical axes have been established in the preceding three quadrants that is not repeated here. Therefore, it is a matter of applying the same arguments to the axes of the final quadrant. The combined influences of the vertical and horizontal axes of the grid in the remaining high/low quadrant (NTP) represent policing styles that are externally-dependent person -oriented in line with the dimensions of the grid. Given these influences and suggested characteristics I define the neo-traditional policing (NTP) quadrant as: -

*“Policing styles that are responsive to the demands of local communities and other external agencies whilst attempting to provide person-oriented, services to the public”*

In the preceding sections of the chapter, a new theoretical framework, the RPM was developed from the existing literature and the main characteristics of policing styles adopted under each of the quadrants was suggested. The suggested characteristics and timing for population of the quadrants comes from the background literature chapter

(Chapter 2) which highlighted four distinct phases, which were ;1/ 1964 – 1979 covering the period from the Police Act 1964 that created the tri-partite arrangement of police governance, up to the arrival of the Conservative Government under Margaret Thatcher in 1979; 2/ 1980 – 1999 covering the entire period of the Conservative Government and the implementation of NPM up to the more community oriented influences of New Labour at the turn of the century; 3/ 2000 – 2010 covering the decade of confused mixed messages coming from the Labour Government who tried to push both new localism for the police whilst retaining tight central control and a high efficiency managerial agenda; 4/ post 2010 a period of policing that is currently ongoing, is yet to be fully determined but has high forces of change due to the removal of overtly managerial pressures and severely restricted budgets. The use of a grid/group matrix for the RPM generates four quadrants and the theoretical phases of policing from the background literature correspond to the quadrants generated by the grid. For ease of visualisation and greater clarity, the four distinct phases, of the RPM, together with their suggested, characteristics are now presented in a 2 x 2 grid/group style diagram (Douglas, 1996), the Relational Policing Matrix: -

Figure 5: The relational policing matrix (RPM)





As stated at the end of section 3.9 (post) the policing style for each of the four quadrants is provided by the key characteristics and represents the way that UK police forces provided everyday policing in response to requests for service from the public. The key characteristics from the RPM, highlighting links to relevant literature, for each policing style are presented in the following table: -

*Table 4: Policing styles theoretical links*

<b>Policing Style (Quadrant)</b>	<b>Key characteristic</b>	<b>Relevant literature</b>
Traditional policing (TP)		
	Strict bureaucratic hierarchies	Loader and Mulcahy (2003); Newburn (2005); Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2005); Silver (2005)
	The way things are done	Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2005); Reiner (2010); Tong and Wood (2011)
	High discretion	Skolnick (1975, 2011); Chan (1996); Waddington (1999); Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2005)
	Large uniformed patrol teams	Loader and Mulcahy (2003); Bittner (2005)
	Quasi-military ranks	Silver, 2005; Reiner, 2010
New public management (NPM)		
	Market driven agenda	Rose (1996); Scott (1998); Cockcroft and Beattie (2009); De Maillard and Savage (2012;2017); Bao et al. (2013); Frey et al. (2013); Bullock and Sindall (2014); Arnaboldi et al. (2015)
	Economy, efficiency, effectiveness	Long (2003); De Maillard and Savage (2012)
	Target/ goal driven	Loveday (1999); Loveday (2000a, 2000b); Reiner (2010);

		De Maillard and Savage (2012); Gilling (2013); Tiwana et al. (2015); Loader (2016)
	Small teams	Maguire and John (2006); Brain (2010)
	Proactive specialist teams (NIM)	Maguire and John (2006); Brain (2010)
	Low discretion	Loveday (1999); Butterfield et al. (2004); De Maillard and Savage (2012)
Conflicted policing (CP)		
	Continuation of characteristics of NPM	Home Office (2001); Wasik (2001); Long and Silverman (2005); Collier (2006); Reiner (2010); Fleming and McLaughlin (2012); Gilling (2013); Loader (2016)
	New localism / NHP	Fielding and Innes (2006); Bullock and Sindall (2013); Millie et al. (2013)
	Confusing message from HM government leading to conflict	Loveday (2000a); Feilding and Innes (2006); Savage (2007); Foster and Jones (2010); De Maillard and Savage (2012); Fleming and McLaughlin (2012); Millie et al. (2013); Gilling (2013,2014); Gasper and Davies (2016)
NTP		
	Policing styles similar to traditional policing (TP) i.e. large uniform patrol teams, high discretion and the end	Theoretical links to this quadrant are restricted to the forces acting as a result of the removal of targets from police

	of NHP, whilst remaining sensitive to many corporate agents who have an interest in policing (e.g. Stephen Lawrence Foundation)	organisations and the effects of austerity. In terms of the characteristics for policing styles all evidence for this quadrant necessarily emerges from the data.
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### 3.10 Research questions

The theoretical and contextual setting provided by the two literature review chapters and the development of the new RPM brings into focus the need to develop relevant research questions. In developing the research questions, the content of both literature review chapters is relevant. This is because the background literature chapter describes and explores the many governance changes for policing occurring since 1980 and the focal theoretical underpinning for the RPM is based in critical relational/relational sociology. Thus, the object of interest is the point of interaction between structure and corporate agency, which is most easily viewed through its effect on individuals. This then leads to a consideration of the experiences of police officers, who worked through most of the governance changes covered in the literature. An excellent tool for exploring the views of individuals is provided by the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methodology of Smith, et al. (2009), which allows for an in-depth exploration of the sense making of research participants.

The aim of the thesis is – *To explore and investigate the evolving nature of the relational, cultural and performance aspects of UK policing since 1980.*

In considering this aim it is essential to note that those relational, cultural and performance aspects have emerged in response to the ongoing governance changes for the police across that time span. Given the aim of the thesis and the nature of the background and focal literatures, the first question that needs to be addressed arises from the perceptions of police officers. Therefore, the first research question is: -

***RQ1: What are the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of emerging UK policing governance systems since 1980?***

The theoretical arguments presented in developing the RPM suggest certain characteristics of the predominant policing style for each of its four quadrants. I suggest that the characteristics present in the RPM have emerged, through the morphogenetic process, in response to the governance changes. In the introduction chapter, I explained that the rationale and motivation for my research arise from a desire to examine the cultural and performance aspects of UK policing from the perspective of police officers. As the aim of the research is driven by a desire to examine policing from the perspective of police officers the work of Smith et al. (2009) suggests, that the best way to examine the new RPM is through their personal sense making in relation to their experiences. Thus, RQ1 can be most easily addressed by considering the perceptions and lived experiences of police officers in relation to the characteristics emerging in the four quadrants of the RPM. This will be undertaken by the analysis of the data presented in ‘Case study analysis: Governance and cultural changes’ (Chapter 5). In this process, I have a desire to give full voice to the deeply felt view and opinions of the participants. This desire to allow police officer participants a full voice suggests a need to answer how they felt about the ongoing governance changes. This also enables the research to move from a macro consideration at the organisational level to a micro consideration at the personal individual level. When considering the feelings of the officers it is essential to maintain a view of the overall aim of the thesis. Therefore, the second research question is: -

***RQ2: - How have police officers reacted to the social structural and corporate agency governance changes in UK policing since 198)?***

In addressing RQ2, the impact of the policing style characteristics of the quadrants of the RPM, on the research participants, is the main focus. Therefore, the collected data was re-analysed with a definite focus on the feelings and lived experiences of the participants. The second analysis of the data and the new analysis are presented in ‘Case study analysis: Personal lived experiences and feelings’ (Chapter 6). With the research questions established and a definite focus upon the perceptions, and feelings of the participants the design of the research needs to be examined. The following chapter will outline the research design, highlighting the justification for the choices made. The final part of that chapter will be a detailed methodology of the research processes adopted.

## 4 Research design and methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to inform the reader of the key literature underpinning the research design, intended to maintain epistemological and ontological consistency and the choices made for this research. Once the theoretical underpinning and choices have been established in the first sections of the chapter in latter parts of the chapter, I will use the methodology section to lead the reader through the step by step conduct of the research.

The first section following this introduction gives a short but complete theoretical examination of the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methodology introduced by Smith et al. (2009), which is the over-arching chosen data collection method for this thesis. In deciding to utilise an IPA methodology, the research projects of Cope (2011) and Mairi et al. (2012) are relied upon to justify its use in a wider social research context than the originally intended field of psychology. Although the existing literature using IPA methodologies for qualitative research is a rapidly growing field its use in police research whilst not unique is very limited. One paper by McLean and Marshall (2010), deals with frontline police officer's perceptions of dealing with mental health issues. Their approach used an IPA case study methodology to interview nine police officers about their experiences dealing with mental health (McLean and Marshall, 2010). Whilst their case study approach is similar, they offer no comparison between police forces and the study underpinning is not taken from critical/relational sociology. Thus, the use of IPA in the context of policing, in the current thesis, becomes a contribution to knowledge for the fields of, policing, public-sector, IPA research and psychology.

The next section of the chapter is dedicated to the use of case studies in research. In this part of the chapter Yin (2014) is used to identify the exact nature of the proposed research. In his work, Yin (2014), compared five possible research methods, including case study, and applied a series of criteria to generate a table that suggests the most appropriate research method in the given context. For this thesis the work of Yin (2014)

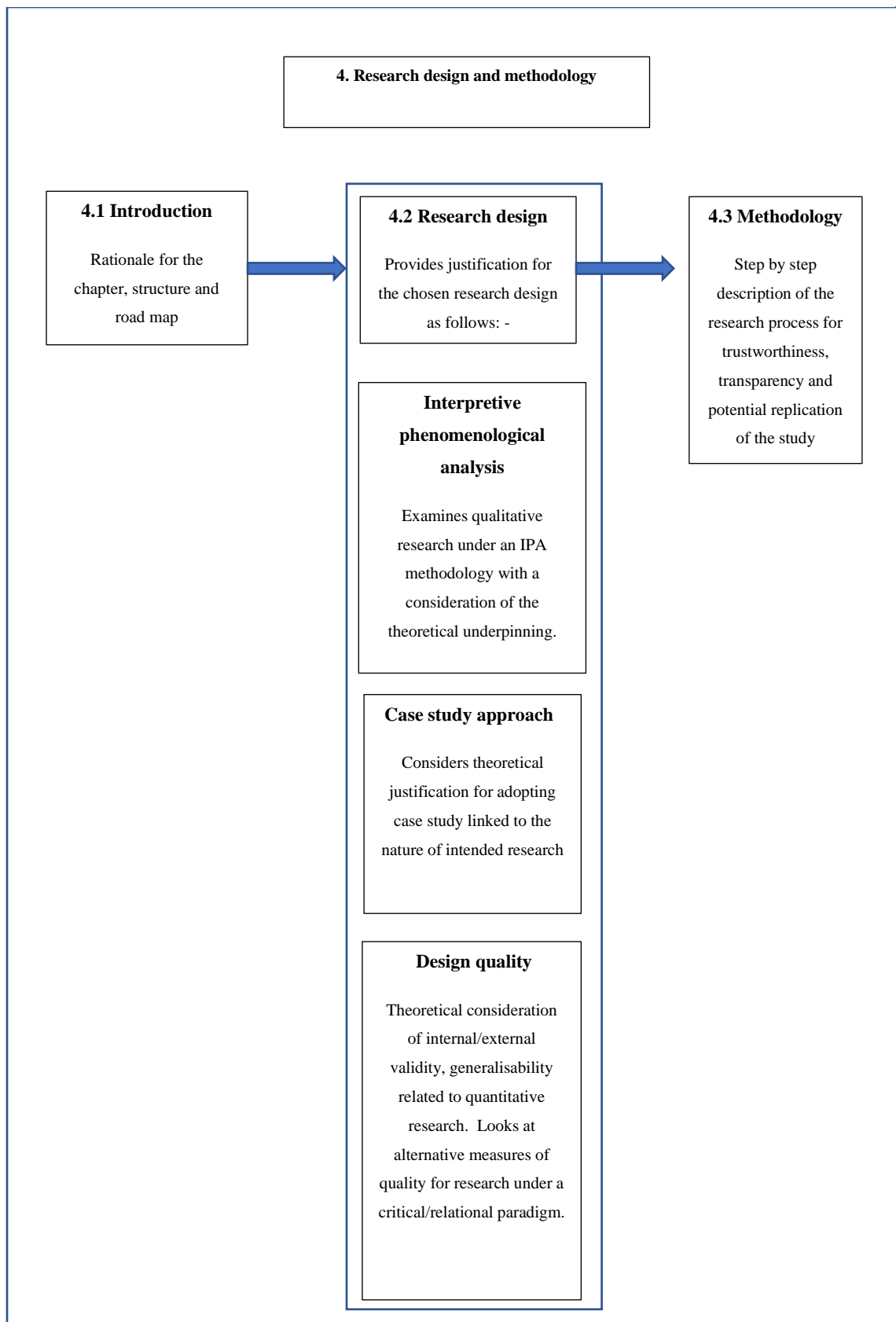
and his research methods table, suggested a case study approach as the best fit for the proposed research. The use of a case study approach is also consistent with IPA methodologies and is the chosen delivery method described in the original IPA texts of Smith et al. (2009). Further support of the use of a case study approach is provided by Brunsden and Hill (2009) in their study on a single firefighter and his experiences being involved in a strike. The already mentioned work of McLean and Marshall (2010) continues to bolster the argument in favour of adopting a case study approach. For these reasons I have chosen to follow a case study approach, with an IPA methodology as the chosen data gathering method. The chosen research design sits comfortably within the existing research literature and adds to the many other studies that have followed the steps laid out by Yin (2014). This approach is therefore in some small way an affirmation of his work and is a contribution to the field of social research.

Following the decision to undertake the research through case studies, issues of design quality are considered. The issues of reliability, validity and generalisability under the positivistic, quantitative paradigm from the literature of Kvale (1995), Gibbert et al. (2008) and Piekkari and Plakoyiannaki (2010), are briefly examined. However, Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009), examine interpretive research under contemporary sociological paradigms and suggest that more relevant measures of quality are provided by trustworthiness and the claims made are supported by the data. Therefore, as the lens for the current research is provided by critical relational sociological views, the work of Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009) is used as the measure of research quality.

The final section of the chapter is the methodology which provides a step by step description of all of the research processes followed in conducting this research. The intention of this section of the chapter is to enhance the trustworthiness and transparency of the whole, in line with the design quality criteria from Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009), and to allow other researchers to replicate the study, should they wish to do so.

The structure of chapter is shown in the roadmap figure on the following page -

Figure 6: Research design and methodology road map.



## 4.2 Research design

The aim of the thesis is: - *To explore and investigate the evolving nature of the relational, cultural and performance aspects of UK policing since 1980.*

Central to this aim are “relational” and “cultural” aspects and in seeking to achieve the aim two research questions were developed. Both research questions have at their heart the desire to examine the perceptions of federated rank police officers to inform the relational, cultural and performance aspects of police governance changes. Therefore, the research design must take full account of the relational nature of the aim of the thesis. Interpretive phenomenological analysis is a well-established and well recognized method of conducting qualitative social research. Initially it was developed in the field of psychology following the work of Smith (2004), Reid et al. (2005), Brocki and Weardon (2006) and Larkin et al. (2006). Gradually over time, the method has moved into other fields of social research, where it has been repeatedly used successfully. Examples of this wider use are provided by Cope (2011) or Mairi et al. (2012) who used IPA in their respective studies into the theoretical field of business, one of the theoretical fields on which this thesis draws. To assess the extent of the use of IPA a simple search using the university e-library was conducted. The search parameters were ‘Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis’ and the date range was restricted to the ten-year period 2005 – 2014, the search materials were limited to journal articles. This search produced 9,845 hits, which shows the degree to which IPA has become an accepted instrument in qualitative research.

The deeply philosophical underpinning of the IPA method covers three key areas and a full discussion of this together with a very clear explanation of the flexible processes involved in conducting a case study using the IPA method were consolidated into an excellent book “Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research” Smith et al. (2009). The three key philosophical concepts on which the IPA method relies are phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography. In more simple terms these concepts are the study of understanding lived experience, the study of understanding texts and the study of understanding the specific (Smith et al., 2009). From this explanation of the IPA methodology it provides a useful tool for a detailed, rich examination of the



understanding and lived experiences of research participants, or in other words their perceptions and feelings. This is exactly what is demanded by: -

**RQ1: *What are the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of different UK policing governance systems since 1980?***

**RQ2: - *How have police officers reacted to the social structural and corporate agency governance changes in UK policing since 1980?***

The three concepts, on which IPA is based, cover a wide area of philosophical thought which has been taken from several individuals. The early IPA researchers drew widely on key philosophers namely Giorgi and Sartre (Smith, 2004), Heidegger (Larkin et al., 2006), Merleau-Ponty (Eatough and Smith, 2006), Gadamer and Schleiermacher (Smith, 2007) and finally Husserl (Smith et al., 2009). The collected ideas and concepts provided by these thinkers and how they impact on and shape IPA research were brought together and consolidated by Smith et al. (2009). In the main, interpretive social research under a qualitative paradigm is better suited to the generation of new theory or hypothesis creation, as opposed to hypothesis testing under a positivistic quantitative paradigm (Bryman, 2006; Collis and Hussey, 2009). That is certainly the case in this thesis, which has a definite emphasis on theory generation and not testing. Given the qualitative interpretive nature of IPA research and its clear suitability for use where the feelings and perceptions of participants are important it presents as the best method for delivering the aim of the research through the two research questions. I therefore decided to adopt an IPA methodology for the data gathering phases of my research. The central premise of IPA is to determine the sense making of participants by an iterative analysis of semi-structured interviews, moving between the holistic and specific to uncover deep rich meanings. In their explanation of the method Smith et al. (2009) describe very open processes that have a flexible approach to its implementation. Due to the flexible process driven nature described by Smith et al. (2009), there is no one right way to conduct an IPA study. However, more recent researchers have utilised sense making protocols to guide their analysis in IPA case studies (Palmer, et al., 2010; Cope, 2011). These protocols follow the ethos and processes of IPA but set out a number of steps to be followed in analysing the data gathered. For example, Cope (2011) developed a 6-step

protocol which allowed the researcher to use an iterative detailed examination of the data gathered from his participants. The benefit of following a sense-making protocol is that it ensures consistency in the analysis of each participant's data. It allows for greater transparency (see "design quality" later in this chapter) and assists other researchers to replicate the study Palmer et al. (2010) and Cope (2011). For this reason, a 5-stage protocol for analysis was developed following the general guidance and processes set out by Smith et al. (2009) and ideas from Cope (2005, 2011) and Palmer et al. (2010) (this protocol is attached at appendix 5).

The researcher understands that in any qualitative interpretive study it is impossible to completely remove all traces of bias from the research (Geddes, 1990; King et al., 1994; Chenail, 2009; Cope, 2014). In the current study, I as the researcher, have interviewed serving police officers and was myself a police officer for 30 years (1983 – 2013). The previous life experiences of any researcher introduce a potential for bias and my previous service in the police undoubtedly brings a potential for bias in this research. Indeed, my policing history can be seen in the interviews where on several occasions I include myself using 'we' instead of 'you' when referring to the police, despite having left the police over two years prior to the interview taking place. It is however, believed, that a strict adherence to the analytical protocol (appendix 5), as suggested by Cope (2011), together with complete openness and transparency, will reduce the effects of bias to a minimum. As a further guard against researcher bias in the interpretation of informant's meanings, all participants were offered the opportunity to check the meanings attached by the researcher to their interviews. This then acts as a form of triangulation and reduces the potential for researcher bias to an absolute minimum. Two previous well established and often cited examples of police research by police officers. are the books by Holdaway (1982) and Young (1991) which both highlight the strengths attached to insider knowledge for police research. Indeed, Brown (1996) describes four possible positions of researchers in relation to police organisations that are the subject of their study. She conforms to the idea that researchers who work for the organisation are termed 'insiders' and claims that in this relationship the issues of trust are greatly reduced as are issues of access, the researcher has intimate knowledge and understanding of the workings and culture, thus bringing great potential to uncover hidden meaning, however

there are also issues linked to potential researcher bias which therefore need to be guarded against. Brown (1996), goes on to describe the position where retired police officers intend to carry out research on police organisations and describes these as ‘outside insiders’. For Brown (1996), ‘outside insiders’ are similar to ‘insiders’ as the suggested benefits of trust, knowledge and understanding still apply to a certain degree. The benefits of ease of access may no longer be as useful, as was highlighted by my own experiences in this research and there is still the possibility of researcher bias. The researcher in this thesis clearly fits the description of an ‘outside insider’ and therefore, all the suggested benefits and issues raised by Brown (1996) apply in this case. This therefore reinforces the need to use an analytical protocol in the completion of the analysis of interviews and the use of triangulation interviews as the best possible means to ensure researcher bias is reduced to an absolute minimum. Brown (1996) is also of the opinion that the benefits of insider knowledge afforded to the ‘outside insider’ have a limited shelf life beyond which their inside knowledge becomes outdated, which adds additional pressure to the time constraints linked to the current thesis.

Having decided to adopt an IPA methodology as the main data gathering process other methodological considerations arise from the desire to understand complex social phenomena. Now, I will outline and justify my choice of a case study approach to conduct the research.

*“Whatever the field of interest, the distinctive need for case study research arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena”*

Yin (2014 pp. 4)

In his opening chapter Yin (2014) looks at five possible research methods, these being, ‘Experiment, Survey, Archival Analysis, History and Case Study’. He then describes three possible contextual settings under which research can be conducted. The first contextual setting is the nature of the question being asked which can take one of two possible forms. The first form is questions that ask “how” or “why” certain social phenomena function the second form is questions that seek to determine the “what” in a more quantifiable sense. The remaining two contextual settings relate to simple “yes” or “no” situational settings. The first of these asks if it is necessary for the researcher to have

a degree of control over behaviour (as in a natural science experiment), and the last, does the research focus on contemporary events. Yin (2014), then places these elements into a matrix where the three contextual settings of the research dictate the most suitable research method. This view was first expressed by Yin (1994) and the first publication of his book and has been used by him in each of the five editions including the latest version (Yin, 2014). It is cited in a very high number of research papers for example Abd and Mohd (2003), Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009), Dubois and Gibbert (2010) and Stewart (2012). In the current research, I am seeking to highlight the interaction between structure and corporate agents, within the context of UK policing. In the terms of Yin (2014) ‘the researcher is attempting to discover or highlight how and why the interaction between structures and agents results in emergent trends. As the context is current UK policing organisations the researcher will have no control over the behaviour or events explored, and these issues are contemporary. Therefore, from Yin (2014) a case study is the most appropriate research method when: -

*“A how or why question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the researcher has little or no control”*

Yin (2014 pp. 14)

So, to enable the best fit between the philosophical underpinning and ontological positioning presented it was decided that the research design should follow an interpretive, inductive approach and the most suitable method is to adopt a case study approach. This then establishes the application of a case study approach with an overarching IPA methodology as the most suitable research design to address the research questions, and that is therefore my chosen research design for this thesis. The choice of a case study approach combined with an IPA methodology seems even more appropriate when you consider the original descriptions of the use of IPA methods by Smith et al. (2009), in which they also follow a case study approach. In conducting this, or any, research, one of the key issues arises from the question of design quality, and it is to that question that I will now move my focus.

For many researchers, the measures of validity, reliability and generalizability are the only ones by which true scientific endeavour can be judged (Kvale, 1995; Gibbert et al.,

2008; Piekkari and Plakoyiannaki, 2010). In his book Yin (2014) describes the process of arriving at quality in the design of case study research and describes four tests that he suggests are necessary to evaluate the quality of a case study. These tests are known as construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability all clearly adhering to the positivistic natural science view. The idea of testing the quality of case study research as put forward by Yin (2014) has been widely accepted as the 'best way' of conducting case study research, in the natural science mode. In this context, the construct validity of a procedure is a measure of the quality of the conceptualization. It refers to the degree to which a study actually explores and examines what it claims to (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). One criticism of case study research is the inability of the researcher to develop well-conceived measures in the study thereby causing the research to fall back onto subjective judgements. To avoid this criticism researchers, attempt to establish a clear chain of evidence and also seek to triangulate their results (Baxter and Jack, 2008). The case study methodology of Smith et al. (2009) known as Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was first intended to provide psychology researchers with a research instrument. This instrument allowed researchers to conduct high quality case study research with very small sample sizes, usually a single participant. The iterative and rigorous nature of the procedures described in this methodology, are ideally suited for in depth analysis of complex contexts, and if followed build quality into the research design. Therefore, the use of IPA, if properly implemented, will ensure the quality of the construct validity of the case study.

In very simple terms the internal validity in a case study revolves around plausible causal arguments. It is concerned with the relationship between independent variables, dependent variables, and the results. This measure is very relevant in hypothesis testing and positivistic experimental research but is of little value in descriptive or exploratory research (Eisenhardt, 1989). Given the nature of the current research and its research paradigm and goals the internal validity is of little relevance. The third test is the external validity and is firmly based upon the idea that theories must be shown to account for phenomena, not only in the research context but also in other settings. It is universally agreed that neither single nor multiple case studies allow for any form of statistical generalization (Riege, 2003). The strength of a case study arises from its ability to use

analytical generalization which allows for generalization from empirical observations to theory as opposed to statistical generalization which relates to a population. Again, looking at this proposition from a positivistic empirical position Eisenhardt (1989) argues for a cross case analysis suggesting that four to ten individual cases is a good basis for analytical generalization.

The final test in Yin's (2014) quality assessment is reliability, which relates to the transparency and replication of the case study. According to this, the researcher should produce sufficiently detailed working protocols and notes to allow other researchers to replicate the study, arriving at the same conclusions. If the procedures in an IPA study are adopted and followed the question of reliability should be fully addressed. The aim of any researcher should be to conduct high quality research, however given the vast possible range of approaches to case study research a one size fits all approach to quality assessment seems naïve. In the conclusion of their paper Dubois and Gibbert (2010) express this claiming that the participants in methodological debates very often take place between persons who hold vastly different ontological and epistemological positions. In this conclusion, they further state that a case study in social research which is not conducted from a positivistic position, to be used for illustration and inspiration, cannot be judged according to Yin (1994) or Lincoln and Guba (2000) quality criteria. This then means it is necessary to consider alternative measures of quality. Moderate constructionism is an ontological position that sits together with critical realism and relational sociology in sharing an emergentist view of reality. The key difference is that for critical realists there is a single external reality which is always socially moderated but for moderate constructionists there are multiple realities that are community based (Nightingale and Cromby, 2002). For research under post-modern paradigms, which is clearly where this research sits, the natural science view has been challenged for example Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009), claim that these views are based on modernist, positivist philosophies of science and are therefore not applicable to constructionist research contexts. The views of Archer (1995), in her arguments for the emergence of morphogenesis criticise this reliance on the old observation driven empiricism held by the positivists. The ontological position of moderate constructionists is sufficiently close to that of the critical relationists to allow for their inclusion in any discussion of validity

or reliability in moderate constructionist research. That being the case it can therefore be argued that the positivist views surrounding validity, reliability and generalizability are not necessarily applicable in this study. In their paper Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009), discuss this issue in depth and suggest that the positivist measures can be replaced or modified by what represents relevant research in post- modern terms. For them, the constructivist perspective, and following the above argument this includes the critical relational perspective, deals with validity by ensuring that social enquiries are trustworthy, a position that is also supported by Lincoln and Guba (2000). Again, within this discussion they put forward that the knowledge offered by research in this context is valid if its claims to truth are supported by the data, the claims made, the data itself and the chain of arguments linking them are acceptable to the wider scientific community and finally the wider scientific community determines the overall validity. In real terms, this means that any research should be both authentic and fair giving all stakeholders a fair voice which should be visible in the final report.

So, from the above discussion it can be concluded that the quality tests used for research in the natural science mode are inappropriate for research under the critical relational paradigm. Also, for research under the critical relational paradigm the case study should be trustworthy and judged upon its own merits, any truth claims should be supported by the data and acceptable to the research community. Within the alternative view of quality from Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009), we now see the design quality issues of trustworthiness and acceptability, as suitable measures to replace the four tests from the positivistic paradigm. I have already claimed, although briefly, that using the IPA methodology would go some way to addressing the quality tests described under the positivistic paradigm. I now make the step of suggesting that IPA comes with its own built in assurances of research quality that can be equally applied to the measures from Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009). In considering the above issues of trustworthiness and validity the views of Eisenhardt (1989), whilst made under a positivistic paradigm, do stress that greater validity from case study research will arise from multiple case studies and recommend four case studies as optimal. This is in some ways refuted by Smith et al. (2009) who recommend a single case study under IPA methodologies. Thus, the optimal number of case studies, when considering IPA methods, is left open to debate. However,

given the difficulties of access to police officers for the purpose of research, as highlighted by Reiner and Newburn (2007), and my own extreme difficulty locating willing police forces for research (see methodology section post), I decided to conduct case studies of two police forces. In this way I could add some limited triangulation to the data, in line with Eisenhardt (1989) but given the time constraints more than two case studies would be beyond the scope of a single researcher. Further, when considering the optimum number of participants in each IPA study, to allow for meaningful data to be collated, without burying meaning in too much data, Reid et al. (2005) state that contrary to other research methods where more is better, for IPA small samples produce better results with 10 participants being the absolute maximum number. In their research, of oncology nursing Cope (2014) recommend the use of nine participants for an IPA case study, the same number of participants used by McLean and Marshall (2010) in their police-based research. Thus, it appears that nine participants for an IPA study of police organisations is possibly optimal. I therefore made the decision that nine participants for each of my IPA case studies would provide the best point of saturation of the data allowing the researcher to make sense of the data without meanings becoming buried. In this research the overall analysis is based upon the combined data with both cases being given equal weighting. To build further trustworthiness and transparency into the research all participants were offered the opportunity to examine their interview transcripts together with the meanings the researcher had attached. Of these, only two participants from each case study wished to be re-interviewed after the Case Study Analysis had been completed. They were provided with copies of their interview transcripts, the meanings attached to various passages of their interview by the researcher, a brief description of the theoretical framework and key analysis. This step provides a form of triangulation for the study, assisting with the overall design quality (Baxter and Jack, 2008). In this process the trustworthiness and transparency of the research process was tested. It is my contention that following the IPA methodology will lead to transparency and trustworthiness, bolstered by the, admittedly limited, triangulation of undertaking two case studies and validation interviews of some of the participants. The final question of acceptability to the community can only be answered by the community itself upon completion of the study.



### 4.3 Methodology

This was the first major research project undertaken by the researcher and at the outset the researcher had little academic knowledge having recently retired from a non-academic career. Therefore, the initial phase was about discovering the wealth of theoretical and philosophical writing. This process began during a reading of Donati (2011) and resulted in a period of reading around the major theorists, moving from paper to paper, as previously new concepts presented themselves, getting a better understanding of the scientific, sociological and anthropological background upon which social research sits. This eventually led into the narrowing of the sociological focus coming back to the works of Donati and Archer and a full review of the literature.

Prior to any efforts to secure or identify suitable research participants serious ethical issues were addressed, in this process the guidance provided by the CCCU ethics committee CCCU (2006) were adhered to. One of the overriding concepts relied upon in Canterbury Christ Church University's ethical requirements is that for modern research, ethics require a 'favourable harm-benefit balance', so that foreseeable harm should not outweigh any anticipated benefits (CCCU, 2006). According to Norris (1993), one major issue for police researchers is the possibility of witnessing direct evidence of police misconduct. The circumstances under consideration by Norris (1993), relate to the process of an ethnographic study, where the researcher is present on the street whilst police officers go about their work. In his account, Norris (1993), highlights the moral dilemma, where reporting misconduct could be a breach of trust between the researcher and the participants, but the researcher also has a moral duty to the wider public interest and the greater duty to openness and honesty. In the present study the intention is to conduct interviews of past events, personal feelings and opinions, therefore there can be no risk of witnessing direct evidence of misconduct. There is however still a risk that the interviews could reveal admissions of misconduct or criminal conduct on the part of the informant and there is potential for alleged misconduct by others to be included as part of the officer's accounts. This is where Reiner and Newburn (2007), consider issues of trust between the researcher and the police and their examination of risk attached to discovering dangerous knowledge, they claim that it is not uncommon in social research but where the study is on police organizations these issues are particularly severe. Were

there to be any admissions to misconduct on the part of the officer themselves then the researcher felt a moral obligation to report that misconduct to the officer's immediate supervisor, a fact that was fully understood by all participants. However, allegations made by informants as to misconduct or criminal activity by others, because of the rules of evidence in the UK, can in no way be considered as evidence of wrongdoing, therefore in these circumstances the severity of the alleged misconduct must be a factor in deciding whether to report that allegation and the 'harm-benefit balance' needs to be carefully considered on an incident by incident basis. It is also possible that the account of misconduct/criminal conduct by persons other than the informant, will also include details of how that conduct has already been reported and dealt with, which would therefore require no further consideration on the part of the researcher. Therefore, when considering the possible impact of allegations of wrongdoing by others the guidance from CCCU (2006) is particularly useful and the maintaining of 'harm-benefit' balance is paramount.

For full and open transparency and honesty in the research it is essential that research participants provide 'informed consent' which must include details, not only of the aim of the research, but also of the researcher's moral obligation to report admitted misconduct. On the topic of informed consent Norris (1993), states that participants must be made aware of and understand the nature and purpose of the research, placing them in a position of knowledge from which they can freely give their consent. To ensure 'informed consent' on the part of their researchers, the University's ethical requirements for research with 'live' subjects' include the need to provide participants with written information and consent forms. The detail and content of these forms must be submitted to the university ethics approval committee, as part of the ethical approval process, before any research can be conducted. Therefore, the necessary forms, including copies of the proposed participants consent and information sheets were submitted to the university (copies of the application form are included at appendix 1 and participant information and consent forms at appendix 4). Included in the participant information sheet is a clause that notifies the informant that their anonymity will be preserved with the caveat that any admissions of misconduct or criminal conduct on their part will be reported to their line manager (see appendix 4). The intention of the researcher to protect the identity of the

participants is fully supported by Reiner and Newburn (2007), who state that the researcher may have to give certain considerations including the protection of their identity to elicit the necessary trust to conduct police-based research. In terms of data security, once created full transcripts of the interviews were uploaded into cloud storage using Microsoft One Drive with all locally held copies being deleted. Details of the real names of the participants and respective police forces are digitally encrypted and also retained in the cloud. The original signed participant consent forms are grouped into two folders, one for each case study and are retained in a locked document box at the home of the researcher.

Once ethical approval had been granted (see approval letter appendix 2), the project was able to move on to the data-gathering phase and at this point, the sample selection process began. One of the criticisms of many qualitative research projects arises in the accusation of selection bias where the suggestion is that samples are selected, as the researcher believes, they will display the required attribute prior to data gathering (Geddes, 1990; King, et al., 1994). This selective behaviour normally occurs when looking at certain outcomes of exceptional interest, for example the instigation of a revolution or the commencement of a war, where the focus of the research is very narrow, and the researcher restricts the research to those areas where that outcome is known to have occurred. It was therefore desirable to avoid any possible accusation of bias in the selection of samples for this project. The police in the UK follow a statutory rank structure, the highest ranks are chief constable, deputy chief constable and assistant chief constable and chief superintendents. The Metropolitan Police are slightly different as the top rank is commissioner and they also have an additional senior officer rank of commander. Between these senior police ranks and the rest of the work force are superintendents. The lower ranks run down from chief inspector to inspector, sergeant and then constable. This gives three tiers of police officers, each with their own professional associations. The top four ranks (five in the metropolitan police) professional body is the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC). The lower four ranks are served by the police federation, that is constable to chief inspector, and these are therefore known as the federated ranks. Finally, on their own, almost as a buffer between the top and bottom are the superintendents who have their own professional association the Police

Superintendents' Association (PSA). The stated aim of the thesis and the theoretically generated research questions contain no consideration of the rank or apparent tier of the police officers considered for this thesis. However, the researcher had spent 30 years working as a federated ranked police officer and his personal interest, a driver for conducting the research, was to explore the views of other federated ranked officers. Not considering the views of police elites for this research could be seen as a weakness of the approach as it constrains the possible sample population. Indeed, given the findings of Reuss and Ianni (2005) and their exploration of the differences between 'street cops' and 'management cops' it is possible that data collected from outside of the federated ranks could produce alternative results. However, in policing terms 'street cops' are only really represented by constable and sergeant ranks, after this point the officers become middle managers and would therefore fall into the concept of 'management cops', in federated rank terms these are inspectors and chief inspectors, for this reason the dangers associated with limiting the sample population are minimal. It also provides a clear avenue for potential further research by considering the same changes entirely from the perspective of police 'elites'. Another consideration in the decision to restrict the informants to federated ranks is linked to the researcher's anticipation of difficulties of access to senior, superintendent and NPCC ranked police officers. If access to federated rank police officers is difficult, access to senior officers is likely to be much harder. Despite the difficulties associated with access to senior police officer's, further research with this particular group is worthy of serious consideration. Therefore, the intention of the project was to examine the perceptions of serving UK federated rank police officers in relation to the governance changes taking place in the context of UK policing from around 1980 onwards. This means any subjects selected would need to be currently serving police officers, between the rank of constable and chief inspector, working in one of the 43 police forces making up the public police in England and Wales. As there was a temporal element to the research and the proposed theoretical framework, it was also desirable that the participants were long serving officers allowing for the maximum coverage of the period in question. Thus, we come back to the question of bias in sample selection and the exploration of any two of the 43 police forces making up the Police Service of England and Wales (PSEW) will satisfy the requirements of the research.

The College of Policing is an organisation that is currently responsible for the provision of training to officers from all 43 police forces in England and Wales. Their website maintains a map of the UK showing the locations of current research projects linked to policing. One of the possible difficulties in completing this research is gaining access to serving police officers who would be willing to participate (Reiner and Newburn, 2007). The case study nature of the project meant that participants in each study would need to come from the same police force. At the outset the researcher, mistakenly believed, that his 30 years of police service would enable easy access to any police force. However, to maximise the chances of being granted access to serving police officers, only those forces who were already engaged with university research were considered. I therefore consulted the College of Policing research map to identify potential forces for research. In my initial selection process, I looked for police forces that were currently engaged in at least one and not more than four research projects. The rationale used here was that data collected from any of the 43 police forces in England as Wales would be suitable. Those forces who had already shown an openness to university research, but were not already overly committed, were considered as the best potential subjects. This resulted in the selection of four suitable police forces and contact was made with those police forces. The initial responses, of all four forces, were reasonably positive and open and all agreed to consider the project using their own internal decision-making processes. A short proposal report outlining the research project was passed to each of the four police forces in question to allow them to deliberate. In all four of the forces, contacted this process took over three months despite many attempts by the researcher to get a more rapid response. As a retired police officer, the researcher had a good understanding of the desire of police officers to protect their reputation, both personal and that of their respective organisations (this is indeed one of the findings highlighted by the analysis presented in Chapter 6) hence the careful consideration of the research proposal. The research proposal, outlining the research tried to highlight the possible benefit to the force of participating in the project and of minimising the possible risk of harm. Despite this approach, the response from all the forces contacted was ultimately a rejection of the project with access to their officers being denied. These rejections, when viewed in light of Reiner and Newburn (2007), could have been anticipated. However, I mistakenly

believed that my credentials as a recently retired police officer carried more weight than proved to be the case.

This left the research in a possible position of failure before it even got off the ground and urgent access to live participants all working in the same force was required for each of the case studies. Difficulties in sampling for social research are highlighted by Kemper et al. (2003) when they claim that sampling may be driven by theoretical considerations but the hard reality of research and its effect on actual sampling is driven by a consideration of time and resources, they highlight the very common practice of using the available informants a process they call 'convenience sampling'. One of the strengths of 'convenience sampling' is that it is considered helpful in the process of hypothesis generation (Saunders et al., 2012). As the intention of this research is the generation of new hypothesis from the data the use of convenience sampling seems an appropriate strategy. Saunders et al. (2012) continue their reflection on 'convenience sampling' and explain that this method is very vulnerable to selection bias, which they claim prevents proper randomization ensuring that the sample is not a representation of the sample. However, given the interpretive theory generation position of the research the aim is not to produce statistically generalizable data for hypothesis testing. Therefore, the issue of potential selection bias, preventing randomization is not an issue for this research. At this point, I also drew upon the work of Cope (2005) where he examines the difficulty of locating participants for an IPA based case study as justification for a more convenience-based approach to informant selection in my IPA case study. In this journal article Cope (2005) explains that in many IPA projects it can be difficult to locate possible participants and that using those participants who are available is a perfectly acceptable sampling strategy, which ties in with Kemper et al. (2003) and Saunders et al. (2012). Another sampling method, 'homogenous case sampling', has been described as the process of selecting participants from a closed group that share characteristics (Kemper et al; 2003). Given the intention to interview serving police officers, this label could fit the current circumstances. However, 'homogenous case sampling' is more concerned with selecting specific individuals from within a given sample, whereas in this study the selected group (the police) is the whole sample, thus 'homogenous case sampling' does not really apply. There are other methods that all fit into the concept of purposive

sampling, which, as an overall sampling strategy, has been described as the deliberate choice of informants due to the qualities possessed by that informant (Tongco, 2007). In this way the researcher sets out to locate informants that are willing and able to provide meaningful data for the study based upon their personal knowledge and experience. There is clearly a risk of bias claims linked to the selection of participants under a purposive sampling methodology but according to Tongco (2007) this inherent bias, rather than being a weakness offers strength to the method as all participants selected in this manner will possess the required knowledge for the research. As the desire of the present research was to explore police governance changes it was a simple logical step to draw informants from a specific population, that is serving police officers. Described as purposive sampling methods, because they target a selected rather than random sample, ‘opportunistic sampling’, that is taking advantage of circumstances as they arise or ‘snowballing’, which utilises informants and insider knowledge to identify specific participants that could be useful, both provided potential solutions to the access difficulties being experienced. Therefore, the researcher reached out to the wider policing network developed during his time working for the police. The research design phase (see section 4.2 pp 103 -104) had determined that nine participants, for a single case study, would be optimal, providing sufficient data to be meaningful without generating so much data that successful analysis was unwieldy and overly long. By reaching out to the wider policing network, a sampling blend of opportunistic and snowballing, nine serving police officers who agreed to be interviewed were located, working for a police force that I am going to refer to as Mecronia. This is a good point to consider issues and processes linked to the identity of individual police officers and their respective police forces. Reiner and Newburn (2007), when writing on the topic of police research stress the anonymity of both research participants and their respective police forces is essential, therefore no real names will be used during the presentation of this thesis. For this reason, the actual names of the informants were substituted by names created on an online random name generator as were the names of the two police forces in this study. At certain points in the thesis sections of data from the respective interviews are presented, however where names of individuals, places or events that could lead to the identification of either the individual or their respective police force is included the data is redacted to preserve anonymity.

The research was then in a position where data gathering could commence starting with the case study for Mecronia. Mecronia is a large police force having in excess of 3,000 officers at the time of the interviews, there is a mixture of wide rural areas, heavily populated urban areas. The details of the research participants, including length of service, rank and role are presented together with the details of participants from Andrad (the police force for the second case study) in the fieldwork timetable towards the end of this chapter. The Relational Policing Matrix relies upon the emergent nature of social strata over time to visualise the emerging structures and culture present in each of the four possible quadrants. The temporality contained within the theories of Archer (1995) is essential if her methods are to avoid unnecessary conflation. In her morphogenetic approach, she considers repeating cycles of time bounded activity where the interaction between structures and corporate agencies results in the creation of a new pre-existing structure and culture ready for the next iteration of interactions. Therefore, the temporal nature of change must be considered in the research. Prior to conducting the interviews for Mecronia, ten seed questions were created and together, these formed the basis of the semi-structured interview. Three of the questions considered the past influences, constraints and enablement's acting on the participant, three of the questions considered the same issues but looked at the present and three questions considered the same issues but asked the participants to consider their opinion of possible future changes. The final question was to give the participants an opportunity to change or add anything they wished given the nature of the topics discussed. In this way the temporal nature inherent in the morphogenetic cycle was fully considered in the interview process and the participants were also given the opportunity to express any issues they wished. A copy of the interview schedule for Mecronia is attached at appendix 3. Due to the policing experience of the researcher the development of trust and empathy was readily obtained with each of the participants. In each case, the participants selected the time, date and location of their own interview. It was felt that by allowing the participant, this freedom, to make their own choices, it would assist in enabling them to speak freely and frankly, about any topics they wished. Therefore, a number of different and, at times, strange locations were used. Several participants chose to be interviewed at work and the interviews took place inside police stations whilst the officer was on duty. However,



some, of the interviews, were conducted, whilst the officer, was off duty, and in a variety of public places including cafes and in one case a public house.

To ensure fairness, openness and honesty and to comply with the requirements of the ethical approval, prior to the commencement of the interview, each of the participants was provided with an information sheet, explaining, in very brief detail, the purpose of the research and what was being asked of them and that at all times their anonymity would be protected. The officers were also informed, verbally and on the forms, that any admissions, by them, to behaviour that could be gross misconduct under police regulations or criminal conduct would be reported to the organisation. The fact that the interview was being audio recorded was explained and their written permission to proceed was obtained. Blank copies of the information sheet and consent forms have been attached at appendix 4. The wave files generated during the interview were transferred to a computer where voice recognition software, and dictation by the researcher, was used to create written transcripts of each of the interviews. Once all nine transcripts had been created, they were uploaded into Nvivo 10 for the analysis stage of the process to begin. The process of analysis following the analytical protocol listed at Appendix 3) was undertaken. During the completion of stage 1 of the analysis protocol a memo of initial thoughts was generated for each of the nine interviews, this is where the researcher read through the interview and created his initial thoughts as to the meanings of the text. Following the creation of the initial memos each interview was analysed in detail, again sticking to the analytical protocol. This detailed analysis involved an iterative process, going backwards and forwards from a holistic view of sections of the data to a detailed view of specific words or phrases contained in that section of data. The purpose was to identify the meaning attached by the informant to what they had said, and this lengthy process continued until the researcher was satisfied that he could find no further new meaning in that section of text. Once the meaning for a section of text had been identified it was given a descriptive label and added to Nvivo as a data node. In this way the entire interview was broken down into multiple sections of text each with a meaning and collected into an Nvivo node. At the point of creation, the meaning of the data was compared to existing Nvivo data nodes already created in this research and if the meanings were the same the text was added to the existing node. In this way a collection

of data nodes for the case study were generated, each node potentially containing one or multiple sections of text. The initial analysis of the Mecronia data, identified a weakness in the seed questions connected to the historical life experiences of the participants prior to joining the police. This was because, whilst interesting and potentially of use in other research, the aim of this thesis was to explore police governance changes, structural and cultural changes and officer reactions to those changes whereas, the historical data linked to early life experiences was not in any way connected to police governance. Thus, data collected considering any factor prior to joining was little more than noise for the current research. There also appeared to be limited data specifically connected to the existence or absence of corporate agencies, which is central to the arguments presented in this thesis. There was therefore a need to reconsider the seed questions for use in the Andrad case study, providing a greater focus on corporate agencies and changes in policing governance. This involved what was hoped to be fine tuning of the nature of the questions and the avoidance of the generation of data that was simply noise in relation to the suggested thesis, a copy of the schedule of questions is attached at Appendix 6.

The sampling criteria for participants for the second case study were the same as for Mecronia. In this case, all the issues for the first case study were the same, the selection criteria had not changed, and it was anticipated, that the same problems of access would be encountered. Therefore, Kemper et al. (2003), Cope (2005) and Tongco (2007) were again relied upon to justify the use of participants that were available. A further approach was made to the police network eventually identifying an officer in Andrad police who agreed to be interviewed after the nature of the research was explained to the officer. Far more importantly the officer also volunteered to locate a further eight officers from his force who would be happy to be interviewed (a form of snowballing). As for Mecronia the only criteria for selection was serving federated ranked police officers. Those officers with an excess of 20 years' service would have been preferable. However due to difficulty in locating willing participants any serving officers were accepted, for example Megan Reid, with only 11 years' service. This then resulted in the identification of nine officers from Andrad, who agreed to be interviewed and therefore these 9 officers are the selected sample for the second case study. Andrad, is a much smaller force than Mecronia, having around 1500 serving police officers at that time. The geographical size

of the force is also much smaller but there are still many miles of major road networks and motorways running the entire length of the county. The county is predominantly rural but has some large urban areas. The data gathering was approached in an identical manner to that used in the first case study with the same equipment and all of the same information sheets and consent forms being used. Again, the participants chose the time date and location of their interview in order to make them at their most comfortable. This also yielded a number of different locations for the interviews to be conducted, which included police stations, a fire station and a house but sadly no public house. Again, the policing background of the interviewer enabled the rapid development of empathy and trust. The process of gathering the data and its analysis was identical in both case studies using Nvivo together with the analytical protocol. After the data had been gathered analysis was completed by following the analytical protocol (appendix 5) and the analysis from the data in relation to RQ1 are presented in the next chapter. The key areas of understanding emerging from this first phase of analysis were strongly linked to the shape, structures and culture of police organisations. In addressing RQ2 much higher importance is linked to the feelings of the participants towards the changing governance, structures and culture. Therefore, although the same interview transcripts are used the raw data was re-analysed with the focus on the feelings and lived experiences of the participants. For the analysis linked to RQ2, the sense making protocol was used to generate nodes of meanings in Nvivo, in the same manner as for the first analysis of the data, this time the emerging themes were collated into a table of sub-themes and themes. A full copy of the entire table created in this process is included at appendix 7. The table was used to generate the themes and areas for discussion for the personal lived experiences and feelings analysis chapter (Chapter 6). A fieldwork timetable has also been created, giving details of research participants and the date and duration of their interviews: -

Table 5: Fieldwork timetable

Subject Name	Sex	Rank	Length of Service	Role	Police Force	Date of Interview	Duration (Min)
Daniel Burns	M	Sergeant	27	Patrol	Mecronia	09/02/15	59
Dexter Atkinson	M	Inspector	28	Patrol	Mecronia	18/02/15	73
Archie Rees	M	Sergeant	25	Community Safety	Mecronia	04/03/15	51
Connor Jenkins	M	Inspector	29	Investigation	Mecronia	09/03/15	26
Finlay Hudson	M	Sergeant	27	Custody	Mecronia	09/03/15	38
Daisy Baker	F	Constable	21	Victim Care	Mecronia	24/04/15	59
Amir Moran	M	Sergeant	26	Traffic	Mecronia	13/05/15	35
Stephen McDonald	M	Inspector	25	Patrol	Mecronia	15/05/15	55
Cason Flynn	M	Chief Inspector	22	District Commander	Mecronia	23/05/15	66
Corey Andrews	M	Constable	29	N/ hood	Andrad	08/02/16	59
Kyle Roberts	M	Constable	28	Traffic	Andrad	08/02/16	73
Tyler Gardner	M	Sergeant	28	Police Federation	Andrad	08/02/16	40
Megan Reid	F	Constable	11	Patrol	Andrad	08/02/16	48
Molly Hayes	F	Sergeant	22	Child Protection	Andrad	09/02/16	48
Patrick Cole	M	Constable	19	Control room	Andrad	09/02/16	40
Olivia Green	F	Constable	26	HQ	Andrad	09/02/16	70
Aaron Perry	M	Constable	22	Public Safety	Andrad	10/02/16	62
Ellis Wright	M	Sergeant	19	Public Order Training	Andrad	10/02/16	40

As previously stated in the research design, the data gathered in case study research, be it a single case or multiple cases can never be sufficient to allow for statistical generalizability (Riege, 2003). This must therefore be a weakness of the current research design and methodology and would be a major flaw for positivistic hypothesis testing. Eisenhardt (1989), however, posits that the strength of case studies comes not from its

inability to make statistical generalizations but from its ability to make analytical generalization, from empirical observation, linked to theory, rather than generalization linked to a population. Therefore, as the current thesis is concerned with the interpretive generation of theory a lack of statistical generalizability is not significant. The strength of the approach comes from the richness of the data linked to the lived experiences and feelings of the participants and its ability to generate new theory. In this thesis, the chosen methodology was based upon an IPA process and as such the sample sizes are necessarily small. The analysis of the data closely followed the analytical protocol (Appendix 5) meaning that further researchers would be able to replicate the process later. This analytical process is both exhausting and time consuming making the use of larger samples impractical (particularly for a single researcher). As, only two out of a possible forty-three police forces in England and Wales have been explored and only nine officers from each force, the samples are in no way to be considered as representative samples (for the purposes of statistical analysis). The richness of the personal data of each of the participants is however very valuable from an interpretive, theory generation, perspective. The claims to truth for the thesis are reliant upon the trustworthy nature of the study. Therefore, to provide some triangulation of the data, four of the participants, two from each case study, were re-interviewed to confirm the accuracy of their interview transcripts, which all four confirmed. They were taken through the meanings attached by the researcher to the various sections of data from their interviews and all four again agreed with the researcher's interpretations of their interviews. The final stage of the triangulation was to invite comments on the RPM and the key analysis, with all four agreeing with both the shape and characteristics of the RPM and the key analysis. The content of these feedback interviews is presented at the end of each of the analysis chapters. Due to the small sample sizes, as previously stated a potential weakness of the research, is that it is not possible to make any claims about the general population of either of the two police forces comprising case studies or to the wider population of UK police forces. The research has been undertaken from an entirely interpretive position and is concerned with the process of hypothesis generation not hypothesis testing. Given the identified weakness of a lack of generalizability together with an interpretive position a clear indication of suggested further research would be to utilise large samples from the general population in a more positivistic process of hypothesis testing. The content of the

responses from the four officers has been included as part of the two analysis chapters. The analysis from Chapters 5 and 6 are fully discussed in Chapter 7 with a consideration of the impact upon RQ1 and RQ2. The extent to which the new RPM allows for a conceptualization of the effects of the ongoing governance changes is discussed and a consideration of the implications for policy and practice any contribution to knowledge and suggestions for further research.

## 5 Analysis of the data: Governance and cultural changes

### 5.1 Introduction

The number of changes to police governance from 1980 onwards was highlighted and discussed in the background literature chapter. It is a desire to illuminate the effect of those changes on individual police officers that provides one aspect of the motivation for this thesis. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to address RQ1, through the analysis and presentation of the data collected during both case studies. I will use the data, which comprises of the reflections and lived experiences of UK police officers, to inform my descriptions of the main characteristics of changing policing styles over time. This will be achieved by examining each quadrant of the new RPM, to compare the main characteristics of the quadrants, as suggested by the literature, with the actual data. Due to the participants status as serving police officers, the earliest possible moment for data capture, from them, is 1985. Therefore, any characteristics for quadrant 1 (1964-1979), must necessarily, rely entirely upon the existing literature. This examination of the quadrants of the RPM will highlight the interaction of its axes, in this way I will establish the dimensions of the grid and the characteristics of each quadrant.

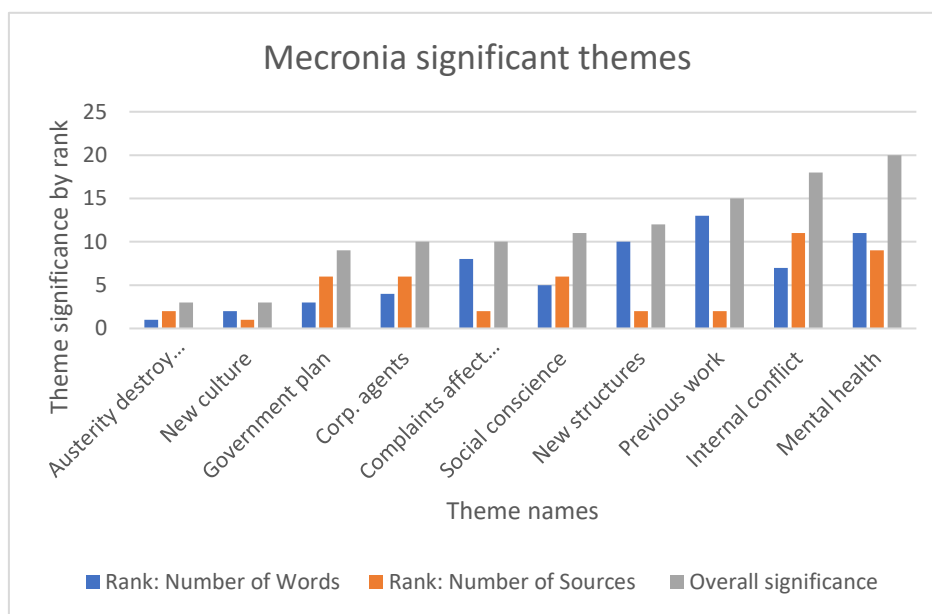
Thus, I will use the data from both case studies, in an effort, to address RQ1: -

***RQ1: What are the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of different UK policing governance systems since 1980?***

It is the sheer number of governance changes highlighted in the background literature review that sets the context of the turbulent playing field for UK police officers since 1980. In this chapter I will present the data, collected from the participants, in three sections, one for each of the quadrants formed by the RPM since 1980. I will lead the reader through a consideration of the extent of the dimensions of the RPM and the characteristics of policing in each of the three quadrants. In the first phase of analysis a ranking structure was used to identify those themes of significance (collected in Nvivo sub-themes), generating two charts and a table. This was followed by a further analysis of the data, this time with a clear focus upon the suggested theoretical characteristics of each quadrant. This resulted in a second analysis table. When viewing the first table, the

reader will notice the name of the theme is followed by a number in parenthesis. This number represents the number of participants, out of the possible maximum of nine for each case study, that contribute data to that theme. The charts represented the ten most significant themes for each case and the first table shows content of the charts combined. In developing the charts, the themes are ranked twice, once by the number of sources contributing data (i.e. the number of informants who felt the same) and once by the total amount of words collected. The rationale used was that the more informants who contribute data to the theme the more significant the theme for that case study (linked to number of sources). However, the more significant the theme being discussed for the informant the more likelihood of the section of data being lengthy (linked to the amount of words collected). Therefore, to provide a balanced view the two ranks were then combined to provide an overall significance number which is used to determine the most significant themes. Using this method of ranking means the lower the significance number, the more significant the theme. For example in Fig 7, “Austerity destroy service“ is ranked 1 for words and 2 for sources giving an overall significance of 3 and “New Culture- Mecronia ” is ranked 2 for words and 1for sources also having an overall significance of 3, so for this chart these two themes are the most significant themes emerging from the Mecronia data. These charts and the table are presented here for ease of reference: -

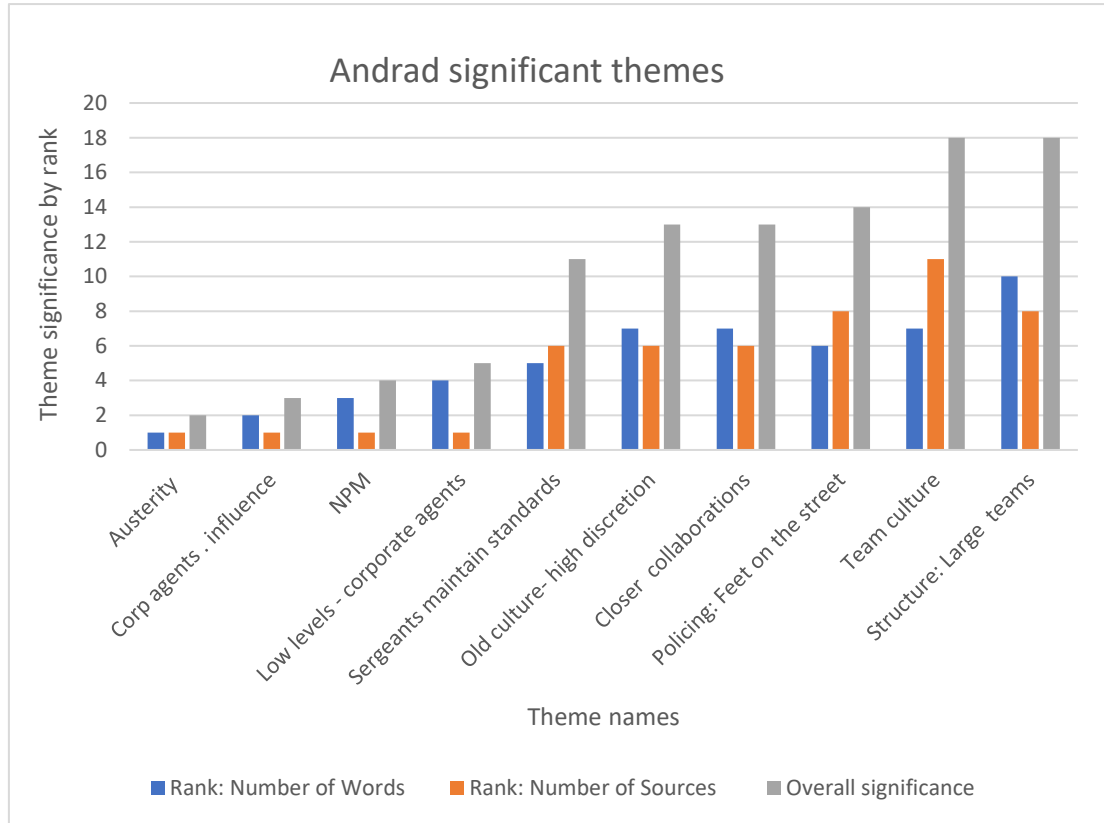
Figure 7: Mecronia, significant themes





This first chart represents the ten most significant themes, out of 143 themes emerging from the analysis of the data collected in the case study for Mecronia. At this early stage in the analysis the table provides the reader with a feel for the nature of the significant emerging themes.

Figure 8: Andrad significant themes



This chart is identical in structure to the first chart but represents the ten most significant themes out of 132 themes emerging from the data collected from the Andrad case study. The key themes for both forces are a little different, which is to be expected as the structural and cultural influences acting on the participants are also different. Another factor impacting upon the emergent themes from the two case studies are the seed questions used during the investigative interviews (see appendices 3 and 6). The initial analysis of the data collected from the Mecronia case study indicated ‘noise’ in the sample particularly the sub-theme ‘Previous Work’, therefore new seed questions were generated which may also account for the different themes emerging in the data. In my analysis for the thesis I will use the data from both case studies giving equal weight to both, thus I am considering the combined themes, placing the top ten themes for each

force in rank order, which can be seen in the following table. From now on, the themes, when presented, will include the actual number of sources contributing data to the theme (from the 9 participants) in parenthesis after the name.

Table 6: Combined themes

Theme significance rank/ Name	Mecronia	Andrad
1	Austerity destroying the service (8) New Culture Mecronia – Positive (9)	Austerity (9)
2	Joint 1 <sup>st</sup> ranked themes in box 1 above.	Increasing Influence Corporate Agencies (9)
3	Long Term Government Plan (6)	NPM (7)
4	Corporate Agencies Affecting Behaviour (6)	Originally Low levels – Corporate Agents (9)
5	Police Complaints Affect Behaviour (5)	Frontline Supervisors Maintained Standards (8)
6	Social Conscience (6)	Old Culture-High Discretion (7)
7	New Structure Mecronia (8)	Predicts Closer Collaboration (7)
8	Previous Work (8)	Policing needs Feet on the Street (4)
9	Internal Conflict Old Culture (4)	Team Culture (5)
10	Fear Culture regarding Force reputation (4) / Mental Health Issues (5)	Divisional Structure – Large central Stations (6)

The first phase of analysis of the data was completed in, as far as possible, a neutral frame of mind and the labels attached to the Nvivo themes attempted to highlight the main meaning of that text. This process was intended to allow patterns and theory to emerge from the data. However, the text has many possible meanings, which are mediated by the lens through which they are viewed. It was apparent that the data and meanings

provided to this point did not sufficiently focus upon the new theoretical framework. Thus, a further phase of data analysis, focussed on the characteristics of the three quadrants, was undertaken. The second phase of analysis led to a table of themes and sub-themes linked directly to the RPM (Table 7: Data linked to the RPM), for both forces combined and is included below: -

In table 7, the reader will notice that for the NPM quadrant 17 of 18 possible participants add data and all 18 participants add data to the NTP quadrant. However, the figure is lower for the CP quadrant which has only 12 (or 2/3) of the possible 18 participants. This minor difference can be explained by considering the timing of the three quadrants. For all the participants, with the exception of Megan Reid from Andrad, they commenced working during the NPM quadrant, thus discussion relating to their early service can easily be dated and linked to that period. Again, for the NTP quadrant, this related to the here and now and very recent events which were still fresh in the minds of the participants. It can therefore come as no surprise that the number of references for the NTP was the highest at 68 and was lower in each of the other quadrants. Data for the CP quadrant was far harder to pinpoint as it required either a specific date to be mentioned or direct references to NHP, as this was not introduced until after 2000 and, as evidenced by the data linked to the NTP (see analysis for quadrant 3), since around 2010 no longer appears in either participating forces.

*Table 7: Data linked to the RPM*

Theme	Data sub-themes	Number of contributors	Number of references
NPM		17	45
	Low discretion	3	3
	Numerical goals and targets	9	14
	Small proactive teams	4	7
	Low levels of corporate agents	17	19

	Or CP (performance culture) timing unclear	2	2
CP		12	17
	New localism	4	4
	Or NPM (performance culture) timing unclear	2	2
	Conflicted nature	3	4
	Continuation of targets from NPM	6	7
NTP		18	64
	Drop targets as main driver	7	12
	Higher discretion	12	18
	Large uniformed patrol teams	4	5
	Loss of NHP	6	7
	Sensitive to high levels of corporate agents	14	24

For each quadrant, the analysis of the data is compared to the theoretically suggested characteristics, as presented in the focal literature chapter, as I seek to identify and justify the key characteristics of each quadrant of the RPM. For quadrant 1) 1964-1980, the traditional policing (TP) quadrant, there is no relevant data as police officers'

careers only extended over 30 years, linked to the police pension. Thus, none of the participants worked during this time period and offer no data. The theoretical construction of the RPM suggested that quadrant 1 should be populated by characteristics in line with traditional policing styles. I will show that there are many authors who contribute to the descriptions of traditional policing styles, for example Newburn (2005), Reuss-Ianni (2005), Silver (2005) and Cockcroft (2015).

Next is quadrant 2) 1980 -2000, the new public management (NPM) quadrant, the theoretical framework suggested increasing levels of non-human structures whilst retaining lower levels of human corporate agency. I will use the collected data to highlight the dimensions of the grid during this period. I will compare the collected data to the structures and culture described by authors like De Maillard and Savage (2012, 2017), Frey et al. (2013) and Arnaboldi et al. (2015) as emerging in response to the NPM. I will argue that the data supports the literature in this area. Also, by comparing the data to critical/relational views I will highlight the growth of non-human social forms and importantly the associated growth of social pathogens of (Donati, 2007).

Quadrant 3) 2000 – 2010, is conflicted policing (CP), which, according to the theoretical framework, arises from high levels of non-human structures and high levels of human corporate agency. As with the previous quadrants I will first seek to locate data supporting the high/low dimensions of the grid. Conflicted policing (CP), has not been previously described in these terms in the existing policing literature, as such there is no direct literature, with which to compare to the data. However, I will explore the growth of NHP in UK policing and a focus on ‘New Localism’ which appears in the literature of several writers in the field of policing (Loveday, 2000a; Fielding and Innes, 2006; Foster and Jones, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Millie, et al., 2013; Gasper and Davies, 2016). I will argue that the demands of the NPM and the over reliance on numerical data carried forwards and provided a conflict to the demands of NHP and local solutions

Quadrant 4) 2010 onwards, is neo-traditional policing (NTP), which the theoretical framework suggests emerges from the interactions between low levels of non-human structure and high levels of human corporate agency. I will use the data to show

how non-human management structures have been virtually removed but the incidence of corporate agencies remains at peak levels. This then sets the dimensions of this quadrant as low/high. When examining the data for this quadrant the concept of the NTP is new and unique to this research and therefore there are no direct sources of academic literature to support the arguments. I will use the data to show how the removal of policing targets (May, 2010), has seen a rapid return to more human social forms in policing with increased reciprocity. The data supports the argument that the structures and culture have returned to a very similar shape to the academic descriptions of policing prior to 1980, whilst remaining sensitive and responsive to the many demands of high levels of corporate agencies.

The use of the new RPM, with its underpinning coming from critical/ relational sociology, to examine the changing structures and culture of policing in response to governance changes, has not been attempted before. Whilst, research under the critical/relational paradigm has been used by Horrock (2009) to explore relational effects linked to IT systems in public sector organisations this did not extend to police organisations. Horrock (2009) did not generate a theoretical framework to visualise the area between non-human structures and corporate agency. As such the thesis is a contribution to knowledge for policing, the wider public-sector and critical/relational sociology. Regardless of the potential weaknesses linked to sample sizes and generalizability the nature of the emerging data when considered in relation to the existing theories and the support provided for the new RPM leads me to offer two propositions.

From the analysis of the data in this chapter I could establish the dimensions of the RPM finding full support from both case studies. The emerging characteristics of policing in each of the four quadrants, suggested by the theoretical texts, found complete support from both case studies. In this way the theoretical framework, the RPM, allows the reader to visualise the changing structures and cultures of police organisations over time, therefore: -

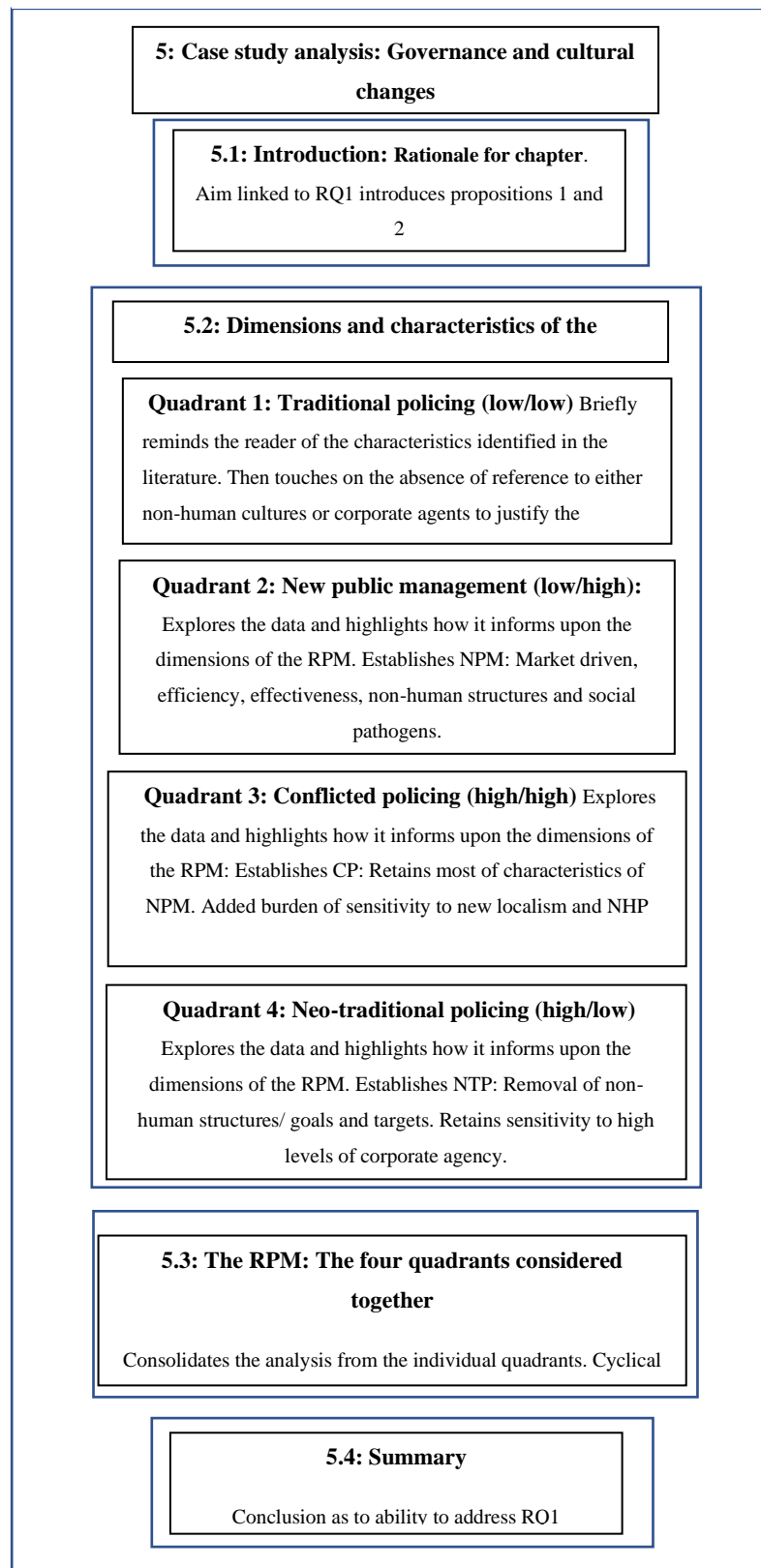
**Proposition 1: - *The (changing) characteristics of social, structural and corporate agency governance can be explained relationally through a new conceptual Relational Policing Matrix.***

In the examination of the data, I will show how the dimensions of the RPM have changed over time moving through each of the four quadrants of the RPM in turn. The fourth quadrant of the grid is the lower right representing the high/low quadrant which also represents the current position for UK policing. Police policy makers and leaders are unable to change the historical nature of policing styles from quadrants 1 – 3. However, as quadrant 4 represents the ‘here and now’ it is of greater importance for police policy makers and leaders. I will show that the primary influences, in quadrant 4, are a removal of high-performance management structures and a removal of numerical targets and goals as the primary driver of performance. I will explain how this therefore sees a return of higher levels of professional discretion seeing a return to a person-oriented system. At the same time the number and influence of corporate agencies remains high meaning the police must adjust their organisational systems to take account of the needs and demands of many external factors. This leads to my second proposal:

***Proposition 2: - In terms of where we are now, the absence of NPM social structures and the influences of many corporate agencies operate together, resulting in a neo-traditional policing style.***

The final section of the chapter is provided by a summary of the analysis and conclusions to be drawn from the analysis. In this process, I will attempt to identify the degree of success towards attaining the overall aim of the chapter, that is, to what extent have I been able to address RQ1. This then suggests a structure for the chapter, an introduction, an analysis of the data and a summary of the analysis. Seen in the figure on the following page: -

Figure 9: Analysis - governance and cultural changes road map





## 5.2 Dimensions and characteristics of the quadrants

The first of the four quadrants to be considered is Traditional Policing (TP), this represents the period between the police act 1964 and the election of the conservative government in 1979. When developed, the TP quadrant was defined as: -

*“Policing styles that are self-determined, responding to their own internally set priorities to deliver person-oriented services to the public”*

As stated in the introduction there is no data, and therefore no analysis for this quadrant. This is because, when the research was conducted in 2015/2016, the normal length of service of UK police officers was 30 years, closely linked to their professional pension. Thus, those officers with close to thirty years' service will not be able to provide data any earlier than 1985. The theoretical exploration of policing between 1964 – 1980 is provided in both the background literature and focal literature chapters, with the key characteristics for the TP quadrant being offered in the focal literature chapter. To assist the reader and remind them of the key policing characteristics, according to the theory, police organisations were bureaucratic hierarchies that provided frontline policing services using large, uniformed patrol teams. These uniformed police officers learned the way things were done from their peers and exercised high levels of professional discretion to provide very person-oriented services to the public. Thinking about the dimensions of this quadrant both non-human structures and cultures and the level of corporate agents with an interest in policing should be low. There is no direct evidence of this, however there is a complete lack of either dimension mentioned in the existing literature, suggesting that they did not exist or were very low before 1979. It can also be easily located within the literature that management style, under the NPM, matching non-human structures and cultures was not introduced until well after 1979. The same detail can be attached to the growth of corporate agents across relevant time periods.

The second quadrant, of the RPM, is new public management (NPM) and represents the years 1980 – 2000. When developed, the NPM quadrant was defined as: -

*“Policing styles that are self-determined, responding to their own internally set priorities to deliver task-oriented, efficiency driven services to the public”*

In the focal literature chapter, it was established that non-human structures and cultures, in an organisational context, predominantly manifest themselves through the use and over reliance on numerical targets and goals (Donati, 2007). These targets and goals become the sole focus across the organisation which then strips away professional discretion removing any sense of reciprocity, which mirrors non-human social forms in a societal context (Donati, 2007). The literature covering the topic of NPM claimed that the central purpose was to address the 3 e's, efficiency, economy and effectiveness (De Maillard and Savage, 2012). Given these drivers and the nature of management systems adopted under the influence of NPM the sense of person-oriented policing is stripped away leaving a focus on the attainment of numerical goals and targets. This then produces police organisations that are increasingly task-oriented and establishes one of the dimensions for this quadrant. The background literature chapter covered policing under the influence of the NPM in detail with many contributors (Loveday, 2000a; Hoque, et al., 2004; Collier, 2006; Fielding and Innes, 2006; Savage, 2007; Coleman, 2008; Brain, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Bao et al., 2013; Arnaboldi et al., 2015), describing systems and cultures that mirrored Donati (2007) and his concept of non-human social forms. The task in hand, is therefore to examine the data gathered in the two case studies, looking for personal lived experiences and items of data that are supportive of the suggested characteristics in this quadrant. With the overall aim of the chapter in mind, the goal is to locate data that highlights how the perceptions of the participants inform the characteristics present under NPM. In considering the RPM, support for the growth of non-human systems and cultures over the 20-year period forming this quadrant is essential. Also essential is to look for meanings contained within the data that support Donati (2007) and his belief that reliance on non-human social forms results in social pathogens within the system. The key characteristics of the NPM, that fit the views of Donati (2007) and mirror non-human social forms, are those practices and cultures that operate without genuine reciprocity. This results in an increasing overriding reliance upon numerical targets and goals and driving a culture of hitting targets at all costs which over time removed any idea of human reciprocity and resulted in a sharp decrease in professional discretion (Cockcroft,2015). Again, the way in which systems under the NPM mirror Donati (2007) and non-human social forms has been discussed in greater detail in the focal literature chapter.

Referring to Table 7: Data linked to the RPM, the theme NPM, is referenced by 17 of the 18 (94.44%) participants and has a total of 38 sections of data. It contains a sub-theme labelled ‘Numerical Goals and Targets’. This sub-theme holds 14 individual sections of text and is contributed to by 9 (50%) of the 18 participants. Therefore, support in the data, for the non-human structures and culture, described under the NPM, can be found with half of the participants from both forces. The officers contributing data are discussing the period in the late 1990’s when there were numerical targets and goals accompanied by a force wide drive to achieve them. Looking at the nature of the data collected good examples can be found from both participating police forces. I will therefore present one section of data from each force: -

*“TG: So we have analysts and things like that, who look at those sort of things we are getting the and it’s only recently I’ve had to challenge a chief inspector for having PI’s and ultimately the threat was you know you either get rid of these or this gets escalated further high up the chain where we know that they are not wanted and they are not to be used so it’s a middle management message if you like getting it down how does that he and I honestly believe that going back even further than what you’re saying that we did go through a period of time where there were managers in there who wanted performance issues they wanted PI’s and we got into our culture of doing these PI’s this will probably have been between six and 10 years ago because I’ve been full-time now for about six years in the office and in that time*

*CG: back end of the 90s?*

*TG: yeah am probably the early part of this century there was a performance issue with regards to PI’s and everything”*

Tyler Gardner Sergeant Andrad

The text begins with Tyler explaining about currently challenging management for use of performance indicators, suggesting a recent move away from high-performance cultures. Tyler then moves the timing back into the past when discussing the use of performance indicators where he says, ‘*at one stage we had quite a few PI’s*’. In this section, Tyler clearly talks about a reliance on performance indicators or PI’s which are

a management tool for driving performance through numerical targets. He discusses how some middle managers including a chief inspector find it difficult to let go of that performance culture. Towards the end of the section he gives a very clear indication that these practices stretch back to the NPM where he says

*‘we did go through a period of time where there were managers in there who wanted performance issues they wanted PI’s and we got into our culture of doing these PI’s this will probably have been between six and 10 years ago because I’ve been full-time now for about six years in the office and in that time CG: back end of the 90s?’*

*S3: yeah am probably the early part of this century there was a performance issue with regards to PI’s and everything”.*

So, the evidence from Tyler Gardener is that performance targets and goals were used extensively in his force late during the NPM quadrant. He does also give some evidence that this continued into the CP quadrant, and when moving into the NTP quadrant goals and targets as a means to drive performance have gone. This section of text is indicative of the type of data held in this sub-theme. It is clearly supportive of the theoretical position that numerical goals and targets were used to drive performance under NPM. The next section of text is from a middle manager in Mecronia Police: -

*“CF: early days I think we had pretty wide discretion as to how we dealt with people a lot of it was common sense policing erm and I would say that was probably the case until probably the time when I brought in the erm police intelligence model the early days of that things started to change around performance and targets*

*CG: okay so you actually went through a lot of the changes under new public management the drive for greater performance to drive better goals*

*CF: yeah it seemed to change from being very much I think it was public service based then you know you have a lot of discretion as to what you attended what you dealt with erm but I would say probably early to mid-90s the performance culture really started to kick in erm the drive for targets not only in terms of*

*organisational force targets but in terms of individual targets and team targets they wanted you to fulfil certain quotas they wanted you to give so many tickets out they wanted you to do so many summons reports they wanted you to arrest so many individuals which basically flies in the face of I would say sensible policing in many ways because by driving for targets we ended up alienating a lot of people by dealing with things that were not necessarily appropriate or the way that they were dealt with was inappropriate. Because, when you are doing what you were doing on a daily basis knowing that they were just targets for the sake of targets so most officers would you know try and fulfil those targets but still trying do what I would describe as the right thing.”*

Cason Flynn Chief Inspector Mecronia

In this, the second example, Cason Flynn begins by stating ‘*early days I think we had pretty wide discretion as to how we dealt with people a lot of it was common sense policing erm and I would say that was probably the case until probably the time when I brought in the erm police intelligence model the early days of that things started to change around performance and targets*’ This part of the text supports the claim that procedures and systems under NPM restricted professional discretion which was in the early days ‘*pretty wide*’. This is supportive of another of the theoretical claims linked to NPM and forms another of the sub-themes to be discussed in this section. The time period being discussed by Tyler Gardner can be referenced in either of two ways. Firstly, he mentions the police national intelligence model (NIM), which from the literature was introduced in 2000, right at the end of the NPM. Secondly, he clarifies the time period he is talking about where he says ‘*erm but I would say probably early to mid-90s*’. Tyler then goes on to describe style of managing performance adopted at that time in the following terms ‘*the performance culture really started to kick in erm the drive for targets not only in terms of organisational force targets but in terms of individual targets and team targets they wanted you to fulfil certain quotas they wanted you to give so many tickets out they wanted you to do so many summons reports they wanted you to arrest so many individuals*’ This part of the data gives a detailed description of the use of targets and goals as the primary means of driving performance. It is timed in the early to mid-90’s, his reference to the NIM (introduced in 2000) may indicate that he thought the NIM was

part of the overall introduction of goals and targets in the mid-90's. His reference to the NIM does, in a similar manner to Tyler Gardner, give some evidence of the continuation of numerical goals and targets into the CP quadrant. This second referenced section of text is also typical of the 14 sections of text collected here. There is therefore strong support, coming from half of the participants, for the theoretical argument that NPM led to high performance culture and the use of numerical targets and goals to drive performance.

According to the key literature on policing provided by writers (Loveday, 2000a; Hoque, et al., 2004; Collier, 2006; Fielding and Innes, 2006; Savage, 2007; Coleman, 2008; Brain, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Bao et al., 2013; Arnaboldi et al., 2015), the data above mirrors the high performance cultures described under NPM and also mirrors non-human systems described by Donati (2007). As such it is highly supportive of non-human performance cultures as a characteristic of the NPM quadrant. Another characteristic claimed by the literature is a loss of professional discretion due to an adherence to numerical goals. Within this data and highlighted in Table 7: Data linked to the RPM, is a sub-theme in the NPM theme, labelled 'Low discretion'. This sub-theme is very small and has only 3 references from 3 sources (16.66%). Even so, its existence does provide some support for the literature. The 3 sections of data are presented here: -

*CG: okay so at this period of time then when you are chasing figures and are aware of figures and you are aware of crime figures I don't know how aware you were but your force would have been returning figures monthly to the Home Office against a whole range of target how did that change the behaviour of the officers?*

*CA: the officers on the street to be honest I don't think it made a massive amount of difference we sort of we just carried on as normal the discretion went out of the window little bit because at the end of the day if you are being told to knockout 5 tickets I me personally I would if I stopped Mrs Miggins who'd forgot to put a seatbelt on and I still do it now I prefer to educate rather than smashing them with a lump of wood or a sledgehammer if it's that same person that has done it twice cites the next day and they've ignored what you said then because we had our areas even though we were the area car drivers so if you saw that*

*same person then you would go ahead and do it where perhaps before performance indicators you would think look mate sort it out*

*CG: yes*

*CA: but so that that started knocking the discretion out of the window a wee bit because you felt a wee bit pressurised*

Corey Andrews Police Constable Andrad

*“CG: when was that back end of the 90s*

*OG: yes, and it would make them less lenient whereas before you know you could use discretion and I think that one of the things*

*CG: so, do you think that those targets eroded discretion*

*OG: they did and I don't think discretion is as it was as it is now I don't think officers are as discretionary as they could be because they are I don't know who they are in my opinion they are forced to take further action when they don't need to take further action”*

Olivia Green Police Constable Andrad

*“CG: okay so you actually went through a lot of the changes under new public management the drive for greater performance to drive better goals*

*CF: yeah it seemed to change from being very much I think it was public service based then you know you have a lot of discretion as to what you attended what you dealt with erm but I would say probably early to mid-90s the performance culture really started to kick in erm the drive for targets not only in terms of organisational force targets but in terms of individual targets and team targets they wanted you to fulfil certain quotas they wanted you to give so many tickets out they wanted you to do so many summons reports they wanted you to arrest so many individuals which basically flies in the face of I would say sensible policing in many ways because by driving for targets we ended up alienating a lot of people by dealing with things that were not necessarily appropriate or the way that they were dealt with was inappropriate”*

The data presented in these 3 sections is clear and straightforward, the officers all discuss a reduction in professional discretion as a direct result of numerical targets and goals. The timing for each of the sections of text is also established as the NPM quadrant. Even though there are only 3 sections of data collected here, which is a small sample (16.66%), the officers felt that their discretion was reduced as a direct result of high-performance cultures. As such the data does support the theoretical claim, made by many writers (Loveday, 1999; Butterfield et al., 2004; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; De Maillard and Savage, 2012).

One of the axes, and as such one of the dimensions, of the NPM quadrant is provided by low levels or an absence of corporate agencies taking an interest in policing and data from the case studies supporting this dimension will now be examined. The existence of corporate agencies and their impact on policing has rarely been considered in the literature. Henry (2017), is one contributor to the policing literature, who states that police governance is achieved through a complex combination of government, private and third-sector organisations. Whilst, Henry (2017) does consider the actions of many organisations as drivers for the police, it is not presented as the contribution of corporate agencies from the critical/relational perspective. Thus, my work differs, and in considering the many complex faces of police governance through the concept of corporate agencies, is an original contribution to knowledge for policing and by extension other service oriented public-sector organisations, such as the NHS or education. However, given the lack of literature linked to the growth of corporate agencies in policing, the only way to establish support for the horizontal axis of the relational policing matrix is through the data itself. As a reminder to the reader, the key to membership of an agency is that all members share the same life chances. In this discussion Archer (1995), further states, that at certain moments, in a historical time frame, organised interest groups emerge, they are aware of what it is that they want and have the ability to articulate this to themselves and others, they can engage in a concerted, organised effort, to reshape or retain the structural or cultural feature in question and these agencies are of a particular type which Archer (1995) calls corporate agents.



Looking at Table 7: Data linked to the RPM, the theme NPM has a sub-theme 'Low levels of corporate agents' which holds data supporting the claim that there were indeed low levels of corporate agents during the period of the NPM quadrant. This sub-theme is contributed by 17 (94.44) of the 18 participants and holds 19 sections of text. There is data collected from officers working for both forces and a section of data representing each force is presented here: -

*CG: okay when you first joined how aware were you of groups and organisations either internal or external to the police that took an interest in the way you operate so now you've got all kinds of stuff you've got the black police Association you've got the Christian police Association the Stephen Lawrence foundation I mean there are a lot when you joined in 1986 how aware were you at that time of the sorts of organisations?*

*CA: not really no nothing well I was aware obviously the police Federation but to be honest I was 23 years old and all I wanted it sounds a bit corny but all I wanted to do was be a policeman and the politics out of it just did not interest me"*

Corey Andrews Police Constable Andrad

The second section of data being used to represent the 'Low levels – corporate agents' sub-theme follows: -

*"CG: so that was then the other aspect then thinking back to when you first joined how aware where were you of organisations groups that might take an interest in policing so there might be official groups or organisations like the IPCC or HMIC or unofficial like the Stephen Lawrence foundation or semi-official like the local authority because of partnership working*

*CF: yes*

*CG: and you work with partner agencies so when you first joined how aware were you of those sorts of organisations*

*CF: I weren't no*

*CG: is that because you weren't aware as a probationer or because you don't think they had any real influence*

*CF: they certainly didn't have as much influence as they do now I mean then we dealt with local agencies and new knew I mean you knew your local agencies your Council know I would have to say certainly from my perspective we dealt with ourselves as police and didn't have a lot to do with partner agencies at that time apart from fire and ambulance when you were dealing with an incident*

*CG: okay I'm not just thinking about partner agencies thinking of any organisation or any group that takes an interest in policing and some of those may be internal so you have things like the black police Association or in Kent there is the Kent network of women so at that time can you think of anything like that*

*CF: no*

Cason Flynn Chief Inspector Mecronia

We know from Table 5: Fieldwork timetable, located at the end of Chapter 4, that both Corey Andrews and Cason Flynn, joined the police during the relevant period for the NPM quadrant (1986 and 1993 respectively). Both officers are clearly talking about their view of corporate agencies at the time when they joined. This is because both sections of text commence with the researcher asking them to consider the existence of corporate agents at the time they joined. The view expressed is that they do not recall any corporate agencies at that time. The researcher then asks both if this was due to them not noticing or an actual absence and again both believe that there was an absence of corporate agents at that time. These sections of text are typical of the data recorded in this sub-theme which is contributed to by most of the sample. As such it does support the theoretical arguments and the idea of the existence and influence of corporate agents growing over time in accordance with Archer (1995) and the idea that corporate agents were at low levels in the NPM quadrant.

Archer (1995), states that the growth of corporate agencies emerges through the process of group elaboration linked to growing systemic complexity it is safe to assume that the level and influence of corporate agents in the NPM quadrant, lies somewhere

between the two poles provided by TP (low) and NTP (high) quadrants. Therefore, whilst levels are higher than quadrant 1, they can still to be considered as low in comparison to quadrants 3 and 4, which is supported by the data presented here. Where the levels and influence of corporate agents is low police organisations retain the ability to determine their own structures and cultures without a consideration of other external drivers. This kind of self-determining of policing structures and priorities in England and Wales, can easily be seen in the introduction of the Kent Police intelligence model during the 1990's, which later became the NIM (National Criminal Intelligence Service, 2000). This therefore establishes 'Self-Determining' as one of the dimensions present in this quadrant. From the earlier theoretical considerations and creation of the RPM, some of the key characteristics for this quadrant were claimed to be, striving to improve efficiency, effectiveness and economy with many numerical targets and goals as the primary driver of performance; low levels of professional discretion; policing services provided by small uniformed patrol teams supported by other specialist teams (Savage, 2007; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Brain, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Bao et al., 2013; Frey et al., 2013; Bullock and Sindall, 2014; Arnaboldi et al., 2015). All the characteristics, except for small proactive teams, have been presented in the preceding sections. The theoretical position, presented in the literature review chapters, claims that there was a move away from mainly responsive uniformed patrol duties to specialist teams working in proactive systems under NPM and later under the intelligence led policing of the NIM (Maguire and John, 2006). Looking at Table 7: Data linked to the RPM, the final data sub-theme listed under the NPM theme is 'Small proactive teams.' This sub-theme holds data from 4 of the 18 participants (22.22%) and a total of 7 references. Again, in a similar fashion to the professional discretion, the theory suggests this should be the case and the existence of data in the sample, regardless of sample size, does offer some support to the theoretical claims. As with the previous characteristics discussed I will present data from both participating police forces: -

*"FH. At that time in the 90's that was when I went onto the tactical team, a small unit, so that was more the proactive uniform on erm and I then spent in their five years on there erm during which time I was team leader on one of the teams so I was sort of being pushed for promotion. Got through my first board and then got promoted and then because of at the time my skills around*

*operational type stuff I was then lucky enough to get promoted straight back onto the TAC team as a Sgt which I did for 6 to 7 years.*

*CG: so, the period of time you spend on TAC team was mainly proactive work?*

*FH: yep”*

#### Finlay Hudson Sergeant Mecronia Police

The meaning of this short section is clear, as is the timing of the events described. Finlay Hudson describes two periods, one of five years as a constable working on a small specialist tactical team and another of six to seven years on the same unit as a sergeant. The timing is provided by the comment ‘*at that time in the 90’s*’. Given the fact that the total period commencing in the 90’s and extending eleven or twelve years also adds support to the argument that the culture and regimes followed under NPM extended into the CP quadrant. The proactive nature of the work is expressed here as ‘*the tactical team, a small unit, so that was more the proactive uniform*’ and is reinforced at the end ‘*CG: so, the period of time you spent on TAC team was mainly proactive work? FH: yep*’. Moving away from Finlay Hudson and Mecronia Police, one of the sections of data for Andrad Police is also presented here: -

*‘AP: certainly I joined on 21 October 1996 a date that is etched into my brain and always will be at that time I think it’s fairly similar to to now to be honest we have chief Constable a DCC an ACC local policing was managed by chief inspectors as is the case now although we had more sectors so sorry local policing was more devolved down so small proactive teams at a local level we have moved away from that again in recent times*

*CG: okay you had sectors sector policing*

*AP: yes*

*CG: officers on shift*

*AP: was on shift and local officers on shift community officers on shift as well*

*CG: okay so and at that time 1996*

*AP: 96 in October 1996’*

As with the first section of data, the timing is unequivocal, as Aaron includes his full date of joining. He describes his early days working on ‘small proactive teams at a local level’. The data here does clearly describe policing styles provided by small proactive teams and as such supports the many authors of policing literature (Savage, 2007; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Brain, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Bao et al., 2013; Fry et al., 2013; Bullock and Sindall, 2014; Arnaboldi et al., 2015), who claim that NPM resulted in small specialist, proactive teams.

Although not directly focussed on the characteristics of the RPM, the first phase of analysis relies on the same data, it is the way that data is collected into sub-themes and labelled that differs. Thus, the first phase of analysis still gives some insight into the characteristics of the RPM. From the first phase of analysis, looking at Table 6: Combined themes the third most significant theme for Andrad is labelled ‘NPM (7)’ and is referenced by 7 of the 9 informants (77.77%). The nature of the data held in this theme has already been presented through the second phase of analysis focussed on the RPM.

One of the areas, according to Donati (2007), that should accompany non-human management systems is a growth in social pathogens. Which is one area for the NPM that was not examined in the second phase of analysis. The following section of data provided by Mecronia Police, Detective Inspector Connor Jenkins, 29 years’ service, is an example of the nature of some of the data, held in the NPM (7) sub-theme, that supports the growth of social pathogens as predicted by Donati (2007): -

*“CG: thinking about Mecronia police now say the last one was about the community in the country thinking specifically about Mecronia police and your own team how do these influences within the organisation at the moment and how the influences within your team at the moment enabled you to act as a police officer?”*

*CJ: I think we are better organisation now than we were 18 months ago we 18 months ago we were a performance driven figures dictated organisation which resulted in what I would call noble cause corruption we weren’t taking reports of rape when we should be we weren’t criming things when we should have been and it was because one senior ACPO officer competing against another senior*

*ACPO officer for best performance and that was building their CV for the next step we have it appears come completely away from that I don't know I think it's probably lead by the policing College I don't know whether it's a Mecronia thing or a national thing I think that Mecronia are much more advanced down that route but what I've seen is that we are now doing the right thing certainly weren't doing the right thing two years ago"*

Connor Jenkins Detective Inspector Mecronia

This section of text really highlights how deeply Mecronia adopted systems and structures under NPM with the officer's choice of words "a performance driven figures dictated organisation" carrying a lot of weight. Also, contained in this section of data is the officer's belief that these types of structures and cultures result in "noble cause corruption", which in an organisation where honesty and integrity are an essential element of day to day business can only be an example of social pathogens, as predicted by Donati (2007). The conduct described by the informant does not really fit the usual description of 'noble cause corruption' which is addressed in more detail in Chapter 2 and the following chapter. This is because it relates to the feelings of Connor and the next chapter is more concerned with the feelings of the informants, than this chapter, which has the characteristics of the RPM as its focus. The idea of any form of corruption indicates deviant police behaviour which is exactly the nature of behaviour predicted by Donati (2007) and can be considered a 'social pathogen'. In this context, social pathogens could also be considered as an unwanted side effect from the management literature (Deal and Kennedy, 1988; Ashkanasy, 2016; De Silva and Chandrika, 2016) or policing literature of Loveday (2000a, 2000b) and Shane (2010). The third most significant Mecronia theme, listed in Table:6 Combined themes, holding some indirect support of the performance driven culture, is the theme labelled 'Internal Conflict Old Culture (4)'. This is a theme, contributed to by four of the nine participants (Mecronia 44.44%), where the researchers sense making efforts have attached the meaning that the informants appear to be conflicted over the recent removal of targets and goals from their day to day business. This conflict is apparent where they verbally claim to be in full support of the recent removal of goals but then describe events which highlight an internal desire to see the return to working in their old accustomed ways. Their description of the new versus old

structures and culture, in this sub-theme, therefore, give indirect support for the existence of non-human structures and culture in the NPM and or the CP quadrant. From sections of data gathered it appears that Mecronia, had driven a crime reduction, target oriented agenda (task-oriented) which became the norm for the officers. The recent removal of those goals, due to the latest force restructuring, has been on the surface welcomed by the officers as evidenced by the theme ‘New Culture Mecronia – Positive (9) (100%)’ being ranked as the second most significant theme for the officers in this sample holding data collected from all nine of the participants constituting the sample. The theme labelled ‘Internal Conflict Old Culture’ is very likely an indicator of just how deeply Mecronia adopted and accepted the managerial agenda under the guise of the NPM. Mecronia Police, Patrol Sergeant Daniel Burns, 27 years’ service, is one of four contributors to this theme, the data collected from him, in this theme, is a story in which he describes an incident occurring in 2015. In the events of the story, he had a dispute between himself and the crime recording team at police headquarters. The officer wanted to treat a reported crime as a ‘no crime’ which is a crime disposal code allowing Mecronia to treat the report as an incident meaning that it is no longer counted against them as a recorded crime. If the force is no longer concerned with numerical targets and goals, then whether this incident is treated as a recorded crime or not is of no matter and the officer should not waste further valuable time working on it. Under the old NPM culture the officer would have been under pressure, from the centre, to obtain a ‘no crime’, thereby improving the force recorded crime figures. There is clearly a conflict taking place internally for the sergeant who, “hears”, the message from the centre that the culture has changed but is having difficulty letting go of the need to chase every crime report for either a ‘detection’ or ‘no-crime’. The researcher believes that the importance of this internal conflict cannot be underestimated as it is a very clear indicator of just how deeply Mecronia had adopted the non-human management systems under NPM. The account is long and detailed but because of the significance is presented in full: -

*“DB: um having said that um I think sometimes um we crime things to quickly without enough investigation um we have the 72 hour rule and its gotta be on the system you know it’s gotta if it’s not you’ve not got the account you’ll create a skeleton crime report from what information the caller rings in you can’t get hold of the caller for another 7 days they don’t want to tell you anything then*

*um and the example I had a couple of weeks ago, a woman rings in and says she's lost her mobile phone it's been stolen she was out drinking she got drunk she left it in a pub it's been stolen she's checked it on the cloud and its pinging in XXXXXXXX and it looks like it's pinging at an address in XXXXXXXXXX um we don't get any more information out of her and we create a crime report for the theft of her phone, um they send a patrol to the address at the address they speak to the girlfriend of the guy that lives there that says oh my husband, er my boyfriend is a barman at such and such yeah last thing last night as he was coming out of the door there was a mobile phone there so yeah he picked it up he's taken it back he's already gone back in to work this afternoon and taken it in to work so we speak to the woman this is where your phone is, she goes to collect the phone, are you happy that it's not been stolen but lost, yeah I'm happy go to write that back out as a no crime as a lost property that has been recovered um and the first thing you find is that will need a submission, write the submission comes back from a DS, lack of information on that um we'd like to know what is the normal property handling policy for the pub, you know why did he you know what are the pub going to do about the fact that he didn't comply with their lost property system um what are you going to do, are you going to spend bearing in mind you have very limited resources are you going to spend actual further time going back to the pub saying hi, can we have a copy of your policy, are you going to discipline your member of staff for taking it home, he's done the right thing he may have gone about it the wrong way but he's done the right thing there's nothing in it that I can you know it's not as if we've knocked on the door and he's gone oh no I found it have it back by the time we've knocked on the door he's already taking it back um and so you've got to kind of were not going to no crime that now we just file it. There is sometimes the lack of common sense I think we have gone, I appreciate there were issues around stuff not being crimed properly but I think we've gone in cases too far the other way and we are not realistic in human if we look at and look at human nature in how we in how those crimes are resolved."*

Daniel Burns Sergeant Mecronia Police



The data presented in this section of the chapter is very supportive of the existence of NPM systems and culture in both Mecronia and Andrad police forces at the end of the last century. What has been presented to the reader is a very small proportion of the total amount of data available in both case studies linked to this area. It also appears from the data that Mecronia were much more deeply invested in the ideas and culture of performance management under NPM than Andrad. It is clear from the data so far, that the informant's perceptions of policing under NPM was of tight numerical goals and targets with low levels of professional discretion, as indicated through the story of Mecronia Police Sergeant Daniel Burns. Thus, there are clear indications that the data and theoretical texts combined, address RQ1 in relation to the period of the NPM (1980 - 2000).

Already touched on briefly in this analysis, is the idea of social pathogens, which according to the work of Donati, (2007) ought to exist where non-human systems and cultures are relied upon. In the previously referenced data collected from Mecronia we have already seen a small indicator, from Detective Inspector Connor Jenkins and his reference to "noble cause corruption", of the existence of social pathogens creeping into the organisation. For Mecronia, there is a large amount of additional data, collected indicating that the predicted unwanted side effects of reliance on managerial, numerical targets and goals has occurred (Diefenbach, 2009; Arnaboldi et al., 2015; Ashkanasy et al., 2016; De Silva and Chandrika 2016). It is exactly these predicted unwanted side effects that present themselves as social pathogens and are therefore also fully supportive of the effects of non-human systems predicted by Donati (2007). Very clear suggestions of several social pathogens are provided by Patrol Inspector, Dexter Atkinson, 28 years' service, who at the time of the interview was a police Inspector but is now retired. In his interview he gives a lot of detailed information including very specific descriptions covering several events. These events are offered entirely from his personal perspective but paint a picture of dishonesty and lack of integrity at very high levels in his force. This lack of integrity at high levels in police forces is something that has also been reported and documented in several high-profile police cases, in other forces, (Jukes, 2012; BBC News UK, 2015; MailOnline, 2015). In his interview, he provides accounts of cronyism, bullying and a breach of race relations equality legislation by senior officers in the force.

It must be reiterated, that this is the only contribution that goes to this degree and could possibly be a personal 'axe to grind' or a case of 'sour grapes'. However, he claims that, many of the incidents he is concerned about are contemporaneously recorded (timed, dated and recorded as the events occurred) into his detectives' 'daybook' and he claims to have made formal complaints about the conduct when it occurred. From an ethical perspective the descriptions of the events by, Dexter Atkinson all relate to the actions of other persons and are not admissions of misconduct or criminal conduct by the informant. There is therefore no specific duty placed on the researcher to report the events. In this case the 'harm/benefit' balance is the guiding principle, in his description of events Dexter indicated that he reported all of the matters to his force at the time. Therefore, I decided that his data could be presented and there was no need for further action on the part of the researcher. A further consideration in deciding not to report any of the events arose from the need to protect the informant, because he was central to the events described reporting those matters to his force would instantly identify him to them, which would be a significant breach of trust and contrary to the ethical position of the University (CCCU, 2006).

The interview of Mecronia Police Community Safety Sergeant Archie Rees, 25 years' service, also includes significant descriptions of cronyism and misogyny, by others, whilst the interview of Daisy Baker, a Victim Care Police Constable, 21 years' service, claims to have suffered widespread misogyny and bullying and presents some indications of racism. Again, from an ethics perspective none of the conduct described contains admissions by the informants or specific details of events or conduct by others that could be considered evidence sufficient to warrant reporting to the force. Also, contained within the interviews are some references to the five Medway detectives from Kent Police, who were arrested around 2012 over dishonesty claims related to official crime recording processes and felt by the informants from Mecronia, to be relevant to some conduct witnessed in their own force. All the negative behaviours described in these passages of text could be considered as social pathogens within the organisation, which therefore tends to confirm the ideas of Donati (2007) linked to non-human (autopoietic, self-referential and those that lack reciprocity) social forms. There is less evidence of these types of pathogens occurring in the data collected from the Andrad officers. Even

so, in the Andrad case study Molly Hayes, a Child Protection Sergeant describes some dishonesty around the way an offender was dealt with to ensure an unjustified crime detection during the 1990's. There is also some evidence provided of cronyism and bullying, while other interviews show how the need to deliver on figures led to game playing and dishonest accounting processes again there are far fewer instances than those found in the Mecronia data. With ethical considerations in mind, none of the data provided in these accounts included any form of admission of wrong doing by the informant, the time elapsed since the events occurred and the lack of specific detail again meant that reporting the matters to the force would severely disrupt the harm-benefit balance and the researcher therefore decided to present the data whilst taking no action with regards to reporting matters to either police force. In most cases, when the participants are describing these negative effects, the social pathogens, they are attached to strong feelings and lived experiences. To avoid duplication, the data collected in relation to these social pathogens, will not be presented in this section. This is because a full discussion of the individually significant themes will be made in the 'Personal aspects and lived experiences chapter. The personal nature of the effects of social pathogens are more relevant to that section of the thesis. When examined together with the background and focal literature the data collected from both case studies is therefore highly supportive of both the existence and characteristics of the quadrant forming the low/high NPM quadrant of the relational policing matrix. This therefore also provides support for the suggested definition of the NPM quadrant. Thus, in relation to RQ1, it can be seen that the perceptions of serving federated rank police officers, highlight the characteristics of policing under the influence of NPM, including the increasing presence of non-human social forms, or a de-humanisation of policing and the associated growth of social pathogens. The de-humanisation of policing under the NPM is central to proposition 3, which will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 6.

The third quadrant is conflicted policing (CP) and represents the years 2000 – 2010. When developed, the CP quadrant was defined as: -

*“Policing styles that are responsive to the demands of local communities and other external agencies whilst attempting to provide task-oriented, efficiency driven services to the public.”*

The high-performance culture and the need for UK police forces to provide masses of data to central government has been thoroughly covered by very many authors and explored in full in the background literature chapter of this thesis and the preceding section of this chapter. The fact that the managerialism created under NPM during the 1990's remained in place until the arrival of the new coalition government and home secretary Theresa May is made clear by her speech made at the 2010 police federation conference. In this speech, which is very long she promises to remove centrally set targets and goals allowing the police to concentrate on more local solutions, a small section is presented here: -

*“We will also look at dismantling the targets in disguise - the Key Performance Indicators - which set national, one-size-fits-all priorities for local forces and instead allow you to pursue the crimes and criminals you believe you should”*

(May, 2010 pp. 1)

The fact that the home secretary, in 2010, felt the need for central government to make a point of removing targets and goals from UK police forces is a very clear indicator that drive for efficiency, effectiveness and economy generated by the NPM between 1980 – 2000, was still present in UK police forces right up to that moment in time i.e. 2010. Of note is the indication in the choice of words *“allow you to pursue the crimes and criminals you believe you should”*, highlighting the governments fascination with UK police forces viewed as primarily crime fighters. The levels of non- human structures and culture have been established as high in the latter stages of the NPM quadrant, they were still at high levels in 2010, as evidenced by the speech of May (2010). Therefore, this establishes the presence of non-human structures/culture (linked to NPM) as high for the duration of the relevant period for the CP quadrant. As seen in the previous quadrants, where non-human structures and culture are high the resultant policing systems and culture are very task-oriented and efficiency driven, establishing one dimension for this quadrant.

Almost a decade before the speech of (May, 2010) the UK police were about to feel the effects of new localism (Fielding and Innes, 2006; Bullock and Sindall, 2013; Millie et al., 2013) with the introduction of neighbourhood policing (NHP) by the New Labour

Government. Rising out of this new local agenda all UK police forces were required to implement the governments NHP model. The full characteristics of the NHP model from that period have been examined in detail in the background literature chapter. Looking at Table 3: ‘Characteristics for neighbourhood policing (NHP)’ the fifth characteristic is listed as ‘confused’ and this is slightly expanded to include ‘local solutions hampered by central performance measures (Loveday, 2000a; Fielding and Innes, 2006; Foster and Jones, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Millie et al., 2013; Gasper and Davies, 2016). The main idea of NHP was that the police should be responsive to local needs and the desires of the local community which included the creation of regular public community meetings between neighbourhood police officers and the members of their policing wards (Home Office, 2005; Millie et al., 2013; Gasper and Davies, 2016). There was a great focus in neighbourhood teams on partnership working with the police attempting to find innovative ways of tackling issues together with local authorities and other emergency services. This partnership working saw the introduction of and interaction with many organisations and groups, both pre-existing groups such as local district councils and newly created organisations such as the members of Police and Communities Acting Together (PACT) committees (Gasper and Davies, 2016). These types of organisations and groups are good examples of the growth of corporate agencies under Archer (1995). Anecdotally, as a pure assumption by the researcher, it is also highly likely, that that rise of ‘new localism’ is a response to the actions of other societal corporate agencies and their morphogenetic processes. This does however already establish the level and influence of corporate agencies in this quadrant as high. As, previously seen, where the levels of corporate agencies are high the ability of police organisations to self-determine is constrained, resulting in more externally dependent systems. Therefore, the dimensions of the CP quadrant are the provision of policing services that are externally-dependent task-oriented.

Looking specifically at the nature of human social forms, in all these organisations and groups and their interactions with the police, the key was for partnership suggesting there was cooperation between all parties involved, therefore indicating high levels of reciprocity which according to Donati (2007) must therefore appear as human social forms. There is clear evidence then, provided by the literature of

increasing complexity leading to a growth in corporate agencies conforming to both Archer (1995) and the RPM. The very nature and working of a number of those organisations and groups is also shown to be conforming to Donati (2007) and human social forms which adds further support to the RPM which suggested an increase in corporate agencies adopting human social forms. The introduction of NHP, the need to consider the views and needs of both partner agencies and the local community highlighted in the previous paragraph brings with it an immediate increase in both the number and influence of corporate agencies taking an interest in policing. During this section of the analysis I will also use the data to establish the existence of many other corporate agencies affecting police organisations. This firmly sets the level and influence of corporate agencies as high and the need for police organisations to adjust their structure to meet the demands of many external agencies meant that their systems and culture became externally-dependent, establishing this as one of the dimensions of the RPM.

As already established in the preceding chapters a key element of NPM was the removal or reduction of professional discretion from the day to day working of frontline police officers. It can also be seen from the existing literature that one of the intentions of the NHP model was to return a degree of discretion and empowerment to deliver solutions to local problems (Home Office, 2005; Fielding and Innes, 2006; Millie et al., 2013). The ideals of these two styles are clearly not compatible and are obviously at odds with each other. It is here, where, giving NHP officers the discretion to discover creative solutions under the influences of ‘new localism’, meets the needs and requirements of UK police forces to deliver upon centrally set targets and goals that the idea of a conflict is born. It is in the birth of a conflict of mutually exclusive priorities, pressures and constraints that the true nature of the characteristics forming the upper right, third quadrant of the relational policing matrix can be seen. The idea of providing policing from within a conflicted environment also finds additional support in the examination of police child protection units by Maguire et al. (2013). Their examination of policing took place around 2011, at a time when the effects of ‘performance cultures’ in police organisations had yet to fully respond to the removal of goals and targets from UK policing. They highlight the stark contrast between the very human demands of the units’ day to day work and the ‘high performance culture’ said to pervade much police work. I therefore

suggest that support for the relational policing matrix and the existence and characteristics of the upper right, quadrant 3, has been well established within the relevant literature. What is now needed is to explore the data collected in the two case studies looking for data that supports or contradicts this position.

As with the analysis of the NPM quadrant, I will examine the data collected in the second phase of analysis and focussed on the RPM and listed in Table 7: Data linked to the RPM. This is followed by some of the data from the first phase and listed in Table 6: Combined themes. The second theme in Table 7: is CP, it is populated by data collected from 12 of the 18 participants (66.66%) and holds 17 sections of text. At this point I will remind the reader of the difficulty in locating data that clearly identifies the time period for the CP quadrant. Data for the NPM and NTP quadrants is far more readily identified, as these relate to the dates of joining or very recent events for the participants. The CP however represents a period somewhere in the middle of their careers and as they were not specifically asked to discuss the time period some references are vague. In collecting data for the CP theme (and sub-themes) items of text were restricted to those where the timing could accurately be pinpointed. There were also some sections of text that supported NPM characteristics, but the timing was unclear. Two of these were collected into the sub-theme “CP or NPM (Performance Culture) timing unclear” to highlight the difficulty in identifying the timing. As such I will present them here: -

*“AM: we had a lot of that under XXXXXXXX the silo mentality not my job shunt it off*

*CG: so that was a model a few years back*

*AM: yeah a few years back*

*CG: that silo mentality that silo culture where do you think that came from how did that arise what was the driver behind making that?*

*AM: some of that I think was probably figures and performance driven”*

Amir Moran Sergeant Mecronia

This section of text is describing events that are linked to a high- performance culture that is numerically driven this is evident from the phrase “*some of that I think was*

*probably figures and performance driven”* This data provides good evidence of the existence of numerically driven performance in his force, however, the exact timing is not clear as it is referred to as *“yeah a few years back”* which could apply equally to either the CP or the NPM quadrants. The following section of data is also linked to performance cultures and highlights a lack of integrity linked to crime recording for the purpose of hitting targets. This gives support to the idea that performance cultures lead to ‘social pathogens’ in line with the work of Donati (2007). The second section of data is presented here: -

*“PC: I’ve got no direct evidence at this time but in the past I know that figures figures have been massaged and I can give you an example of that stolen vehicles we had a big problem with stolen vehicles in XXXXXXXXXXXX at one time and obviously they were undetected most of them you would find them burnt out so they changed it that if the car was stolen overnight and was found burnt out before it was reported stolen that the figures which show that it was an arson not theft there is an example you know because theft of the car car theft was going right up so it was changed to arson and I’m sure there’s others there were other areas where that happens all the time so at the end of the day you can manipulate figures to suit your aims”*

Patrick Cole Police Constable Andrad

Again, as with the first section of data the events described here are linked to performance cultures and given the theoretical position could fit either the NPM or CP quadrant but there is no clear indication of timing. This makes it impossible to accurately place into either of the themes. The content is however a valuable indication of high-performance cultures in policing and to a certain degree worthy of inclusion somewhere. The remaining sub-themes in the CP theme are ‘New localism’, ‘Conflicted nature’ and ‘Continuation of targets from NPM’. As already stated, none of these are particularly well populated, certainly in comparison to the NPM or NTP themes. However, they do provide a degree of support for the theoretically established position. In the theoretical discussions one characteristic of the CP quadrant identified the introduction of NHP linked to new localism. The theme CP has a sub-theme labelled ‘New localism’ that holds



four sections of text from four of the participants (22.22%) all referencing NHP. One section of data is presented here: -

*“CG: the neighbourhood support unit how long back was that*

*AM: XXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX was the boss probably about eight probably about eight years ago*

*CG: okay so prior to during the end of the Labour government coming coming up to sort of 2007 2008,*

*AM: yep probably about then*

*CG: so probably during a period when neighbourhood was at its peak*

*AM: yes, absolutely right at its peak so anything I wanted I got”*

Amir Moran Sergeant Mecronia Police

Whilst the sergeant mentions neighbourhood policing three or four times in this excerpt, he does not give a great deal of detail about what it looked like or how it operated. Even though this is the case, just the use of the term neighbourhood, firmly places this in the CP quadrant. This is because, before 2000 and the drive of new localism, NHP did not exist and as will be shown in the analysis for the NTP quadrant, has not extended far beyond 2010. The exact timing of the data is however made very clear in this section of text: -

*“CG: the neighbourhood support unit how long back was that*

*AM: XXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX was the boss probably about eight probably about eight years ago*

*CG: okay so prior to during the end of the Labour government coming coming up to sort of 2007 2008,*

*S8: yep probably about then”*

The data presented here holds some clues about the nature of the work being undertaken by the sergeant. From the name of the unit ‘the Neighbourhood Task Team’ (NTT) it gives a feel that the unit is a small specialist team, rather than a member of the

'normal' NHP teams. This feel of being a specialist unit derives from the inclusion of 'Task' in the name, implying that the team has a specific task to perform within the neighbourhood. Small proactive teams are one of the features of policing styles under NPM and its transference into the CP quadrant is one of the argued characteristics. Thus, this section of data is timed around 2007, 2008, which is well within the CP quadrant and is supportive of both NHP – under new localism in-line with the name of the data sub-theme and a continuation of management systems and styles from the NPM quadrant. Moving on, the next data sub-theme held in the CP theme is labelled 'Conflicted nature'. This sub-theme is contributed to by 3 (16.66%) of the participants and holds only four sections of text that highlight the conflicted nature of policing during this period. One example of the data is provided: -

*“CG: okay so you said you mentioned 2006 just now so what was occurring in 2006?”*

*CA: in relation to the what*

*CG: performance*

*CA: performance yes again we I think we were then it was being done on a local basis we had and need us was it an inspector that decided he wanted to see what the team were doing or the individuals were doing so he set out this performance indicator where it was how we speed checks doing how many tickets you are doing etc how many arrests you had*

*CG: how did that shape and change your behaviour?*

*CA: it changed it a wee bit because all of a sudden you get like a new boss that is coming on a local level for our team it wasn't like it was an inspector that was in charge of the team at XXXXX XXXXX in charge of like our neighbourhood policing team it was he was solely in charge of you know 2 neighbourhood policing teams so all of a sudden you think oh God the goals of changed so the goalposts moved should I say so you started going away from say executing drug warrants to thinking right well this is what he wants so let's steer towards that so the other things were starting to drop away but yeah so this particular boss at the time it was more of a local thing issues were raised*

*with sergeants saying look you know being in a minute this is taking us away from what we are supposed to be doing as such*

*CG: as neighbourhood?*

*CA: as neighbourhood yes so*

*CG: so, do you think that there was a conflict between the drive to increase performance and the need to supply neighbourhood policing?*

*CA: yes yes I mean neighbourhood policing and I'm still convinced it is totally undervalued it's the in my opinion it's the bread-and-butter it's you are there it's long-term when I went into neighbourhood policing initially I thought only do it for a couple of years when I applied I did my bits and pieces I was told it was at least a 10 year post because it would take time for people to sort of take you in and in certain townships I was doing XXXXX XXXXXXXX which at the time it was just rife with just about everything and you had to gain the trust you had to gain the trust of the kids had to gain the trust of the parents of all sorts and it takes two or three years to start reaping the rewards of that trust so of course all of a sudden your goals are being all your targets you are being given these targets which is taking you away from the grassroots stuff and you are finding yourself less time dealing with and then you've got the extra pressure because probably they are short on shift so they keep dragging your way to put you up the so that you are running around all over the city so yeah the targets were a bit of a sort of a bit of a hurdle*

*CG: so that was making life difficult?*

*CA: yes, I mean it was manageable, but it was it was an obstruction it was an obstacle that you could get round but you were trying to balance the two*

Corey Andrews Police Constable Andrad

The main purpose of this excerpt is to provide support for the idea of a conflict between NHP and the continued performance goals under NPM. Although quite long the feeling arising from the data is that the need to achieve against numerical targets was

diverting him from his responsibility as a neighbourhood officer and the performance requirements were an obstacle, highlighting the conflict of priorities.

The data presented above is representative of the data held in the ‘Conflicted nature’ sub-theme of the CP theme. It is a very good example of feelings of conflict arising from trying to deliver against both NHP ideals and performance targets. The data is also supportive of two other sub-themes from the CP theme i.e. ‘New localism’ and ‘Continuation of targets from NPM’. Which links nicely to the final sub-theme of the CP theme, ‘Continuation of targets from the NPM’. It holds data from 6 of the 18 participants (33.33%) and has data that supports the theoretical claim that high-performance target and goal-oriented management systems adopted during the NPM quadrant persisted until, at least, the end of the CP quadrant in 2010. I will take this opportunity to present data from this sub-theme to highlight the nature of data held: -

*“AP: but certainly, when I left local policing, we’re talking 2005 yes PPI was there you had to do XY and Z to XY and Z level*

*CG: so, there were there were pressure on numbers?*

*AP: yes, absolutely pressures on numbers and that was drilled down to individuals, so it wasn’t the like a shift of got to do XYZ it was you as an individual have got to do this number of stop searches and so on”*

Aaron Perry Police Constable Andrad

Given the difficulties in identifying the timing of events during the officers’ service the first point to consider is the timing for this excerpt. This can be determined where at the start of the text Aaron says, *“but certainly, when I left local policing, we’re talking 2005 yes PPI was there you had to do XY and Z to XY and Z level”* which firmly identifies the timing as 2005. Further, this sentence also gives support for the claim that use of numerical goals and targets as the primary method to drive performance, introduced during NPM, continued in the CP quadrant. Working through the text, the question and answer, *“CG: so, there were there were pressure on numbers?”*

*AP: yes, absolutely pressures on numbers and that was drilled down to individuals, so it wasn’t the like a shift of got to do XYZ it was you as an individual have*

*got to do this number of stop searches and so on*”, continue to support the use of NPM high-performance management systems during the CP quadrant.

The chosen methodology for the thesis is an interpretive qualitative case study approach. As such the intention is to develop theory from data, not to prove an existing theory through quantitative means and positivistic hypothesis testing. Whilst the numbers of participants contributing data to sub-themes and themes gives some indication of the strength of feeling within the sample, the presence of text from only one participant that is supportive of the suggested theoretical characteristics is sufficient. This point is particularly important to consider given the very small sample sizes of nine officers from each force, whose actual establishment of serving officers will be counted in thousands of officers. Given the lack of generalizability the newly generated theory could, at a later date, be tested through a quantitative research methodology.

With the nature of the research method in mind, the data collected in the CP theme has been examined. The ‘Conflicted nature’ sub-theme had the least contributors, with only three (16.66%) and ‘Continuation of targets from NPM’ the most with six (33.33%). The meanings attached to the data has been examined and do provide support for the theoretical claim that the characteristics of the CP quadrant are: - NHP – under new localism and a continuation of the characteristics of the NPM quadrant leading to a conflicted nature for policing. The support in the data alluded to here is entirely provided from the second analysis phase and sub-themes listed in Table 7: Data linked to the RPM. The thesis also draws upon the first phase of analysis which uses the same data, however the naming of the themes and meanings attached are not so clearly linked to the RPM but still provide some support for the theoretical claims linked to the CP quadrant.

The most obvious step to take at this point is to refer to some of the data collected into themes listed in Table 6: Combined themes. I will begin with a section of data collected into the theme labelled ‘Conflicted Policing’ from Andrad Police Sergeant, Molly Hayes, 22 years’ service. This section of data provides clear evidence of the existence of targets and goals affecting the behaviour of federated rank police officers in 2005 which is well after the introduction of NHP and the conflicted nature of the opposing

demands. More relevant for the following chapter, which is concerned with individual feelings, it also gives some idea of the frustration caused, as seen here: -

*“CG: how did Andrad deal with neighbourhood policing*

*MH: we went to many teams and we also had and we then formed serious was it serious crime team’s it wasn’t serious crime but it was definitely called SCT’s which was then tackling also we had core priorities which was vehicle theft robbery think drugs was probably in that because then I became a newly promoted sergeant and I was given a serious crime team and those priorities and it was around inquisitive crime*

*CG: so, I think from my own experiences in Kent at that time the performance management in Kent was strong very strong right up until 2012 really all the way through*

*MH: no, we went we we had out we went holistic for a while, so we still had that performance management within had XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX who came in as our chief Constable and turned everything on its head*

*CG: so, when was that?*

*MH: that would have been I’m trying to think probably just not long after 2000 and tried to think of children yeah probably around about 2000*

*CG: so, you had neighbourhood policing which is really about*

*MH: where about 2003 I would have thought yes, we moved back to neighbourhood policing and serious crime team*

*CG: so, you’re serious crime team were dealing with*

*MH: performance yes”*

Molly Hayes Police Sergeant Andrad

The data presented here is timed around 2000 – 2003 according to Molly, where she states “that would have been I’m trying to think probably just not long after 2000 and tried to think of children yeah probably around about 2000” and “where about 2003 I

would have thought yes, we moved back to neighbourhood policing and serious crime team”. She is talking about the introduction of NHP working alongside the serious crime team and then goes into a little detail suggesting they were chasing performance targets. Which is an indication that high-performance systems from NPM persisted into the CP. There is an indication that Andrad began to pull back from the extreme managerialism of the NPM at around this time. Perhaps the best example supporting the conflicted nature of policing in the decade between 2000- 2010 and collected into the ‘Conflicted Policing’ theme can be found in data taken from the interview of Andrad Police Neighbourhood Constable, Corey Andrews, 29 years’ service. This section of data was presented during the examination of the sub-themes listed in Table 7: Data linked to the RPM and will not be presented again here. It, clearly shows that even neighbourhood policing teams were expected to hit their own targets and goals, despite the focus of their work being about empowerment, discretion and the use of innovative problem-solving solutions to local problems (Home Office, 2005; Fielding and Innes, 2006; Millie et al., 2013; Arnaboldi et al., 2015). Another section of data indicating the conflict and constraints arising during this period can be found in the words of Mecronia Police, District Commander, Chief Inspector Cason Flynn, 22 years’ service, who expresses his own misgivings at how deeply Mecronia were pushing the attainment of numerical targets and goals. It also shows he did not believe that this was what other corporate agencies or the public, needed or wanted to hear. The timing of these feelings can be placed within the CP period as prior to this there would have been no requirement to attend community meetings as seen here (Home Office, 2005; Millie et al., 2013): -

*“CG: okay since joining the police have your views of policing changed and if so why?”*

*CF: if they have changed its only marginally because I still have the same mindset as the day that I joined and I was never a great supporter of the target culture that I joined and lived with and I used to have some interesting conversations with my managers over those years because I’ve always believed that it’s what we actually do for the public really counts and I often thought that when we were being pushed to chase numerical targets that none of it would impress the public I’ve always been of the view there’s no point telling a group*

*of people at a community meeting that burglary is down by 8% if you've got one single victim of burglary sitting in front of you because as far as that person is concerned burglary is way way too high because they became a victim so I was never one to make much publicly of crime figures and stats and data having said all of that because I was in the organisation part of the organisation I did as I was told, and I did well not play the game that makes it sound less serious than it is I did do what was required but sometimes with a slightly heavy heart"*

Cason Flynn Chief Inspector Mecronia

There are some significant meanings coming out of this piece of text linked to the feelings of the informant and the negative effects of performance management such as 'game playing'. As this chapter has a focus on policing characteristics and the following chapter is more concerned with the informant's feelings and reactions those issues will be discussed in more detail in that chapter.

The literature covering this period of policing has been examined together with the data collected in this research and when taken together provide support for the claimed characteristics of the CP quadrant of the RPM. During the examination of the literature and data for this quadrant (CP high/high) I was able to establish the dimensions of the RPM as being externally-dependent task-oriented systems. There is therefore enough combined support here to establish the existence and characteristics of the CP quadrant occurring between 2000- 2010 as claimed by this thesis. In establishing the characteristics and dimensions of this quadrant I have also been able to provide support for the theoretically developed definition for the quadrant. Again, when considering RQ1, the perceptions of the participants give a very clear indication of the nature of changes to policing in the period 2000 – 2010.

The final quadrant, quadrant 4, is neo-traditional policing (NTP) and represents the years 2010 onwards. When developed, the NTP quadrant was defined as: -

*"Policing styles that are responsive to the demands of local communities and other external agencies whilst attempting to provide person-oriented services to the public."*



The final quadrant of the RPM, the NTP quadrant, has not been previously identified in the literature. Therefore, there is no earlier literature to rely upon for the characteristics found in this quadrant. During the first phase of analysis, leading to the creation of Table 6: Combined themes, many strong similarities to the theoretical characteristics for the TP quadrant emerged from the data. This suggested that numerical goals and targets as the primary means of driving performance had gone, there had been a return to the use of large uniformed patrol teams as the primary means of providing policing services to the public. There was a suggestion of an increase in professional discretion, seeing a return to more human forms and increased levels of reciprocity. The shape of policing had virtually returned to pre- 1980 styles, but with 21<sup>st</sup> Century demands and high levels of corporate agencies. As, with the previous quadrants the second phase of analysis leading to Table 7: Data linked to the RPM, resulted in a new theme ‘NTP’ holding five sub-themes. The NTP theme is the largest of the three themes linked to the RPM. It is contributed to by all eighteen of the participants and holds sixty-four sections of data. Examples of the data collected into each of the five sub-themes will be presented below, offering support to the characteristics of the NTP quadrant.

The first of the phase 2 data sub-themes is labelled ‘Drop numerical targets as the main driver’. This sub-theme has been used to collect together sections of text that support the claim that their organisations have stopped using numerical goals and targets as the primary means of managing performance. It is contributed to by seven of the eighteen participants (38.88%) and holds twelve sections of data. To highlight the nature of the data in this sub-theme I will present one of the twelve sections here: -

*“SM: if there’s one refreshing and positive that come out of policing recently in Mecronia it is the removal of policing targets so we are no longer chasing sanctioned detections out-of-court disposals they have gone and that is the most refreshing thing I have seen in recent years and it is positive erm instead of seeing now you know we had so many charges cautions erm community resolutions it’s all based upon now around victim satisfaction the level of service we give if we go into those three or four outcomes there’s now 20-28 possible outcomes so you know if a crime is filed say for instance undetected we will see why it’s undetected i.e. you know victim withdraws does not support a*

*prosecution or um the suspect is too ill to be prosecuted there's a whole range of sanctions"*

Stephen MacDonald Inspector Mecronia

The name of the sub-theme contains the phrase 'Drop targets' and that point is made in the first few words of Stephen, *"if there's one refreshing and positive that come out of policing recently in Mecronia it is the removal of policing targets"*. The inspector uses the words *"that come out of policing recently"* this places the timing in the NTP quadrant as his interview was conducted on 15th May 2015. It also indicates that Stephen feels that the dropping of targets is a good thing as it is *"refreshing and positive"*. The words used by Stephen in this section of data carry the meaning that Mecronia police are no longer relying on numerical targets and goals as the primary driver for performance and is therefore entirely supportive of that claim. The feel of the data from Stephen McDonald is that his police force has recently made systemic and cultural changes moving away from numerical goals and targets as the primary driver of police officer performance. This is therefore supportive of the claim that during the NTP police forces have moved back to the management of quality and not quantity. The second sub-theme listed in Table 7: Data linked to the RPM, under the NTP theme is 'Higher discretion'. It holds data collected from twelve (66.66%) of the participants and eighteen sections of data. Data representing the texts held in this sub-theme will be presented here: -

*"DA. Now is like no we've reduced it we no longer need an inspector to authorise that is back to a sergeant can authorise fantastic. The biggest changes been around losing the bean counting around crime detections the fact that that's gone now you can see it now although sometimes it's pragmatism sometimes it's like non-CID supervisors use in that. I know in your previous role you seen them filing stuff what were never detect that file is like no no you actually have to do 1,2,3,4 first before you do that. But certainly there's been a lot more ability of people to do restorative not restorative practice and that bollocks but the ability of the officer at the scene to agree with the parties what do you want out of this will wanting to say sorry and pay from a worry brilliant both sign that piece so a return to discretion.*

*CG: so that's acceptable now is it those non-court disposals those...*

*DA: yet massively so in fact they are now there's now it's a big effect is changed now no longer is it that you know you've had a caution you can't have anything else now they've removed the restrictions on multiples year like, but an inspector does have to pre-authorise it*

*CG: okay*

*DA: but they there's been a big swing to is it the most appropriate outcome is it what the victim wants then then why not do it"*

#### Dexter Atkinson Inspector Mecronia

In terms of identifying the timing of the events described, the best section of data is where Dexter says, *"that's eased off now is like no we've reduced it we no longer need an inspector to authorise that is back to a sergeant can authorise fantastic"*. This identifies the content of the events as *"now"*, which given the date of the interview was 2015, firmly within the timing for the NTP quadrant. The main point of the data collected into this sub-theme is to support the idea that discretion for police officers had increased, returning to higher levels, like those present in the TP quadrant. From the above excerpt, Dexter Atkinson makes that exact point at the end of the text where he says: -

*"but the ability of the officer at the scene to agree with the parties what do you want out of this will wanting to say sorry and pay from a worry brilliant both sign that piece so **a return to discretion.***

*CG: so that's expectation now is it those non-court disposals those...*

*DA: yep massively so in fact they are now there's now it's a big effect is changed now no longer is it that you know you've had a caution you can't have anything else now they've removed the restrictions on multiples year like, but an inspector does have to pre-authorise it*

*CG: okay*

*DA: but they there's been a big swing to is it the most appropriate outcome is it what the victim wants then then why not do it"*

The meaning attached to the data collected into this sub-theme is that since the removal of numerical goals and targets to drive performance there has been a return to professional discretion. Within the context of the return to professional discretion there is no suggestion in the data of a return to the inappropriate ‘cuffing’ of jobs has highlighted by authors such as Skolnick (1975, 2011) in the theoretical contributions in the TP quadrant. The nature of the discretion exercised here is about tailoring the service for the best outcome for all parties, particularly the victim. This is made clear where Dexter talks about the return of discretion: -

*“but the ability of the officer at the scene to agree with the parties what do you want out of this will wanting to say sorry and pay from a worry brilliant both sign that piece so a return to discretion.”,*

and also,

*“DA: but they there’s been a big swing to is it the most appropriate outcome is it what the victim wants then then why not do it”*

Thus, the data collected in the NTP theme offers support for both the dropping of numerical means as the main driver of performance and an increase in professional discretion. Both are characteristics, suggested as present in the NTP quadrant when created (see focal literature chapter). The next suggested characteristic in the NTP quadrant is ‘Large uniformed patrol teams’ and the second phase of analysis produced a data sub-theme with that label. This data sub-theme is contributed to by four of the eighteen participants (22.22%) and holds 5 sections of text. I will use the following section of text taken from the interview with Inspector Stephen McDonald Mecronia Police as indicative of the data held here: -

*“CG: local district policing team okay which is what?”*

*SM: 24 officers three sergeants in fact four sergeants including custody*

*CG: okay*

*SM: a number of PC SO’s who are aligned to the team and some civilian staff*

*CG: okay so that’s the size of the establishment for you what is the role how does it fit within local policing?”*

*SM: my role?*

*CG: the team what do they do?*

*SM: everything erm is back to basically omnicompetent policing as it was when we first joined so you do with everything from cradle to grave whether it be from initial call response to dealing with public order issues out on the street into interviewing your suspects dealing with case files”*

Stephen McDonald Inspector Mecronia

This short section of data makes the point very well, the number of officers and associated supervisory officers is given in numerical terms. Whilst twenty-four officers might not sound like a large team this is a return to the numbers from the TP quadrant. During both the NPM and CP quadrants uniformed patrol teams would have been around eight officers for the same area. The point is made by Stephen where he says “*everything erm is back to basically omnicompetent policing as it was when we first joined*”. Whilst he does not mention numbers in this phrase, he does make the point that ‘everything’ is back to how it was, this refers to the working systems but given the numbers described earlier in the text carries with it an implied sense of large uniformed patrol teams doing the work. Another suggested characteristic for the NTP quadrant is a reversal of policing priorities and a subsequent loss of NHP teams. Again, during the second analysis phase data was collected into a sub-theme ‘Loss of NHP’ intended to support this characteristic. The ‘Loss of NHP’ sub-theme holds seven sections of text from six (33.33%) of the participants and is well represented by the following texts: -

*“CF: the in the last couple of years the merger of what was the centralised response function into what was neighbourhood policing is probably the most significant change particularly at a local level of service delivery and there is now an acceptance that neighbourhood policing is not happening in the way that was originally designed under the previous government administration and thankfully in this new version of Mecronia Police we don’t use the term neighbourhood policing any longer which I think is the correct approach because if we did we would probably be at risk of misleading the public*

*CG: okay so what replaced neighbourhood policing?*

*CF: it's not been replaced"*

Cason Flynn Chief Inspector Mecronia

*"CG: okay so in terms of the last five years or so the government have come along and said we haven't got any money and have Public spending significantly what sort of impact is that having?"*

*CA: well it's sort of depleted the neighbourhood teams so where previously just about every area in XXXXXXXXXXXX had its own local policing team obviously you would have to chip in and help out the reactive lads but you had a policing team covering five years ago covering XXXXX XXXXX, XXXXXXX, XXXXXXX, XXXXXXXXXXX, XXXXXXXXXXX, XXXXXXXXXXX literally you could pick a township in XXXXXXXXXXXX and each and every township had at least a bobby five years ago and most definitely at least probably two PCSO's which again in my opinion worked quite well*

*CG: and that's gone now I take it?*

*CA: with the cuts they've had to sort shut the satellite stations"*

Corey Andrews Police Constable Andrad

In the first of the two sections of data Cason Flynn is quite open and blunt and simply states that his force is no longer offering NHP under the terms imagined by the government. He is of the opinion that to call it NHP would be deceiving the public and that the loss of NHP had not been replaced at all. The meaning in this text is very clear and easy to understand. In the second section of text the loss of NHP is not expressed in such unequivocal terms. However, Corey Andrews, does state that satellite stations have been closed and neighbourhood teams are sort of depleted. The entire section of text is related to NHP, which looking at Table 5: Fieldwork timetable, is Corey's current role and as such the treatment of NHP in his force is significant for him. This reinforces the idea that NHP services in his force are being severely curtailed, if not yet, lost altogether.

The data above is very indicative of the nature of data held in the sub-theme. The data is therefore supportive of the 'Loss of NHP' as a key characteristic of the NTP quadrant. The final data sub-theme, in the NTP theme, is 'Sensitive to high levels of corporate

agents'. This sub-theme is contributed to by fourteen (77.77%) of the participants and also holds twenty-four sections of text. This data has two functions, first, it acts as a characteristic for the NTP theme, secondly it provides evidence for the high level of corporate agents as one of the dimensions of the grid. I now present one section of text as representative of the data collected in this sub-theme: -

*“CG: so, do you think that these other groups and agencies do you think that the number of interested parties is increasing, and do you think that their influence is increasing?”*

*MR: I don't know whether it's increasing or if it's just my knowledge has increased I think answering your question I think yes it has increased properly increased because people are more interested definitely there's loads of different areas cybercrime I've already mentioned that prevent and mental health there's loads and loads of different areas so yes I think it has increased along with my knowledge”*

Megan Reid Police Constable Andrad

In this data Megan touches upon the impact of mental health on her force, and whilst it is an issue and is dealt with in more detail in the next chapter it does not really fit the idea of corporate agencies. However, there is data linked to the level and influence of corporate agencies where, Megan begins to question whether there is a real or imagined increase but decides it *“it has increased properly increased because people are more interested definitely there's loads of different areas”*

The data in the NTP theme was collected into five sub-themes, each of which has been examined in turn. The data in the second phase of analysis and listed in Table 7: Date linked to the RPM, has been shown to be supportive of the key characteristics of the NTP quadrant. What follows, is a consideration of the actual dimensions of the quadrant and a consideration of the data using Table 6: Combined themes. Looking at the Mecronia case study, the data impacting upon the question of corporate agencies was collected into the single theme labelled 'Corporate Agencies Affecting Behaviour (6)'. In terms of significance this theme was ranked fourth in the Mecronia case study and held data collected from 6 of the 9 participants (66.66%) and holds 17 sections of data. Of interest

was the fact that the data collected here was used to establish the current high levels of influence on the police arising from the activities and growth of corporate agencies. A prime example is provided by Community Safety Sergeant, Archie Rees, 25 years' service and is shown here: -

*“AR: possibly their members but affect me on a day-to-day basis or reflects what the police do I don't think the Christian Association has any influence whatsoever, I think the diversity team are the biggest influence that we have*

*CG: is that an employed team?*

*AR: it's they are an employed team by Mecronia police with outside agencies outside bodies meeting and the black and ethnic minority policing all that lot me under one umbrella without a doubt that the biggest improvements on what we do culturally*

*CG: okay in your experience have those sorts of organisations grown in number?*

*AR: oh God yeah yes without a doubt”*

Archie Rees Police Sergeant Mecronia

Given the temporal nature of the RPM the data includes the words *“influence that we have”* this firmly places the timing as contemporary with the collection of the data, that is during 2015. The data collected in the research is therefore supportive of the horizontal axis, that is, the NTP having high levels of corporate agencies. For the theoretical framework there must be originally low levels of numbers and influence of corporate agencies taking an interest in policing (TP quadrant) and these numbers and influence increasing over time providing support for the group elaboration of Archer (1995). Thus, given the data presented for the quadrants of the NTP, the legitimacy and validity of using human/non-human structures and culture on one axis and increasing numbers and influence of corporate agencies on the second axis has found support in both the literature and the data. The concept of group elaboration from Archer (1995) links the growth of corporate agencies to growing social complexity. There can be no suggestion that police organisations are becoming less complex over time and as such there can be



no opportunity for a reduction in the levels of corporate agencies taking an interest in policing. This firmly establishes the current level and influence of corporate agents as high, and as already seen where this occurs police organisation lose a degree of self-determination, establishing, in theory at least, externally-dependent as one dimension of this quadrant. This final quadrant of the relational policing matrix is located on the lower right and in temporal terms is formed in the context of UK policing post 2010. This is a moment in time seeing the end of successive Labour Governments being replaced by the new Conservative / Liberal Democrat Coalition followed later by a Conservative Government. This change in government heralded a change in focus for UK policing. Earlier in this chapter the message from the new, 2010 home secretary, to the police was presented. The message at that time was one in which the government removed most targets and goals leaving the police concentrating on two measures, those of crime reduction and public satisfaction (May, 2010). The removal of numerical goals and targets from police organisations immediately changes the key characteristics for policing, losing the intense managerialism and returning to more human social forms. As seen in the previous quadrants where the level of non-human systems and culture is low policing styles are more person oriented with services tailored to meet the needs of the public where police officers and victims are reciprocally oriented. I will come back to examine this, person-oriented, dimension of the RPM again later in this examination of the NTP quadrant.

Another change for all public-sector organisations in 2010 was the intention of the newly appointed government to significantly reduce the national debt through a series of massive budget cuts under the guise of austerity measures and the pushing of their 'Big Society' agenda (Reiner, 2010). This series of measures came on the back of the international financial crisis of 2008 and was part of a drive that saw many European governments adopt similar financial policies. At the same time in response to the same crisis the choice of the US government was to invest, looking to provide government funded financial stimulus to economic markets. The result of these efforts has seen those same European countries stagnating and struggling to pay off the debts the measures were intended to target whilst the US economy is undergoing a period of strength and growth (McKee et al., 2012). Regardless of the success or failure of governmental fiscal policy,

the austerity measures have impacted upon the whole of the public sector including the police. Very many authors over the last six years have written at length about the existence and effects of austerity on the police with many suggesting that the police need to discover new ways to handle their everyday demands (Crawford, 2012; Elliott- Davies, 2016; Winsor, 2016; Mendel et al., 2017). There have during this period been suggestions that the police need to learn to cope with increasing demands with reducing resources and this reduction in policing numbers has reopened the old debate concerning the effectiveness, in crime reduction terms, of any policing measures (Crawford, 2012; Winsor, 2016).

In relation to both police forces whose officers took part in this research the impact of the austerity measures has resulted in force wide structural reorganisation. Mecronia, undertook two force reorganisations in the preceding six years and are also collaborating with Aleby Police (name altered to preserve anonymity), in the delivery of their services. For Andrad, as with many forces in England and Wales many of their services are now provided in collaboration with other police forces. The depth of these collaborations is so wide that the collaborating forces now refer to themselves collectively. These changes have been major events for the officers to come to terms with and, not surprisingly in terms of the data analysis focussed on the RPM, the themes holding data connected or linked to austerity are the most significant themes for both Mecronia and Andrad. Where, in the previous three quadrants forming the relational policing matrix, it has been possible to rely upon the existing literature to give a sound basis supporting the characteristics of the quadrant, that is not the position for the final quadrant. Neo-traditional policing (NTP) is a new concept emerging from my data, it is unique to this thesis and as such fills a gap in the existing literature and is an original contribution to knowledge. As NTP is new there is no existing literature on which the characteristics can be founded the characteristics must therefore come out of the data, which was addressed during the analysis. The first factor in need of examination was the suggestion that non-human structures and cultures have somehow moved from the high levels found in the 2000 – 2010 decade to low levels required by the dimensions for the final quadrant. The first indications that this is the case have already been touched upon

in this chapter and is highlighted by the change in governmental attitude in the area of targets and goals as evidenced by (May, 2010).

From the data linked to the RPM, there are clear indications that the managerialism under the umbrella of the NPM was not as fully accepted in Andrad as it was in Mecronia. Andrad had already begun to move away, at least in part, from reliance upon numerical targets and goals much earlier than this. This shift in focus for Andrad, at least at the top level, occurring as early as 2000 can be seen in this excerpt taken from the interview of Child Protection Detective Sergeant Molly Hayes, 22 years' service: -

*“CG: so, I think from my own experiences in Kent at that time the performance management in Kent was strong very strong right up until 2012 really all the way through.*

*MH: no, we went we we had out we went holistic for a while, so we still had that performance management within we had XXXXX XXXXXX who came in as our chief Constable and turned everything on its head*

*CG: so, when was that?*

*MH: that would have been I'm trying to think probably just not long after 2000 am trying to think of children yeah probably around about 2000”*

In this passage of text, the participant referred to an individual by name, and as with other personal data the name is redacted, for the purposes of anonymity. This is a consistent approach throughout the analysis and wherever names appear in the data they represent redacted sections of text.

Looking at the Mecronia, data in Table 6, two of the most significant themes for the officers in this survey are connected to the recent force reorganisations. Which in a similar way to the austerity theme is no surprise as these changes are a force wide landmark. The first of these themes is labelled 'New Structures Mecronia (8)' (88.88%) and the second is labelled 'New Culture Mecronia – Positive (9)' (100%). Data supporting the suggestion that non-human structures and culture are low can be found in the second of these themes whilst the first gives some idea of the characteristics of the policing styles and structures adopted. Whilst there is a lot of data in the Andrad case

study that has an impact upon this area of discussion it is not collected into such convenient themes and must therefore be drawn from individual interviews, which reinforces the need for the second phase of analysis. For example, the theme in the Andrad case study labelled ‘Structure Change – Full Circle (3)’ (33.33%) only holds data collected from three of the nine participants but the data in this theme is very relevant to the characteristics forming the current quadrant. Concentrating upon the move away from high levels of non-human performance driven culture the Mecronia theme, ‘New Culture Mecronia – Positive (9)’ (100%) holds many references taken from all nine of the Mecronia participants. The data in this theme confirms that since the latest force restructuring, which saw the recreation of large patrol teams for the first time in over 20 years, the force has completely dropped all targets and goals from their frontline officers, which is highly supportive of ‘Dropping numerical goals to drive performance’ as a characteristic of the NTP quadrant. In the preceding sections of this chapter and the focal literature chapter the reliance upon numerical targets and goals has been identified as the main feature in removing reciprocity from the actions of individuals and organisations. It is this removal of reciprocity that then becomes a non-human social form under Donati (2007). It therefore follows that a move away from numerical targets and goals, as evidenced in the data, must ultimately see a return of reciprocity in the day to day actions of officers and therefore a return to more human social forms. The following sections of data are good examples of the nature of the data collected into the theme labelled ‘New Culture Mecronia – Positive (9)’ (100%): -

*“CG: nice okay so your structure has changed again the structure of the force has changed going back to 2010 or thereabouts that was when crime detection was still kind of the be all and end all*

*AR: yes, and I’ve grown up in that, XXXX XXXX was always under Mr XXXXX it was always a high detection area I went to headquarters where it was my job to work on TIC’s and work on training staff to get more detected’ s and that’s what my specialist was*

*CG: okay sometime in the last couple of years things have changed for the force again*

*AR: yep*

*CG: so, what has happened?*

*AR: the new chief has taken away targets*

*CG: completely taken away targets?*

*AR: yes and no*

*CG: so, when did the new chief come in?*

*AR: about a year ago”*

#### Mecronia Police Sergeant Archie Rees

This first excerpt taken from the interview of Archie Rees is very clearly stating that the force has recently removed performance targets and goals. This unequivocal statement is then softened with a form of caveat, with “CG: completely taken away targets?

AR: yes and no”. Later in the interview, Archie does explain that the targets are now linked to victim updates and domestic violence matters. These areas are far more concerned with the quality of service than driving performance through numbers. The following section of data taken from Detective Inspector Connor Jenkins, 29 years’ service, is an indicator of how well received the change in culture has been: -

*“CJ: I think we are better organisation now than we were 18 months ago we 18 months ago we were a performance driven figures dictated organisation which resulted in what I would call noble cause corruption we weren’t taking reports of rape when we should be we weren’t criming things when we should have been and it was because one senior ACPO officer competing against another senior ACPO officer for best performance and that was building their CV for the next step we have it appears come completely away from that I don’t know I think it’s probably lead by the policing College I don’t know whether it’s a Mecronia thing or a national thing I think that Mecronia are much more advanced down that route but what I’ve seen is that we are now doing the right thing certainly weren’t doing the right thing two years ago*

*CG: okay so the performance driven culture you're talking about was mainly aimed detected crime?*

*CJ: it was mainly aimed at if you could measure it we would measure it in 15 different ways it was measured at sickness it was measured at staff appraisal it was measured outstanding offenders days outstanding domestic abuse reviews it was measured at people number of days on bail outstanding bail phone download times it was if if you could measure it we would in three different ways and am it led what gets measured gets done or not done depending the way you look at it*

*CG: so, what is the management structure the performance measurement structure now how you assessed how is the organisation assessed in terms of performance now?*

*CJ: I think now that it's about qualitative measurement with quantitative measurement being in the background but being in the right place so things like sickness you still need to be looking at numbers but and and outstanding offenders does you still need to look at numbers to have an eye on the ball to see if you're about to lose it to see if you are doing well for the public it's harder to measure performance now because we've not got numbers but I think we are doing the right thing"*

Detective Inspector Connor Jenkins

The message here is that Mecronia are now in the business of measuring the quality of outcomes rather than as previously being in the business of counting outputs. What also comes through from the data from Detective Inspector Connor Jenkins, are the indicators of the presence of social pathogens affecting the working of Mecronia under the old performance driven regime, indicated by “*we weren't doing the right thing two years ago*”, which was previously covered when looking at the NPM quadrant. To this point, in the current section of the chapter, data has been provided from officers from both case studies showing a deliberate move by both police forces away from an over reliance upon numerical goals and targets. The move away from targets and goals occurring earlier for Andrad than for Mecronia. In his work, By (2005) describes the process of

incremental change which mirrors the events in Andrad, which was a slow but incomplete process of incremental change. In Andrad, the dropping of targets began as early as 2000 and in fact still lingers in that force today. This incomplete removal of targets is evidenced as there is data from Control Room Constable, Patrick Cole, 19 years' service, stating that their traffic department are still subject to numerical targets and goals.

It is possible that this current use of targets and goals in their traffic department says more about the practices of the other forces in their collaboration as the traffic department is one of the merged units and the targets may arise from the other forces. For Mecronia, the removal of targets and goals is sudden and extreme which is most likely why it appears in the most significant themes for that force but not so for the Andrad officers. Regardless of the exact timing of the removal of numerical targets and goals from the policing agenda, or the extent to which that removal was intended or succeeded, it is still possible to claim that reliance upon non-human structures/culture has moved from the high point around 2000, back to a low point. This then justifies the claim that policing has moved into a period where non-human structures and cultures have low impact and influence. The position in relation to the numbers and influence of corporate agencies was discussed early in the examination of quadrant 1 and can only remain at high levels when society, or in this case organisations, remain complex. This then leaves these organisations in the position where non-human structures and culture have moved to a low level while the number and influence of corporate agencies taking an interest in policing remain high, which is the exact position claimed by the relational policing matrix.

The next task then is to attempt to further examine the phase 1 data for some of the key characteristics occurring for policing in this final quadrant. For this task, the first and most obvious locations are to look at data collected into themes examining the nature of recent structural and organisational changes. For the Andrad case study is the theme labelled 'Structure Change Full Circle (3)' which holds data collected from three of the nine participants (33.33%) and holds 9 sections of text. The meaning attached to this data all expresses the idea that recent changes under the guise of force reorganisations has seen the shape and structure of frontline policing in Andrad, return to one very similar to that present in the 1980's when those officers first joined the force. This would suggest

that Andrad are currently seeing a return to large uniformed patrol teams, exercising high levels of professional discretion. To highlight these changes sections of data from two officers contributing to this theme will now be presented: -

*“PC: that yes absolutely and again it used to be it worked but not quite as well because you had everybody in the same office and then you said right okay you’re going to cover so-and-so you can cover so-and-so so if a job then came in at home we were starting off with a 10-15 minute behind because we had to get from XXXXX XXXX to where we would have started to then go and do with the job so it was good that we had everybody together in the same briefing to a certain extent but then the briefings took longer because we were having to brief at XXXXX XXXX for XXXXX XXXXX, XXXXXX XXXX and for XXXXX not those areas that were appertaining to just those stations and again conversely you know you would find if you had a job out in over here again you are coming from XXXXXX XXXXX so it sort of swings and roundabouts*

*CG: okay so that’s the shape and structure*

*PC: sorry but what I was going say is we’ve now gone back, and they are now looking at sectorisation again*

*CG: so, you come back you kind of gone*

*PC: full circle*

*CG: yeah okay so in terms then of culture and particularly the management of performance*

*PC: yep”*

Andrad Police Constable Patrick Cole

*“CG: so that’s like the easy bit and now you into a little bit more meat in relation to the shape and the structure and the way the force is organised how has that changed over 30 years sort of chronologically through time really if you can think back how it changes how the shape and structure changes leading right up to what is now?*



*CA: okay it's been like the wheel literally it's*

*CG: so you say it's been like the wheel I mean I'm going to précis for you here then are you saying that it started like this in 1986 at the top of the wheel it's got around this big circle of changes and now you're back to more or less where you were in 1986?*

*CA: funnily enough yes literally”*

#### Andrad Police Constable Corey Andrews

Whilst neither of these officers describe currently having large patrol teams, they both describe current systems as returning to what they were originally like in the expressions ‘full circle’ and ‘like a wheel’. Both officers joined early in the NPM quadrant before the effect of high-performance cultures had occurred and structures still matched those under the NTP quadrant. Thus, the existence of large uniformed patrol teams is implied rather than stated but does add support to the data presented in the second analysis phase and collected into the sub-theme “NTP – large uniformed patrol teams”.

As there has never been any suggestion in the literature or data that the bureaucratic hierarchical nature of policing organisations identified as existing in TP has ever moved away despite the pressures of the NPM and CP quadrants it is reasonable to assume that these still exist. Thus, the present picture for Andrad is that the main policing function is provided by large uniformed patrol teams organised in a bureaucratic, hierarchical fashion, exercising high levels of discretion and as such is very similar to policing in the TP quadrant which is exactly the point made by the two officers above. For the Mecronia case study, the theme labelled ‘New structures Mecronia (8)’, which is contributed to by 88.88% of the participants and holds 17 sections of data collected from eight of the nine participants. The data collected in this theme in some way impacts upon the recent organisational reorganisation of Mecronia. It holds data that has significance for the structure, but as the cultural changes already examined occurred at the same time, it also holds data impacting upon the cultural changes as well. The data around the structure alone gives the meaning that the recent changes have seen the two separate

entities of patrol teams and neighbourhood teams amalgamated into a single entity now known as district policing teams. It has already been seen in a section of data collected from District Commander Chief Inspector Cason Flynn and presented previously that any idea of neighbourhood policing has been removed from the Mecronia structure. This then also places Mecronia into the same position as Andrad with a return to large uniformed patrol teams providing the day to day frontline policing services. The following section of data taken from the interview of Mecronia Police Traffic Sergeant Amir Moran, 26 years' service is a very good example of the nature and meaning attached to the data collected into this theme: -

*“CG: so, the local district policing team this is the new unit was created 2012*

*AM: from the amalgamation from the amalgamation of response in neighbourhood*

*CG: when XXXX XXXXXXXX left and XXXXX XXXXX took over they ditched XXXXXXXXXXXX model and amalgamated patrol teams with neighbourhood teams*

*AM: yep*

*CG: and went back to*

*AM: local district policing team*

*CG: which is*

*AM: a very big hodgepodge”*

Amir Moran Police Sergeant Mecronia

The data collected from participants in both case studies is remarkably similar when looking at the responses of two independent organisations to similar pressures from central government. It is apparent from this data that both forces have moved back to a position where frontline policing is predominantly supplied by large teams of uniformed patrolling officers which was a key characteristic of TP. The removal of targets and goals can be seen as empowering for the frontline staff allowing them the freedom to determine the most appropriate course of action for the circumstances, which is a return to higher levels of professional discretion. This freedom of disposal is very clearly seen in the

following sections of data of Mecronia subjects Patrol Sergeant Daniel Burns (27 years' service) and Traffic Sergeant Amir Moran (26 years' service): -

*“CG: so what about the way in which you deal with crime, the way in which you deal with offenders*

*DB: Pushed more and more to look at non court disposal*

*CG: ok*

*DB: um yeah we now do our own decisions around summons files and public so ahhh realistic prospect of conviction and public interest are down to the sergeant*

*CG: so it's come away from CPS again”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Daniel Burns

*“CG: so are they still chasing the SDR*

*AM: no, they aren't absolutely not erm I've not experienced that for quite some time now I've not even heard anybody saying that dirty word and that is really refreshing*

*CG: so, for my sake SDR stands a sanctioned detection rate*

*AM: yeah, I haven't heard anyone using that dirty word in a long time which is a real breath of fresh air*

*CG: so, when you get a crime job you can do with it how?*

*AM: the skippers now have been given quite a bit of leeway lassitude if the job as a runner go with it if the job isn't a runner tell the person why not and get shot of it because what you do is you unnecessarily bog your staff down in stuff that no matter how hard they try and they are never going to gain the evidence erm you you erm to get past the threshold or get to the point where you're going to get a charging decision if it's a non-runner get rid of it”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Amir Moran

Both sections of data show that the officers and their immediate supervisors are free to make their own decisions. Also, apparent in the data is that this was not the case previously for example “*we now do our own decisions*”. The overriding feeling and meaning arising from this data is of a return to high levels of discretion with the phrase “*now have been given quite a bit of leeway lassitude*” being an excellent vehicle for carrying this message. Again, as indicated in the earlier examination of increased discretion, the ‘leeway and lassitude’ referred to is about providing the service the victim wants and deserves not the old practice of ‘cuffing’ jobs. Another important message coming through in this data is the feeling that decision making is far more human, being made from a person-oriented perspective. Thus, the picture developing of the characteristics of this final quadrant are of policing organisations who have retained their bureaucratic hierarchical nature over time, with their frontline services being delivered by large uniformed patrol teams. Those patrol teams are staffed by professional police officers who work with high levels of discretion. As such the picture is very much a reflection of the characteristics of the TP quadrant. The difference between these two quadrants is found in the number and influence of corporate agencies affecting the working and business of organisations found in those quadrants. For policing organisations in the pre- 1980 TP there was little or no impact or influence arising from corporate agencies, allowing the police to self-determine their structures and culture. The same cannot be said for today’s police organisations who must be sensitive and responsive to many different corporate agencies, making them externally-dependent. An excellent example of this type of sensitivity and influence can be seen by looking at the web site of the Stephen Lawrence charitable trust, which is an organisation arising from the mishandled investigation of the murder of Stephen Lawrence. The influence of this group extends into all aspects of day to day police work involving their interactions with members of ethnic minority groups. There are inputs from members of the trust included in the training of new police officers provided by the National College of Policing, which shows just how influential this particular corporate agency has become in the field of policing (StephenLawrenceCharitableTrust, 1989). Further examples highlighting the influence and number of corporate agencies impacting upon the current actions of police officers can be found within the data collected from participants in both case studies and presented in the earlier sections.

The final picture then for the NTP quadrant is for bureaucratic hierarchical policing organisations that are sensitive and responsive to the needs and demands of many different corporate agencies. The main frontline services of these organisations are provided by large uniformed patrol teams who exercise high levels of professional discretion with their focus being upon the quality of their service delivery. This is, in essence, a return to the methods and shapes of the TP whilst retaining a sensitivity to the needs and demands of corporate agencies. In this examination of the NTP quadrant the dimensions of the grid were established as being person-oriented externally-dependent systems. Therefore, the data has been used to establish the dimensions and characteristics of the NTP and can clearly be seen to provide support for the definition of the NTP quadrant. Also, in the terms of my thesis, the dimensions and characteristics of the current high/low (externally-dependent person-oriented) quadrant, represent where we are now for UK police organisations. The structures and culture described here are therefore supportive of: -

**Proposition 2: - *In terms of where we are now, the absence of NPM social structures and the influences of many corporate agencies operate together, resulting in a neo-traditional policing style.***

### 5.3 The RPM: The four quadrants considered together.

The intention of the current chapter is to focus upon the data collected from participants in both case studies to discover the degree of support for the dimensions and characteristics of the RPM. Due to the focus of this chapter being on the structural and cultural characteristics the nature of the analysis is not concerned with the feelings and reactions of the informants. This personal relationship to the governance changes is however the focus of the following chapter, but for the time being, the richness of the data linked to feelings and lived experiences is superseded by a need to explore the underlying characteristics of each quadrant. The analysis, undertaken in two phases, was conducted using a lens provided by the background and focal literature, to explore to what extent that data and new relational policing matrix informed upon RQ1: -

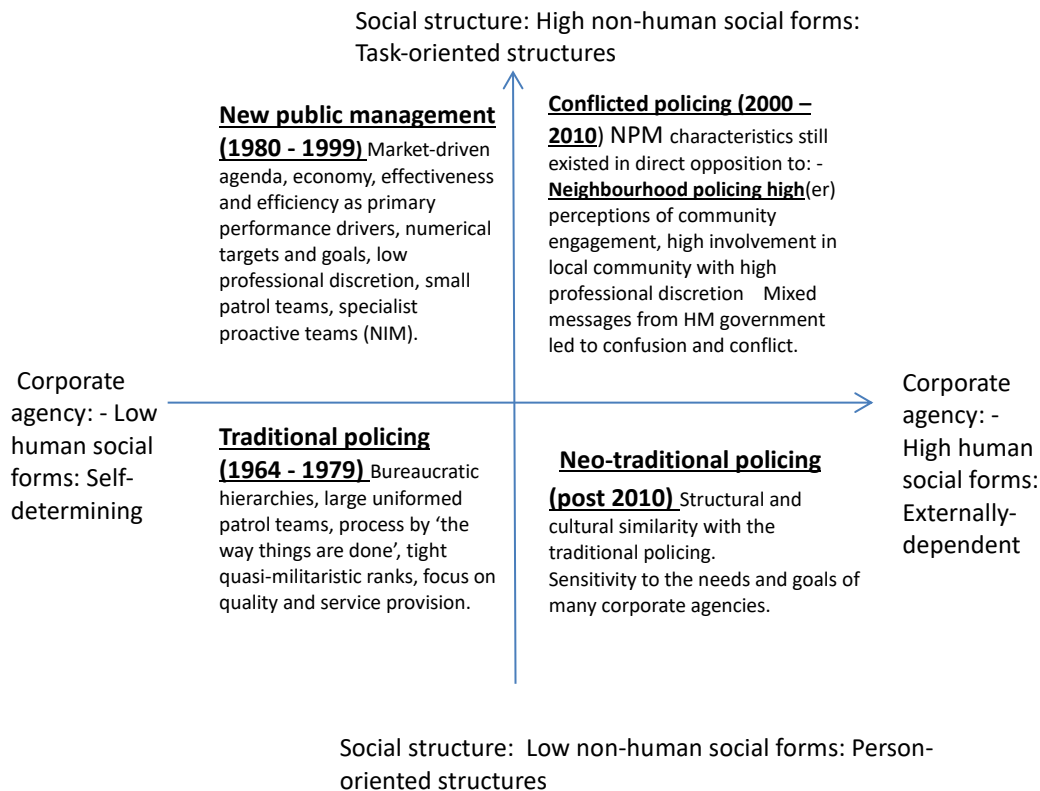
**RQ1: - *“What are the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of different UK policing governance systems since 1980?”***

In this thesis, by looking at the background and focal literature, it was possible to identify and suggest several characteristics of the type of policing styles adopted during each of the first three quadrants (TP, NPM and CP), of the relational policing matrix. The nature of this theoretical support has been highlighted during examination of the data in this chapter and explored in the relevant sections. The analysis then attempted to locate and identify data collected from the participants that provided support for the existence and correct timing of these characteristics. When examining the final quadrant reliance upon the existing literature to establish a base for the characteristics was not possible. This is because there was no existing literature as the idea of the existence of neo-traditional policing (NTP) style is original to this thesis and is therefore a contribution to knowledge. Therefore, identifying the characteristics of the final quadrant had to be achieved by examination of the data and the key characteristics forming the neo-traditional policing quadrant are inferred from that data.

The result of the examination of the data and literature combined, produces four distinct quadrants each with its own key characteristics. The first quadrant sitting in the lower left low/low (self-determining person-oriented) section is TP and the key characteristics identified in the literature (Loader and Mulcahy, 2003; Bittner 2005; Newburn, 2005; Reuss-Ianni and Ianni, 2005; Silver, 2005; Cockcroft, 2015), are rigid bureaucratic hierarchies with the main frontline policing services provided by large uniformed patrol teams, who operated close cultural ties learning ‘the way things are done’ from peers and exercising high levels of professional discretion. The second quadrant, the upper left low/high (self-determining task-oriented), is NPM and the key characteristics, suggested by the literature, are high performance cultures with strict reliance upon numerical targets and goals, low professional discretion and increased levels of social pathogens affecting the organisation (Donati, 2007,2011; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Bao et al., 2013; Frey et al., 2013; Bullock and Sindall, 2014; Arnaboldi et al., 2015). The data from the case studies was supportive of the characteristics suggested and is therefore supportive of the NPM quadrant of the RPM. The third quadrant, the upper right high/high (externally-dependent

task-oriented) section, is CP and its key characteristics are continued reliance upon high performance cultures and numerical targets and goals operating in direct conflict with the NHP and 'New Localism' which has a human reciprocity and a focus upon cooperation and partnership working. The CP quadrant is a new concept and is unique to the RPM, as such it is a contribution to knowledge. The characteristics claimed are a continued reliance upon numerical targets and goals, thus the literature for the NPM quadrant is applicable to the CP quadrant. In addition, there was an increased interest in 'New Localism' resulting in the introduction of NHP (Home Office, 2005; Fielding and Innes, 2006; Brain, 2010; Foster and Jones, 2010; Millie et al., 2013; Bullock and Sindall, 2014). The data collected, could provide personal accounts from the participants, expressing feelings of frustration arising from the conflicted structures and mixed messages. The data was therefore supportive of the proposed characteristics for the CP quadrant and as such supports the RPM. The final quadrant, the lower right high/low (externally dependent person oriented) section, is NTP and the key characteristics emerging from the data are a return to more traditional styles of policing whilst remaining sensitive to the influences of the growing body of corporate agencies taking an interest in policing. Thus, the key characteristics identified are a return to large uniformed patrol teams, an increase in professional discretion but sensitive to more human social forms arising from corporate agencies, for example race and diversity, arising from the actions of the Stephen Lawrence foundation. This then means that the structures and culture of NTP are very similar to those found in TP. The major difference between quadrant 1 and quadrant 4 is the need for policing organisations post 2010 to remain sensitive to, and to interact with, the ever-increasing numbers of corporate agencies with an interest in policing. Archer (1995) in her work explains at length that her model of morphogenetic change does not provide a tool allowing the prediction of future events and as such it is not a method by which managers can manipulate events to ensure chosen outcomes. However, the work of Archer (1995, 2000, 2003) allows us to examine the changes that have occurred over time highlighting the forces that have been at work and explaining why those events took place. This does not however mean that lessons cannot be learned from an examination of past events looking for future pitfalls that ought to be avoided, which I believe to be the case here. As a final reminder for the reader the RPM is presented here: -

Figure 10: The relational policing matrix (RPM)



Considering the relational policing matrix, of significance is the amount of support found for the existence and characteristics of the NPM quadrant 2. In terms of the data collected the greatest of these significant characteristics is the growth of social pathogens as the result of adherence to non-human management and culture. The early years of police research, for example Skolnick (1975, 2011), concentrated on police deviant behaviour (Reiner and Newburn, 2007). However, it appears from the literature that the combined effect of improved police pay and conditions added to the protection of offenders rights under The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 had stopped the apparently common practice of using false confessions to secure convictions (Reiner, 2007). Thus, early in the 1980's in the UK the incidence of police deviant behaviour fell to low levels, but under the influence of growing non-human systems were to become far more common. The harmful nature and the incidence of these pathogens will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter which examines the depth and richness of the personal



lived experiences of the participants. To maintain the necessary support of the public there needs to be full trust in the honesty and integrity in the provision of policing by our public police. It is therefore imperative that policing organisations do their utmost to avoid generating unwanted social pathogens through their management practices. The idea that non-human management practices ultimately results in a loss of public trust and support possibly explains why the national trend, in 2014, was for ongoing and increasing dissatisfaction with the service provided by the police (BBC News, 2014).

The characteristics identified in the literature and data for the third quadrant, CP, adds weight to the picture suggesting that reliance upon numerical targets and goals, as a means to manage the police, may be harmful for the organisation and its stakeholders. The picture provided of the characteristics of the third quadrant is one of conflict, where the desires and intentions of providing a bespoke tailored service to the public in which the human aspects of service-oriented working, as required under the remit of NHP, were in direct conflict with the need to attain numerical targets and goals under the influence of the NPM. Assuming Donati (2007) is correct and non-human social forms result in social pathogens within the system then equally an absence of non-human social forms ought to result in an absence of or, at the least, a reduction in social pathogens. For Mecronia, this means that the removal of targets and goals occurring following the last force restructuring should begin to bring about a cancelation of the types behaviours that could be classified as social pathogens. Because these changes were very recent at the time the data was gathered (early 2015) the effects of the removal of targets and goals had not sufficient time to properly establish itself, as evidenced by the Nvivo sub-theme labelled 'Internal Conflict' and as such there was a lot of data suggesting social pathogens existed in the system. It should also be noted that the behaviours described by the participants that impact upon the nature of social pathogens have occurred prior to the structural changes and cultural changes took place. It would therefore be necessary to re-examine the position in Mecronia to determine to what extent removal of numerical targets and goals had impacted upon the incidence of social pathogens. The question of the disappearance of social pathogens from the day to day activity could well be an area that would be ripe for further research.

Therefore, the message for police leaders and policy makers is, that in order to reduce social pathogens to a minimum, the reliance upon non-human social forms should be eliminated, not just reduced, as a priority. At this time, it appears that the extreme changes occurring in the culture and working practices in Mecronia have had a rapid effect and the force are regaining the trust and support of the public which would also seem to be against the general picture provided by the BBC news report from 2014 (BBC News, 2014). The need to eliminate social pathogens from within the organisation is particularly important for the police as they must rely upon the support of the public. None of the changes in policing in the UK since 1979 have occurred in isolation, but according to Clarke and Newman (1997), were part of the 'New-Rights' drive to change the relationship between the state, public and welfare system and advance their public-sector reform agenda. Indeed, the changes in thinking linked to social reform appeared as a global wave of change meaning the arrival of NPM was not limited to the UK (Van De Walle, 2011). The drive to change the welfare state in the UK came from the 'New-Right' and their neo-liberal economic policies and has implications across the wider public sector, including the judiciary and penal institutions (Senior et al., 2007). This means that many of the drivers for change affecting the police were replicated, and remain, across the wider public sector, thus the three e's, economy, efficiency and effectiveness were also drivers in the wider public sector. This is a necessarily cursory look at wider public-sector reform, as an in-depth discussion of the wider public sector, which is worthy of further consideration, is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, UK police forces are public sector organizations and therefore many of the effects felt by police officers across the 30 plus year period could equally apply to other UK public sector organisations and therefore the wider public sector could be a suitable area for further research.

To add weight to the trustworthiness of the research, after the analysis was completed four of the participants, two from each case study, were re-interviewed. They were asked to read the transcripts of their interview and all four agreed that the transcript was an accurate record. For each of the participants they were presented with a theme by theme breakdown of the analysis of the interview. Here the researcher described the meaning he had attached to each section of data. Again, all four agreed that the researcher's interpretations of their meanings were accurate for all of the themes

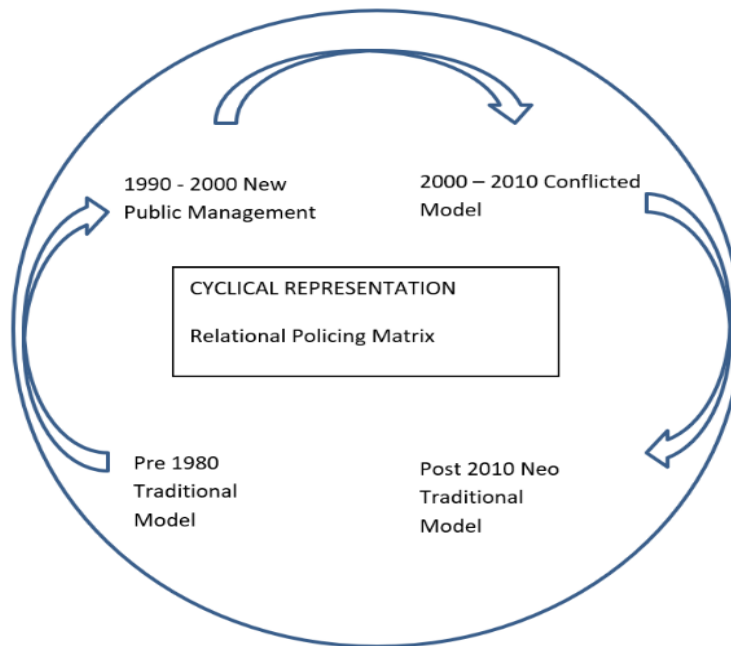
emerging in their interviews. Following this they were presented with copies of the RPM and an explanation of the cyclical nature of the governance changes. The researcher gave them a brief explanation of the significance of the material and invited comments. The responses were all positive with all four interviewees agreeing with the shape and key characteristics of the RPM.

Returning to RQ1, it would seem, that the federated rank UK police officers who participated in this research, for the greater part, complied with the providing policing services in accordance with the characteristics of the policing styles inherent at that moment in time. It is also apparent, that providing policing which is at its most fundamental about human interactions, whilst following non-human management and culture under the NPM and CP was a cause for conflict and frustration in those officers.

#### 5.4 Summary

The overall conclusion arising from the data gathered is that the relational policing matrix allows an understanding of the changing social, structural characteristics in UK policing over time. The RPM allows the reader to easily visualise the shape and characteristics of policing through the process of ongoing governance changes. The perceptions of serving police officers taking part in the survey support the existence, dimensions characteristics and definitions of the quadrants formed by the relational policing matrix. In this analysis of the data, theoretical arguments were made suggesting the dimensions and characteristics for each quadrant of the RPM. In examining the collected data for this research some of the participants have identified the cyclical nature of the changes over time. This is apparent where some of the informants have indicated the changes to being like a wheel. Two sections of data, one from Andrad PC Patrick Cole and another from Andrad Constable Corey Andrews, were presented in full earlier during the analysis. This is borne out by the RPM which also has a very cyclical feel, with the movement through the four quadrants almost completing a full circle. The following diagram, reinforces the cyclical nature of the movement through the quadrants: -

Figure 11: RPM cyclical representation



In the above diagram it must be noted that there are only three arrows showing the movement from 1980 to 2000 and then around to 2010. There is no fourth arrow between Post 2010 Neo Traditional and Pre-1980 Traditional models. This is because, despite the similarity between police structures and culture in these quadrants, in the post 2010 quadrant police organisations have to remain sensitive to the demands of many corporate agencies. This sensitivity to external pressures was absent for police organisations in the earlier traditional policing quadrant, therefore it cannot be claimed that things have indeed gone full circle.

The data gathered in the research was then compared to the existing theoretical texts to provide support for the suggested characteristics. The following table provides a summary of the significant data themes and sub-themes relied upon to provide support for the suggested characteristics. There are several points in the presentation of the data in the chapter where individual pieces of data collected into themes during phase 1 are relevant to the argument but are not held in a theme specifically linked to that point. This then strengthens the decision to re-analyse the data in phase 2. Therefore, some of the

data for phase 1 is presented in the table as independent data not linked to a specific theme: -

Table 8: RPM quadrants, supporting data

RPM Quadrant	Themes (Phase 1)	Provides support for: -	Theme/ sub-themes (Phase 2)	Provides support for: -
New Public Management Q2	NPM (7)	Management through numerical goals and targets and the growth of social pathogens. Loss of professional discretion. Touches upon the key characteristics of NPM.	NPM/Numerical Goals and Targets (9 contributors and 14 sections of text)	During the NPM quadrant there was an overreliance on numerical means to drive performance.
	New Culture Mecronia- Positive (9)	Recent removal of numerical goals and targets used to establish their earlier existence as a management tool	NPM/Small Proactive Teams (4 contributors and 7 sections of text)	During the NPM, particularly the latter years, policing services were predominantly delivered by small proactive teams.
	Independent data from Mecronia not linked to a specific theme.	Growth of unwanted side effects/ social pathogens. (This is the focus of Chapter 6 and as such is only mentioned here)	NPM/ Low Discretion (3 contributors and 3 sections of text)	Under the performance culture and use of numerical goals professional discretion was reduced
			NPM/Low Levels of Corporate Agents (17 contributors and 19 sections of text)	The level and influence of corporate agencies during this period was low. This allowed police forces to determine their own priorities.
Conflicted Policing Q3	Independent data from Andrad not linked to a specific theme	Conflicted nature of balancing NHP human social forms with NPM non-human forms	CP/ New Localism (4 contributors and 4 sections of text)	A shift towards New Localism, reflected in policing by the introduction of NHP.
	Independent data from Mecronia not linked to a specific theme.	Drive to achieve numerical targets under NPM style would not satisfy public at community engagement meetings under NHP style	CP/ Continuation of Goals and Targets from the NPM quadrant (6 contributors and 7 sections of text)	This data supports the claim that performance cultures and systems introduced during NPM continued during the CP quadrant.
			CP/ Conflicted Nature (3 contributors and 4 sections of text)	A mismatch between the demands of high-performance and NHP, resulting in conflict.
			CP or NPM (Performance Culture) Timing Unclear (2	Data collected to demonstrate the difficulty in identifying

			sections of text collected)	timing of events for this quadrant.
Neo-Traditional Policing Q4	Corporate Agencies Affecting Behaviour (6)	High numbers and influence of corporate agencies	NTP/ Sensitive to High Numbers of Corporate Agents (14 contributors and 24 sections of text)	Current high levels of corporate agents meaning that policing services need to be sensitive to the demands of corporate agents.
	Independent data from Andrad not linked to a specific theme	Andrad began to move away from numerical goals before 2010	NTP/ Drop Targets and Goals as Main Driver (7 contributors and 12 sections of text)	Police in the NTP are no longer using numerical targets and goals as the main driver of police performance.
	Structure Change – Full Circle (3)	Main characteristics of NTP mirror the old TP style	NTP/ Higher Discretion (12 contributors and 18 sections of text)	Reduced goals and targets sees a return to reciprocity and an associated increase in professional discretion.
	New Structure Mecronia (8)	Large Patrol teams, Loss of NHP, High Levels of Discretion	NTP/ Large Uniformed Patrol Teams (4 contributors and 5 sections of text)	A recent return to the use of large uniformed patrol teams to provide public policing services.
	New Culture Mecronia (9)	Removal of numerical goals and targets, return to more human social forms	NTP/ Loss of NHP (6 contributors and 7 sections of text)	Recent removal/significant reduction to the provision of NHP.

Therefore, the theoretical arguments and data when taken together, provide support for: -

**Proposition 1: “The (changing) characteristics of social, structural and corporate agency governance can be explained relationally through a new conceptual Relational Policing Matrix.”**

Police managers and policy makers need to be aware of the social, cultural and performance implications of the structural and cultural systems that they employ. The RPM provides them with a means that enables them to easily see those effects. The importance for police organisations must be linked to their possible responses going forward. Therefore, the policing style in the current quadrant (NTP) is of importance. Through the theoretical arguments and examination of the data, I have shown that the high/low (externally-dependent person-oriented) influences in this quadrant, combined with the drivers of austerity, have seen police systems return to a style that has very

similar characteristics to the old Traditional Policing (TP). Because of the close similarity to TP, I have called the fourth quadrant, Neo-Traditional Policing (NTP). Therefore, this provides full support for: -

***Proposition 2: In terms of where we are now, the absence of NPM social structures and the influences of many corporate agencies operate together, resulting in a neo-traditional policing style.***

The aim of this chapter was to explore the characteristics of differing policing approaches in response to ongoing governance changes through the perceptions of police officers. The chapter focussed on answering RQ1 through the collected data. Indeed, the data successfully addresses both propositions 1 and 2, giving a clear visualisation of the ongoing governance changes through the perceptions of the research participants. In this way the chapter successfully answers RQ1. The following chapter continues the analysis of the data and provides some idea of the richness and clarity coming out of the data where the focus is more concerned with the officers' feelings and therefore seeks to address RQ2.

## 6 Case study analysis: Personal lived experiences and feelings

### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, through the use of the IPA analytical protocol (appendix 3), I explore the perceptions of the participants, to highlight personal aspects and lived experiences of UK police officers. The data for Chapter 5 was collected and analysed using IPA which is continued here, using the same data for a further, more personal analysis. The three key philosophical concepts on which the IPA research method relies are phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography. In more simple terms these concepts are the study of understanding lived experience, the study of understanding texts and the study of understanding the specific, allowing the richness of personal feelings to emerge (Smith, et al., 2009).

Using an IPA approach, the actual aim of this chapter is to address RQ2: -

***RQ2: How have police officers reacted to the social structural and corporate agency governance changes in UK policing since 1980?***

The research question therefore has at its core a desire to examine the lived experiences of UK police officers during the time since 1980. Also, key to addressing RQ2 is the desire to examine the perceptions of the participants and as such the continuing use of an IPA methodology is the best choice. In this chapter, I will examine the personal reactions and feelings of the participants. To achieve this, the original raw data, was re-analysed (maintaining the IPA methodology) and new meanings, linked to the feelings of the participants, were attached to the data. The new themes and sub-themes were collated into a table that shows the themes and sub-themes together with theoretical links to the sub-themes and the main section of data from the interviews relied upon to support the concept. The themes and sub-themes generated for the table provide the categories, headings and sub-headings for this chapter. The full table generated by this process, is very large (too large to appear in the main text) and is presented at appendix 7.



Emerging from the analysis of the data, are many themes and sub-themes, all of which are of importance to the participants. The rationale for this chapter is provided by the identification of two main categories that are used to support propositions 3 and 4. For each of these categories, the meanings of the individual themes and sub-themes can be linked to the overriding concept for that category. The data and theoretical underpinning within the two categories are presented in the first two sections of the analysis. This, however, leaves several independent themes, that were of significance for the participants, but could not be comfortably aligned with either of the two main categories. The richness of the data and especially the significance for the participants meant that the independent themes were also worthy of discussion. Therefore, the analysis for the chapter is presented in three main sections. These are, data linked to proposition 3, data linked to proposition 4 and data linked to the independent themes.

In the first section I will lead the reader through the data that is linked to the existence of Public Service Motivation (PSM) (Perry and Wise, 1990). I will show how this appears in many of the participants from both Mecronia and Andrad. In the discussion of the data, I will present texts that highlight a lot of negative feelings of the participants, associated with working under strong performance cultures linked to NPM and CP (Coleman, 2008; Frey et al., 2013; Gilling, 2013). I will argue that the strong negative feelings arise from the de-humanisation of policing linked to the non-human social forms of numerical goals and targets. I will make very strong links, from these negative feelings, to the theoretical work of Perry and Wise (1990), Houston (2000) and Vandenabeele, et al. (2004) and the concept of Public Sector Motivation (PSM). When considering these and other available academic sources consideration of the effects of numerical targets and goals from the perspective of serving police officers is a gap in the literature and as such this approach is a contribution to knowledge. This provides support for: -

**Proposition 3: - *Reliance upon NPM social structures had a de-humanising effect on UK police organisations.***

In the second section I will explain the reactions of the officers linked to the current and ongoing austerity measures and their consequent feelings of stress and

overwork. The existence and organisational effects of austerity are widely documented in various sources (White, 2015; Elliott-Davies et al., 2016; Boulton et al., 2017; Grierson, 2017). The analysis of the data, in this chapter, links these academic views to the feelings of the officers emerging in the data, also drawing upon the presence of PSM to give the feelings context and meaning. There are feelings and opinions expressed that are concerned with the significant reduction in police officer numbers and what this means for the remaining police officers. Looking at the effects of austerity from the perspective of grassroots officers (micro level) appears to be a gap in the existing literature, where the current texts concentrate on the effects on organisations (macro level), as seen in (White, 2015; Elliott-Davies et al., 2016; Boulton et al., 2017; Grierson, 2017). This thesis fills this gap and is therefore a contribution to knowledge. The themes and analysis linked to UK austerity provide support for: -

***Proposition 4: - Police structures and culture since 2010 are greatly affected by the UK government's austerity measures which have left many police officers feeling stressed and overworked.***

Having established two key categories, emerging from the data, there are a further four themes that are sufficiently significant for the participants to be worthy of some discussion. This means that I will present the discussion and analysis of the independent themes emerging from the data as the third section of the analysis for this chapter. It could be argued that there is only a need to discuss the data linked to propositions 3 and 4, however the remaining themes hold significance for the participants and to omit any reference would be doing them a disservice and constraining the richness of their data. The emergence of two key concepts and a cluster of other independent themes provides a suitable structure for the chapter and a visual representation of the structure is presented on the following page: -

Figure 12: Case study analysis personal lived experiences and feelings road map



After the analysis of the data has been presented in three main sections, the implications of the analysis are presented in the chapter summary. In the chapter summary I will present the reader with the key analysis linked to the feelings and lived experiences of the officers, the theoretical and practical implications of those analyses and contributions to knowledge. Once completed I will progress onto the main discussion of both analysis chapters in the next chapter.

## 6.2 Analysis of the data

The results of the analysis of the data will be presented in three major sections of the chapter; Data impacting proposition 3 (de-humanisation of police organisations); Data impacting proposition 4 (Reactions to austerity); Other independent themes.

Therefore, the first area for discussion is data impacting proposition 3 (De-humanisation of police organisations). The data used to support proposition 3 is represented by 3 themes, each of which is divided into several further sub-themes. The first theme, 'Reactions to numerical targets during the NPM and CP quadrants', contains data linked to the officer's reactions to numerical targets and is contributed to by 17 of the 18 (94.44%) informants, with data taken from both case studies, all of which relate directly to working practices under the NPM and CP quadrants and the drive to achieve numerical targets and goals. As indicated in Chapter 5, determining the timing for some of the data linked to the CP quadrant was difficult. However, the theoretical argument, supported by the analysis in Chapter 5, is that high-performance cultures and management by numerical goals were present in both the NPM and CP quadrants. This chapter is concerned with the officers' reactions to the management processes, as such, when considering reactions to numerical goals and targets identification of which of the two quadrants is not a priority. The feelings attached to the sub-themes are of a negative nature and collectively suggest that the need to attain targets and goals was not welcomed by the federated rank staff represented in this data. The second theme, 'Personal reputation: - A driver for police officers' actions', referenced by 9 of the 18 (50%) informants, explores the officer's considerations of their own reputation and the data collected here is provided by two further sub-themes and highlights a growing culture of fear among the informants.

Finally, the last theme, linked to proposition 3, 'Recent removal of policing targets', examines the feelings of the officers linked to the recent apparent removal of goals and targets under the NTP quadrant and holds data collected into two sub-themes and contributed to by 9 of the 18 (50%) informants. This final theme is used to illustrate a return to more human systems in the NTP quadrant, and therefore reinforces the idea of de-humanisation through numerical goals and targets in the NPM and CP quadrants.

Looking at the first theme, the sub-theme, 'Doing the wrong thing', connected to NPM and CP quadrants is a consideration of the feelings linked to working in a target driven organisation and is contributed to by 6 of the 18 (33.33%) informants with data taken from both case studies. Many of the participants, when reflecting upon how their respective forces responded to the demands of the NPM and CP, held very negative feelings. The strongest and most referenced of these negative feelings emerged in the data as a sense of doing the wrong thing. This sense of targets and goals as the cause of doing the wrong thing is very clear in this section of data: -

*“CG: thinking about Mecronia police now say the last one was about the community in the country thinking specifically about Mecronia police and your own team how do these influences within the organisation at the moment and how the influences within your team at the moment enabled you to act as a police officer?”*

*CJ: I think we are better organisation now than we were 18 months ago ,18 months ago we were a performance driven figures dictated organisation which resulted in what I would call noble cause corruption. We weren't taking reports of rape when we should be we weren't criming things when we should have been and it was because one senior ACPO officer competing against another senior ACPO officer for best performance and that was building their CV for the next step we have it appears come completely away from that I don't know I think it's probably lead by the policing College I don't know whether it's a Mecronia thing or a national thing I think that Mecronia are much more advanced down that route but what I've seen is that we are now doing the right thing certainly weren't doing the right thing two years ago”*

The sense arising from this section of data is easy to identify. The phrase ‘18 months ago’ sets the time period the participant is referring to as late 2013 (based on the interview being conducted in early 2015). This is therefore shortly after the removal of policing targets and goals by HM government, but before Mecronia had responded by adjusting their own systems and indicates that the performance systems were still in place from the CP quadrant. The participant states “*we were a performance driven figures dictated organisation*” indicating the depth to which Mecronia had adopted the numerically based management of NPM during both the NPM and CP quadrants. In terms of doing the wrong thing the key word must be “*corruption*”, which the participant tries to soften or justify by claiming it to be for a “*noble cause*”. In this section the officer is talking about the growth in his force of behaviours linked to crime recording and ‘massaging the figures’ as seen in the sentence “*We weren’t taking reports of rape when we should be we weren’t criming things when we should be*”. His view could more simply be expressed as doing the wrong things for the right reason but does not fit the view of ‘Noble Cause Corruption’ presented in the early academic literature. For example, Skolnick (1975, 2011) explores the topic of ‘noble cause corruption’ in some detail and for him it relates to ‘verballing’ or creating false confessions to ensure a conviction. It was due to the high incidence of miscarriages of justice, based on false confessions, that ultimately led to the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (Rose, 1996). Again, coming back to Rose (1996) he claims that.: - “*unsigned verbal admissions – present in 40 percent of London cases in 1980 – did not figure at all in post PACE research .... pp 124*”. It therefore appears that the pressure applied during NPM and CP quadrants was introducing new forms of deviant behaviour, which was a cause for concern for the officers themselves. When conducting his survey on Canadian police managers Coleman (2008) found that NPM had led to a focus on measuring outputs rather than outcomes. This is a point that is well supported in other literature and is equally relevant to UK policing as found in the work of Scott (1998) and Cockcroft and Beattie (2009). The drive to measure outputs affected the officers at street level as a need to attain numerical targets which for many meant dealing with members of the public in an inappropriate manner, as indicated in the following example: -

*“ but I would say probably early to mid-90s the performance culture really started to kick in erm the drive for targets not only in terms of organisational force targets but in terms of individual targets and team targets they wanted you to fulfil certain quotas they wanted you to give so many tickets out they wanted you to do so many summons reports they wanted you to arrest so many individuals which basically flies in the face of I would say sensible policing in many ways because by driving for targets we ended up alienating a lot of people by dealing with things that were not necessarily appropriate or the way that they were dealt with was inappropriate”*

Stephen MacDonald Inspector Mecronia

In this short section of data Stephen times the events well through the expression ‘*probably early to mid-90’s*’. He describes pressure on officers from both organisational targets and individual targets. He has negative feelings attached to this form of performance management which is visible in the phrase ‘*flies in the face of I would say sensible policing*’. He finishes by explaining the effect of these systems resulted in ‘*alienating a lot of people*’. The argument of Donati (2007) is that reliance on numerical means to drive a social system de-humanises the system by removing any sense of reciprocity in the exchanges. The final section of the data describes this removal of reciprocity where Stephen says, ‘*alienating a lot of people by dealing with things that were not necessarily appropriate or the way that they were dealt with was inappropriate*’. The feeling coming through from both Connor and Stephen is of doing the wrong thing. The feeling of doing the wrong thing, that is central to the data collected into the current sub-theme, suggests that the officers held a strong view that there was a right thing to do and the structures and culture at that time constrained them. For the purposes of this thesis it is essential to understand that NPM performance systems and structures exist in both NPM and CP quadrants. Thus, where discussions in theoretical texts refer to NPM they apply equally to NPM and CP quadrants. The claim that the NPM is based on the principal-agent theory suggesting that financial reward, motives and punishments would ultimately lead to increased productivity is made by Frey et al; (2013). These assumptions are based on extrinsic motivation, which misses a key point for many public-sector employees, where, for them the social value of the work itself, is a far stronger motivator

(Gilling, 2013). This suggests, that public sector employees tend to be motivated by intrinsic factors. The existence of a social value, attached to the work for public sector employees, has been suggested over many years, but was first presented as a unified theory by Perry and Wise (1990). In their work, they refer to the phenomenon as Public Service Motivation (PSM), which they define as: -

*“Public Service Motivation may be understood as an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations”*

(Perry and Wise 1990 pp. 368)

This was the first time the term PSM was used, but the concept had not been fully developed and the paper raised more questions than it could answer. In their conclusions, they claimed public sector organisations needed to take account of PSM but accepted further research and a more sophisticated understanding was needed. Since that publication, research of PSM, has been conducted by others such as Houston (2000) who used multivariate analysis to test for the existence and dimensions of PSM, or Vandenaabeele et al. (2004) who used 2 studies of public servants over a 10-year period to explore PSM. The original paper by Perry and Wise, was based on American administrators and some could therefore claim, has no relevance to the police in the UK. However, PSM finds many parallels in UK based research that uses the label ‘Public Service Ethos’ to describe similar phenomena, for example Brereton and Temple (1999), who explore the effects of NPM on UK public sector organisations. Further to this, the work by Hogget et al. (2014), on police organisational identities, confirms strong similarities in the core values of police officers regardless of their global location. Police officers, wherever they are based globally are also public servants, thus as PSM is identified as affecting American public-sector organisations, American police officers must be affected by the identified PSM. Therefore, if PSM is considered in the light of Brereton and Temple (1999) and Hoggett et al. (2014) it is possible to see how PSM can be claimed to be relevant for UK police officers. The existence of PSM suggests that police officers, who are indeed members of the public sector, would tend to be motivated by intrinsic value driven cultures and procedures. Thus, the theories suggest that police



officers are attaching personal values to their work in accordance with PSM and it would be logical to assume that actions and systems matching those values feel like the right thing for that individual. It also follows that where the procedures, systems and culture result in actions that do not match the personal values it is accompanied by feelings of doing the wrong thing. This feeling of doing the wrong thing is exactly what the officers contributing data to this sub-theme describe and therefore tends to confirm the existence of PSM in the officers interviewed giving support to the relevance of PSM to the UK public sector.

Moving on to the second sub-theme, 'Feelings of discomfort', contributed to by 6 (33.33%) of the informants, I consider the feelings of discomfort expressed when considering working under a performance management culture. The existence of and change to police management structures and cultures under the NPM, is well documented and has been covered at length in the literature and earlier sections of this thesis. The existence of the PSM and its possible effect on the feelings of police officers was raised in the preceding section. The existence and effects of PSM are equally relevant because feelings of doing the wrong thing arising from a mismatch between personal values and actions would almost inevitably be accompanied by feelings of discomfort or unease, which is another of the sub-themes linked to NPM and CP quadrants. The data collected in this survey was used in the previous sub-theme to show how adherence to numerical goals and targets led to feelings of doing the wrong thing. The likely outcome of doing what they believed to be the wrong thing was to also generate feelings of discomfort and unease. In terms of theoretical analysis of the data collected at this sub-theme there is very little further to be said here other than to show the type of data relied upon to populate the current sub-theme: -

*“S5: yes we’ve come a long way since the 90’s but I remember in child abuse doing a horrendous caution on a lady who had inadvertently fractured her young child’s arm because he was bouncing on the bed and she went to grab her child and twisted his arm and it was a spiral fracture and I remember the custody Sgt saying get a caution for that you know that’s GBH get a caution and we did we cautioned her and its haunted me to this day it’s absolutely haunted me and I thought there by the grace of God*

*CG: I think we made a lot of bad decisions*

*S5: yes, yes I remember arguing with the custody Sgt and saying I don't think that's fair we shouldn't caution it she has not acted in a malicious way she just went to grab her son"*

Molly Hayes Sergeant Andrad

In this section of text Molly is discussing the pressure applied during the NPM quadrant and holds a negative view of that period. This can be seen in the expression “*yes we've come a long way since the 90's but I remember*”. The discussion then becomes a description of Molly being forced into cautioning a woman for a serious offence, even though Molly believed the evidence supported a genuine accident and not a crime. What is very clear from this text is how deeply Molly was affected on a personal level. The meaning attached to this sub-theme is that being forced to do the ‘wrong thing’ led to feelings of discomfort. This is very clear at the end of the text where Molly says, “*we cautioned her and its haunted me to this day it's absolutely haunted me, and I thought there by the grace of God*”.

One of the predicted effects of high-performance management cultures and systems is the growth of un-wanted side effects and the next sub-theme, ‘Un-wanted side effects’, containing data from 5 (27.77%) of the informants, considers the reactions of the informants to that effect. NPM came out of a period where public service organisations were becoming subjected to increasing public scrutiny through a series of governmental initiatives. The intention of NPM was to make public sector organisations more economical, effective and efficient or the three e’s, and this was to be achieved by increased central control and managerialism (Loveday, 1999; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Shane, 2010, Arnaboldi et al., 2015; De Maillard and Savage, 2017). As already stated at length in the literature and previous sections of this thesis the response of police forces to the demands of the NPM was to micro-manage their frontline staff through an over reliance on numerical targets and goals. Some academics in the field of management studies have been very critical of over-reliance on numerical targets and goals to drive performance for example Sparrow (2015), Ashkanasy et al. (2016), De Silva and Chandrika (2016) and DeVries et al. (2016). In their Performance Measurement

Association Symposium paper Meekings et al. (2011) discuss the positive and negative aspects of target setting in organisations. In this paper, they list many negative side effects of a reliance upon targets and goals and interestingly in their conclusions separate these positive and negative effects into ‘Humanize’ and ‘Dehumanize’. The process of dehumanization described in that paper finds very strong resonance with relational sociological views of Donati and his explanations of human versus non-human social forms that are central to the RPM introduced in this thesis. It is this very same dehumanisation that supports proposition 3 and is supportive of this thesis. For Meekings et al. (2011) one of the side effects can be that targets can lead to cheating, including either distortion of the data or distorting the way the work gets done which mirrors the game playing and dishonest practices included as part of the discussion of un-wanted side effects of management by numbers by found in public sector organisations (Diefenbach, 2009). The idea of simply playing the game or behaving in a dishonest manner is not new and was predicted as a possible consequence of reliance upon numerical measures as early as the 1980’s (Deal and Kennedy, 1988). The data collected into the current sub-theme suggests the officers were fully aware of their actions but complied with organisational requirements despite their own misgivings. Even though the concepts of game playing, or dishonest conduct are not new, the idea that these types of behaviours were making staff feel professionally uncomfortable or uneasy is new. This feeling of discomfort or unease has emerged from the data collected into the current sub-theme and a very good example of the data is presented in the following section of text: -

*“CG: okay since joining the police have your views of policing changed and if so why?”*

*CF: if they have changed its only marginally because I still have the same mindset as the day that I joined and I was never a great supporter of the target culture that I joined and lived with and I used to have some interesting conversations with my managers over those years because I’ve always believed that it’s what we actually do for the public really counts and I often thought that when we were being pushed to chase numerical targets that none of it would impress the public I’ve always been of the view that there’s no point telling a group of people at a community meeting that burglary is down by 8% if you’ve*

*got one single victim of burglary sitting in front of you because as far as that person is concerned burglary is way way too high because they became a victim so I was never one to make much publicly of crime figures and stats and data having said all of that because I was in the organisation part of the organisation I did as I was told and I did well not play the game that makes it sound less serious than it is I did do what was required but sometimes with a slightly heavy heart”.*

Mecronia Chief Inspector Cason Flynn

The first thing to highlight from this text is “*I was never a great supporter of the target culture that I joined and lived with*”, which, given the length of service of Cason (22 years), places the events in the 1990’s. So, it is possible to claim the timing at least commences during the NPM quadrant. Given the nature of the previous sub-themes Cason already begins to display some feelings of discomfort attached to the high-performance systems present when he joined in this sentence. The mismatch between Cason’s feelings of what the police ought to be doing and what he was asked to do are also apparent here “*I’ve always believed that it’s what we actually do for the public really counts and I often thought that when we were being pushed to chase numerical targets that none of it would impress the public* “. Towards the end of the text the tone, at the idiographic level, suggests that the officer was aware that he had been playing the game but was so uncomfortable with his own actions that even years later he did not want to openly admit it. Therefore, he begins by saying “*I did well not play the game that makes it sound less serious than it is*”, this shows that he knew he had indeed been playing the game but did not want to trivialise his contribution to policing. He appears to want to excuse and justify his actions by making the point that he felt compelled to act in a way that made him uncomfortable and justifies his actions by stating that “*I did do what was required*” which is remarkably reminiscent of the analysis of the infamous Milgram experiment (Milgram, 1974). Another side effect, of performance management regimes, listed by both Arnaboldi et al. (2015) and Meekings et al. (2011) is that in setting targets many important aspects of the day to day work become invisible as there is a tendency for a ‘what gets counted gets done’ mentality to emerge. This can be seen in the following data which also carries a feeling that the officer was not happy or comfortable

with the situation. It shows the officer felt that only easily counted processes were measured, which is another point raised by Meekings et al. (2011), resulting in what gets measured gets done, exactly as predicted by a number of studies (Deal and Kennedy, 1988; Meekings et al., 2011; Arnaboldi et al., 2015,): -

*“I think that Mecronia are much more advanced down that route but what I’ve seen is that we are now doing the right thing certainly weren’t doing the right thing two years ago*

*CG: okay so the performance driven culture you’re talking about was mainly aimed detected crime?*

*S4: it was mainly aimed at if you could measure it we would measure it in 15 different ways it was measured at sickness it was measured at staff appraisal it was measured outstanding offenders days outstanding domestic abuse reviews it was measured at people number of days on bail outstanding bail phone download times it was if if you could measure it we would in three different ways and am it led what gets measured gets done or not done depending the way you look at it”*

Mecronia Police Detective Inspector Connor Jenkins

Whilst the intention of the text from Connor is to highlight the incidence of a ‘what gets counted gets done’ attitude amongst the officer’s other aspects linked to the feelings are also present. Considering the interview being conducted during 2015, the timing of the excerpt can be placed at 2013 as Connor says, *“we are now doing the right thing certainly weren’t doing the right thing two years ago”*. Clearly, 2013 falls in the NTP quadrant, however this is as a result of senior officers in Mecronia attempting to hang onto the way things were done. For all of the senior officers’ high-performance systems had been in place throughout their service and even though the Home Office had removed the requirement for targets and goals (May, 2010), there was still a degree of lag. Mecronia police did eventually respond to these changes which is also apparent in the above text where Connor says, *“we are now doing the right thing”*. Therefore, the

comments here apply more to the end of the CP quadrant immediately before the arrival of the coalition government in 2010.

It is therefore apparent from the data that the unwanted side effects of management by numbers found in the work of Diefenbach (2009), Arnaboldi et al. (2015), Sparrow (2015) and DeVries et al. (2016), or the social pathogens predicted by Donati (2007) have emerged into policing organisations working under the managerialism of the NPM and CP quadrants. Also, emerging from the data is the suggestion that where PSM exists the mismatch between expected behaviours and personal values results in feelings of discomfort and unease. All these effects and feelings are entirely supportive of the claim that high-performance systems led to a dehumanisation of their respective organisations. As such the data is highly supportive of proposition 3.

The next sub-theme, 'Frequent management interventions', holds data linked to the feelings of the informants connected to frequent management interventions intended to drive performance and contains data collected from 5 (27.77%) informants. One aspect of working for an organisation that is very performance driven using numerical targets and goals is the response of senior managers to minor fluctuations in data. This can present itself as an organisational problem because a lack of proper focus or understanding of rapidly changing data can often lead to what Loughran (2006) describes as knee-jerk reactions. In his paper Loughran (2006) claims the main problem for organisations arising from knee-jerk reactions is a deflection from what really matters. The focus of the paper is very well summed up in the opening two sentences seen here: -

*“It is a simple truism that people in organisations focus on what their leaders pay attention to. In other words, people do what you count, not necessarily what counts!”*

(Loughran, 2006 pp. 171)

It appears, from the data gathered at this sub-theme, that some federated rank police staff identified this type of behaviour in their senior managers and they found this to be very frustrating. It is highly possible that they felt the reactions of their managers were constraining their ability to deliver what they believed was '*what counted*' when

measured against their own value driven perceptions of policing. To support this suggestion there is data collected from the participants in this research that highlights the management practice as not only existing but also gives an indication of how they felt about it. For example: -

*“CG: are you still under pressure in terms of crime report numbers and numbers of detections?”*

*DB: No, we've gone totally away from that we we there are now a lot further disposal codes that we will use if we are not going to detect something we are free a skippers to justify and write the crime off as in not in the public interest er IP the suspect is known but the IP will decline there are a lot more there are a lot more stuff around it so we don't we are not under pressure to detect and get a we don't play divisional the divisional wacamole game any more you know it's not on a Monday morning you don't suddenly turn around and say we have seven more burglaries than we did this time last year we need to get burglaries down under this week and throw everything at burglaries and ignore car crime and then oh no next Monday all car crime is up by 2 we need to wacamole that back you know”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Daniel Burns

Again, as with a lot of the data where officers are describing current events, they reinforce their meanings by referring to how things were. These descriptions of past events are rarely qualified with any accurate means of timing. This is definitely the case here; Daniel is talking about how things are now and says we don't play the game anymore. As this is the case now, the only possibility is that in considering events before must be during the participants police service. This means since joining in 1988, or at some point during the NPM or CP quadrants. The theoretical suggestion supported by Chapter 5 findings is that high-performance cultures existed in both of those quadrants. Identifying which of the two is not a priority as the pressure exerted by high-performance systems is the same. The central section of text commences by describing the process of knee-jerk reactions as *“the divisional wacamole game”* and is something that is no longer followed which confirms that it has stopped since the recent removal of targets and goals. The choice of words, particularly *“wacamole”* shows that the participant felt frustrated

by having to adhere to a process that was for them no more important than wacamole, a seaside arcade game. He goes on to explain how the day to day priorities were adjusted by even the smallest change in performance against the designated targets which can be seen at the end in the expression “*we need to wacamole that back*”. The whole section of text when considered holistically carries a feeling of frustration at the apparent importance attached, by managers, to what the participant felt were very insignificant changes in counted crime numbers. The data therefore tends to confirm the view taken by Loughran (2006) that targets, and goals could lead to knee-jerk reactions, but it also highlights how frustrating this can be for other members of the organisation. The feelings of frustration arise from the participants desire to react to the demands of work in a value driven manner linked to the presence of PSM. The knee jerk reactions described in this sub-theme are based on the numerical demands of the high-performance systems, they are self-referential and hold no possible reciprocity between the staff and the management or the public. They therefore fit the idea of non-human systems and again add weight to the claim that high-performance management systems and culture during the NPM and CP quadrants had a de-humanising effect, offering support to proposition 3.

The final sub-theme in the Reactions to numerical targets during the NPM and CP quadrants’ theme, is labelled ‘Numerical targets – Negative’. It holds data highlighting the contempt that officers felt towards numerical goals and targets during the NPM and CP quadrants and is contributed to by only 3 (16.66%) of the informants. The frustration of dealing with knee-jerk reactions from the previous sub-theme resulted in one officer trivialising the practice by comparing it to a seaside arcade game. This trivialisation, as a method to communicate frustration, is used again by the officers who contribute data to the current sub-theme. This suggests that the officers who experienced working in the NPM and CP quadrants did not believe that the reliance on targets was an important tool for police organisations. Indeed, the data collected in this sub-theme suggests that the entire reliance upon numerical targets and goals to manage the staff was felt to be trivial and considered to be nothing more than a form of bean counting: -

*“so they went overboard on that that’s eased off now is like no we’ve reduced it we no longer need an inspector to authorise that is back to a sergeant can authorise fantastic the biggest changes been around losing the bean counting*



*around crime detections the fact that that's gone now you can see it now although sometimes it's pragmatism sometimes it's like non-CID supervisors use in that I know in your previous role you seen them filing stuff what were never detect that file is like no no you actually have to do 1,2,3,4 first before you do that but certainly there's been a lot more ability of people to do restorative not restorative practice and that bollocks but the ability of the officer at the scene to agree with the parties what do you want out of this will wanting to say sorry and pay from a worry brilliant both sign that piece”*

Mecronia Police Inspector Dexter Atkinson

As with the previous two sub-themes data contained here is from officers discussing the present and attaching positive feelings to recent changes. To emphasise this, they describe and attach negative feelings to past events. There is no clear indication in the text of timing, however the past events have occurred during the service of Dexter which commenced in 1992. The theoretical claims are that high-performance management systems were part of both NPM and CP quadrants. This claim is well supported by the analysis in Chapter 5, therefore as the officer is discussing high-performance systems, the events can be claimed to have occurred during the NPM or CP quadrant. The characteristics of the quadrants were established in Chapter 5, for Chapter 6 the focus is the feelings, these are important but identifying specifically which of the two quadrants is not a priority as the feelings apply equally to either quadrant. As well as showing feelings that targets were trivial the text also highlights the relief in the fact that numerical targets and goals have recently been removed from the agenda. The officer, with few words manages to eloquently highlight the depth of the negative feelings they hold for the performance management culture by referring to it as nothing more than counting the beans. The data gathered here shows that the officers found the targets and goals under the NPM and CP to be frustrating and trivial. When considered together with the previous sub-themes: -Doing the wrong thing; Feelings of discomfort; Un-wanted side effects; Frequent management interventions, there is an overwhelming feeling coming out of the data supporting the claim that the officers in this survey despised or hated working under the numerically driven goals and targets of the NPM and CP quadrants identified by the new RPM. I suggest that their strong feelings arise from the presence of

PSM in the officers and the mismatch between organisational and personal priorities. The final argument arising from the data is therefore, that many of the officers in the sample possess high levels of PSM, this gives the officers a clear idea of duty and service to the public. In the terms of Donati (2007) high-performance management schemes operating in NPM and CP quadrants were non-human systems due to auto-poiesis and a lack of reciprocity. These non-human systems represent a de-humanisation of police organisations. The effect of de-humanisation lead to 'doing the wrong thing' or again in line with Donati (2007), social pathogens which in turn conflicted with the PSM of the officers resulting in feelings of discomfort.

The second theme 'Personal reputation: - A driver for police officers' actions', examining feelings linked to proposition 3, is contributed to by 11 (61.11%) of the participants. It focusses on an existence of fear linked to actions that might harm the reputation of the individual or result in personal complaints. There are two sub-themes holding data linked to this theme and the first of those sub-themes holds data linked to a consideration of a siege mentality and holds data collected from 7 (38.88%) of the informants. There has been for some time an understanding that police officers working under the constant possibility of being in immediate personal danger occupy an environment of stress. This environment results in the officers feeling under constant threat from all outside sources pulling the individuals together and generating what Prenzler (1997), in his examination of police culture, described as a siege mentality. In his summing, up of the literature, Prenzler (1997), solidifies police culture into four categories. He states the first category is that police culture has a "Disregard and disdain for rules and procedures ... especially in the treatment of suspects". He goes on to claim that police culture has a "Disregard for due process ... as an outcome of a dominant crime control model of policing" and that police culture is characterised by "Cynicism, isolation and intolerance". Finally, he describes the apparent "solidarity" of police culture being an offshoot of isolation and cynicism. It is in the last category that his siege mentality resides as it described as, solidarity and brotherhood against the threats posed by an unfriendly world. It should be noted that the timing of Prenzler (1997), sits at the latter part of the NPM quadrant when high-performance management systems were at their peak, thus fitting the arguments of this thesis. Reiner (2010) talks about the strength of police culture

being based on a foundation that police work is a mission - it is *“a worthwhile enterprise, not just another job.”* Reiner (2010 pp. 119) therefore finds resonance with Perry and Wise (1990) and PSM, and anything done in pursuit of this mission is serving a greater cause, not the individual. The actions of NPM, in attempting to bring much closer scrutiny of individual actions using numerical goals, has already been shown to create a mismatch between the demands of targets and the values of PSM, resulting in feelings of discomfort and unease. These feelings of discomfort and unease would add significantly to the feelings of threat generated by external sources and therefore if Prenzler (1997) is correct should result in the presence of a siege mentality in police officers. Thus, the data collected in this thesis should provide some evidence of the existence of a siege mentality, if Prenzler (1997) is correct. During the analysis of the data the current sub-theme was created using the label ‘Officers feel stressed and threatened by external pressures leading to a siege mentality’ and as such appears to be supportive of Prenzler (1997). One of the sections of data strongly supporting this point comes from Finlay Hudson, who is active in his forces police federation, who stated: -

*“when I went into custody it sort of seemed a good time at the time there was a new election and they weren’t happy with the current fed rep and that’s why I stood at the time and my main reasons around that but because I was quite interested in the discipline sort of things representing officers when they either are sort of made false allegations against or you know get themselves into trouble I was just interested in that sort of things I’m also quite health and safety based so I’ve also got quite an interest in health and safety side of the Federation and then sort of by default really with my going into custody I’ve sort of become quite involved with the custody side in the”*

Finlay Hudson Sergeant Mecronia

The text here when looked at in context seems merely to express the idea that the participant wanted to help his peers when they got themselves into trouble. However, a closer look at the details of exactly what has been said reveal a hidden meaning emerging and showing the true feelings of the officer. The first thing is the feeling of brotherhood or solidarity to his peers that can be found in *“I was quite interested in the discipline sort of things representing officers”* which is supportive of the analysis of Prenzler (1997).

The officer continues to speak, and his first instinct is to describe complaints against his peers as false allegations, as seen here “*when they either are sort of made false allegations against*” and this truly has an ‘us and them’ feel to it. The sense of being under threat from public because of complaints emerges from this data, so much so that the officer feels compelled to act as a defender or representative of his colleagues. The ‘siege mentality’ of Prenzler (1997) considers threats from many possible avenues as contributing to the feelings of isolation and these are all present in the daily working of UK police officers. In the current sub-theme, the main cause for feeling threatened is the possibility of an individual officer being complained against and, as the following two sub-themes show, officers currently believe this to be an ever-growing possibility.

The second of the sub-themes, collected from 4 (22.22%) of the informants, considers feelings of fear connected to constraints around the freedom of speech, or put more plainly, are the informants frightened to talk openly? This sub-theme consists of four sections of data collected to highlight how officers are currently often too afraid to speak openly in case their words are later used against them. The data used to highlight this point in this sub-theme consists of long sections of text as the officer’s use storytelling as a tool to reinforce meaning. According to Schein (1990) storytelling is one of the internal mechanisms used to reinforce culture in organisations as the stories invariably hold clues as to the expected and accepted behaviours within the organisation. In the context of this research, in this sub-theme, the participants are using stories to make their point, but the data also holds clues about current patterns of behaviour within their organisations: -

*“CG: so, is that a fear culture?”*

*KR: there is definitely a fear culture there is a fear culture about what is going to go on we had a there is a traffic officer who’s been suspended at the moment who he stopped a car and it was a black male driving it and he checked on the computer and he wasn’t happy with it and then he checked and got a mobile ID kit to come up and checked his fingerprints and it turned out he was a disqualified driver and he’s not giving the right details so he goes back to the nick and says to one of his other colleagues he said I wasn’t happy with it he’s from South London you’ve always got to check these people because if I don’t*

*think they're telling the truth and because he said you always got to check these people his colleague reported that and he's now been suspended not well done for catching somebody that is a liability on the road but now has been suspended"*

Andrad Police Constable Kyle Roberts

There are several meanings contained within the data at the holistic and the idiographic level shown by the choice of words. The key part of the text opens and immediately confirms the officer's belief that there is a fear culture in his force which supports the wider claim of this theme. The main part of the story told describes how an officer has been suspended because he used the expression "*you've always got to check these people because*" and the force has taken this to be a racial comment. The storyteller however has the opinion that the officer in the story was referring to the fact that the driver was a young man from South London and based upon previous experiences he felt he might be lying. A position that was shown to be the case after the computer checks revealed that the driver was disqualified from driving. The participant clearly feels the officer should have been congratulated for good work but instead is now subject to internal police discipline because he was not careful in the words he used, which for the participant is a frightening prospect. The data also highlights another factor emerging into the feelings of threat that was never a factor under the TP and that is the actions of one of the arresting officer's peers who felt the comments were racially motivated and chose to report the officer. This shows how a new culture of 'whistleblowing' is becoming a part of the everyday reality for UK police officers. For example, one UK based police force (Cambridgeshire) website is a useful source for examining police attitudes towards 'whistleblowing'. It holds details of its Whistleblowing Policy and can be found here [Cambridgeshire Police \(2006\)](#). The policy positively encourages staff to report any possible instances of wrongdoing and sets out in detail how each compliant should be investigated and builds protection for the person reporting into those procedures. The introduction of whistleblowing is intended by managers to alter the behaviour of officers and is directly linked to their performance. This increasing scrutiny from whistleblowing is just one of the high-performance features arising from NPM. Similar policies can be found in other UK police forces and must be a contributing factor for the perceived

increase in internal complaints adding to the feelings of fear already present in a difficult working environment and adding to feelings of stress, contributing to the identified siege mentality above.

Another of the excerpts of data collected in this sub-theme tells a similar story but is based in Mecronia and describes instances of internal discipline based on the evidence taken from the examination of police video recordings of custody suites that were seized in the investigation of another unrelated matter: -

*“I think everyone sort of in custody where it is covered by CCTV is very much aware of what they’re saying and what they do and it probably restricts them a lot more than they used to do in the past this so much worried about having general conversations about anything because they might say something that might be deemed inappropriate which then obviously depending on the circumstances might not be but we’ve had investigations where you might investigate someone for assault but then they will view the CCTV and see two officers talking and having a general conversation in the background and then they’ve been investigated as a result of that conversation”*

Mecronia Police Constable Daisy Baker

The short section of text taken from Daisy is clear in its meaning. She talks about the presence of CCTV cameras in custody suites which is now the norm. She says, *“I think everyone sort of in custody where it is covered by CCTV is very much aware of what they’re saying and what they do and it probably restricts them a lot more than they used to do”*, which expresses the idea that officers’ private conversations are restricted. This is due to fear of saying something inappropriate which is clarified here *“because they might say something that might be deemed inappropriate which then obviously depending on the circumstances might not be”*. The feeling here is remarkably similar to the view of Kyle Roberts (above), both are concerned with the words being misinterpreted. The stories collected in this sub-theme highlight a depth of fear that is felt by the officers and has the sense that the fear is increasing. Traditionally the main source of fear for police officers as described in the literature appears to have been a fear of external complaint however the data collected in this sub-theme highlights growing concerns over internally

generated threats for the officers. Fears generated by the new risks connected to 'whistleblowing' and internal police video recordings appear to have reached a point where the officers feel unable to ever talk freely. This new fear is another source of potential threat to the officer's well-being and must have a cumulative effect when taken together with the already identified and pre-existing existing sources of threat found in the work of Butterfield et al. (2004) and Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2005). The increasing feelings of fear that emerge in the data must be contributory to the existence of a 'siege mentality' as described by Prenzler (1997). When considered in light of the first theme, it could be argued that the presence of PSM shapes the personality of the officers. Part of that personality is the desire to be seen to do the right thing which means protecting their reputation. The data in this current theme highlights a widespread culture of fear for their own reputation due to increasing internal pressures. These new pressures have grown as part of the high-performance management systems and therefore add a degree of support to the idea of de-humanisation linked to NPM and CP quadrants.

The greater part of the personal feelings and reactions of the participants have in the main, to this point, been very negative in nature. This seems to paint a very dark picture of life as a police officer working under the effects of the NPM and CP and more recently austerity. Until now the only glimmer of light in a sea of despondency has been provided by the feelings of pride for a job well done which permeates across the entire time scale.

The final theme, 'Reactions to recent removal of targets – positive', is contributed to by 9 (50.00%) of the participants. It consists of two sub-themes and is linked to the de-humanisation of policing during the NPM and CP quadrants and its recent reversal. The positive feelings of the officers linked to the recent changes offer some degree of hope for the future. This theme holds data that gives the personal reactions of officers to recent changes occurring in the NT quadrant (quadrant 4) of the relational policing matrix and focusses on the reactions to cultural changes. The central idea presented is that the new culture is being welcomed by staff and the new working practices are making them happier than the old performance culture, thus emphasizing the de-humanisation present during the NPM and CP quadrants.

The first sub theme returns to examine the data trivialising the old performance culture and the description of targets as ‘bean counting’ and holds data from 3 (16.66%) of the informants. Crucial to the implementation of NPM in policing and driven by central government was the assertion that a strong performance culture has a significant impact upon recorded crime thereby improving on police performance. This drive from the centre is clearly evidenced in the steering of policing using many targets and goals and the efforts of the HMIC (HMIC, 1998). Some years later this central drive was reiterated in the work of Bao et al., (2013) who stressed that despite much criticism of the NPM some authors still believed that improving crime figures could be linked to strong performance cultures. The belief that strong performance culture led to reduced crime rates was however not widely accepted and many other authors have sought to highlight the error of relying upon crime figures as a measure of police performance (Scott, 1998; Loveday, 1999, 2000a; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Shane, 2010; Frey et al., 2013). One criticism of the reliance upon crime figures and a major problem with the implementation of NPM was that it lacked theoretical underpinning (Frey et al., 2013) which was identified as far back as the mid 1980’s. Despite this empirically supported academic criticism of the NPM arising in the 1980’s, governments both here in the UK and wider globally, chose to ignore the identified issues and pressed on with the implementation of the NPM regardless (Frey et al., 2013). One aspect arising from the implementation of the NPM in the UK was how it was used by politicians to devolve responsibility for crime figures downwards, deflecting the blame for rising crime figures onto the police (Gilling, 2013). Already identified in the analysis for this chapter are the reactions of officers to working under the pressures of strong performance cultures that are heavily reliant upon numerical targets and goals. There appears to have been an almost universal realisation among police officers at the point of delivery that something was wrong. It is, however, not as a reaction to the academic theories listed above, but as genuine feelings of frustration and stress arising from working in a manner that did not personally resonate that led officers to be unhappy with the performance culture. These personal feelings and reactions were presented as the first theme of this chapter and the central argument of that section was that the participants despised working under those systems and procedures. The sub-theme, from the first theme, ‘reactions to working under numerical goals and targets’ describes the counting of and reliance upon recorded crime figures as a trivial



form of bean counting. The argument being expressed in that sub-theme meant that officers felt that the over reliance upon crime figures was a trivial form of bean counting. It must therefore come as no surprise that a removal of numerical targets and goals, or bean counting, would be welcomed by the staff, making them feel happier, which is well expressed in that section of data, from Inspector Dexter Atkinson previously presented (pp.207).

This section of data includes with the word fantastic, where Dexter is describing recent changes to management systems, which goes a very long way towards expressing just how much happier the officer is. The next three words 'the biggest change' are also used to provide emphasis in the text. They convey the idea that counting of crime detections was perhaps one of the most important management tools under the previous system. The text also goes on to explain that the counting of detected crimes has gone now. Interestingly the officer chooses to describe the counting of detected crimes as bean counting and the usage of this phrase has already been explored earlier in this chapter and has strong negative connotations. Therefore, the overall meaning that can be attached to this section is, the force has had a major change of culture resulting in the removal of any form of counting of crimes that used to be a priority and that this new way of working is fantastic which makes the officer much happier. Another section of text collected into this sub-theme carries the same meaning. Without going through the entire section of data in close detail it obviously holds the same meaning as the previous section of data: -

*“SM: if there’s one refreshing and positive that come out of policing recently in Mecronia it is the removal of policing targets so we are no longer chasing sanctioned detections out-of-court disposals they have gone and that is the most refreshing thing I have seen in recent years and it is positive erm instead of seeing now you know we had so many charges cautions erm community resolutions it’s all based upon now around victim satisfaction the level of service we give if we go into those three or four outcomes there’s now 20-28 possible outcomes so you know if a crime is filed say for instance undetected we will see why it’s undetected i.e. you know victim withdraws does not support a prosecution or um the suspect is too ill to be prosecuted there’s a whole range of sanctions”*

In brief, the same changes are described, and the officer attaches the words 'refreshing' and 'positive' which clearly demonstrates that the officer feels much happier with the new working culture.

The second sub-theme examining personal positive feelings emerging as a reaction to the recent cultural and structural changes is a simple reversal of an earlier negative sub-theme and holds data collected from 6 (33.33%) of the informants. As previously stated on multiple occasions in this chapter there is evidence found in the data showing high levels of PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990), in some of the participants. One of the earlier sub-themes concentrated on feelings of discomfort and unease arising from a mismatch between the personal values of the officers, based in their PSM, and a feeling of doing the wrong thing. The data collected into this sub-theme is as stated a reversal of this position and highlights the positive feelings the officers can obtain from doing the right thing, as expressed by one Mecronia officer here: -

*"we have it appears come completely away from that I don't know I think it's probably lead by the policing College I don't know whether it's a Mecronia thing or a national thing I think that Mecronia are much more advanced down that route but what I've seen is that we are now doing the right thing certainly weren't doing the right thing two years ago*

*CG: okay so the performance driven culture you're talking about was mainly aimed at detected crime?*

*CJ: it was mainly aimed at if you could measure it we would measure it in 15 different ways it was measured at sickness it was measured at staff appraisal it was measured outstanding offenders days outstanding domestic abuse reviews it was measured at people number of days on bail outstanding bail phone download times it was if if you could measure it we would in three different ways and am it led what gets measured gets done or not done depending the way you look at it"*

The key part of the data for this theme is found here *“I think that Mecronia are much more advanced down that route but what I’ve seen is that we are now doing the right thing”*, with the rest of the text providing context.

There are no clearly expressed words in the data that doing the right thing is making them happy, however when viewed as the flip side of the feelings arising from doing the wrong thing, it is a natural step to suggest there are positive feelings from doing the right thing. The data collected into this theme has a very positive feel about the current culture and structures in the participant’s respective police forces. Words like brilliant, fantastic and empowering have been used to describe the officer’s feelings and reactions towards the latest changes which after the negativity of feelings towards the NPM and CP bodes well for the future. This was the final theme for data linked to proposition 3. The data for this theme concentrates on the reactions of the officers to the removal of high-performance systems and cultures present during the NPM and CP quadrants. It does not provide clear or direct support for proposition 3. However, the previous three themes had discussed strong feelings of discomfort and unease arising from a mismatch between the value driven PSM of the officers and the de-humanised systems present during the NPM and CP quadrants. Therefore, the positive feelings arising from the removal of those systems and cultures during the NTP quadrant emphasise and underline the meanings arising in the previous themes, thus indirectly supporting proposition 3.

As a final footnote to the presentation of the data and analysis informing proposition 3, I will re-introduce some of the data collected from the four additional interviews taken after the analysis of the original data. The purpose of the re-interviewing was to confirm the accuracy of the interview transcripts and the meanings attached to the data by the researcher, thereby reinforcing the trustworthiness of the research. The four participants were also invited to comment upon the main analysis. A short selection of the comments impacting proposition 3 are included here. I will include data from each of the four re-interviewed participants: -

Statements made in response to an explanation of the de-humanization of police forces (Proposition 3): -

*“Officers never set out to be like that, they became a victim of the process..... very happy with that, very accurate”*

Mecronia Police Patrol Sergeant Daniel Burns

*“Definitely yes, people were just focussed on numbers rather than what they did..... Yes, I agree with that particularly during that period of time because it was quantity not quality”*

Mecronia Police Custody Sergeant Finlay Hudson

*“I think you are right, I think you have materialised in a sense, within organisations as well as, how can you put it, people as you say issues around I suppose an example I’d give would be the way that officers of power dealt with their PC’s and things below them, took advantage of them”*

Andrad Police Federation Sergeant Tyler Gardner

*“Yep, I agree, and I think it’s still going on to a certain extent”*

Andrad Police Public Safety Constable Aaron Perry

Statements made in response to an explanation of the existence and meaning of PSM in the data sample (proposition 3): -

*“That is the case, anecdotally and interestingly what I’ve discovered working in my new role working in schools, is how many of our generation of retired police officers are now working in schools. The driver is helping and doing good.”*

Mecronia Police Patrol Sergeant Daniel Burns

*“Yeah 100% .... With the current system I still find it hard to say no to members of the public”*

Mecronia Police Custody Sergeant Finlay Hudson

*“I couldn’t agree more .... I agree wholeheartedly with that”*

Andrad Police Federation Sergeant Tyler Gardner

*“Yes, and I would agree with that, certainly in my aspect, I was in the forces before I joined the police”*

Andrad Police Public Safety Constable Aaron Perry

It is very easy to see that all four officers were in full agreement with the thesis analysis linked to the de-humanization of police organisations and the effects of PSM. This provides greater support for the trustworthiness and acceptability of my thesis.

This completes the presentation of data linked to the de-humanisation of police organisations and the presence of PSM in the research participants. In this section I have made arguments, linked to the data and several theoretical contributions, that highlight the negative feelings of police officers to working during the NPM and CP quadrants. The key difference between the NPM and CP quadrants is the level of corporate agencies. For the CP quadrant the level and influence of corporate agents is higher. The corporate agents have an influence on police behaviour, and it is the need to police with empathy and reciprocity in a human manner that induces the conflict with non-human systems identified in the previous chapter. The conflict of feelings arising adds further support for the value driven motivation claimed to support the presence of PSM. Thus, the effects of high-performance management systems do not operate in a vacuum but are moderated by the corporate agents present at that time. I have argued the feelings are in response to management structures and culture following a non-human social form (management by numbers) resulting in a de-humanisation of police organisations. I have shown how the feelings of the officers can be linked to the presence of PSM in the data sample. In considering the feelings of the officers it was possible to identify a strong desire to provide a quality of service to the public. This provides further support for the presence of PSM in the participants. Also, where the officers were able to deliver against their personal values the work was accompanied by feelings of pride. Further, I have claimed that it is the mismatch between the value-based delivery of service and the demands of goals and targets that result in feelings of discomfort and unease. Thus, the feelings of discomfort

and unease, identified in the data, offer great support for the claim that high-performance cultures during the NPM and CP quadrants had a de-humanising effect, as predicted by Donati (2007). The presence of PSM is further reinforced by the positive feelings attached to the recent removal of goals and targets from the policing agenda, providing a better match between the values of the officers and the organisation. Therefore, the data and existing literature combined provides support for proposition 3: -

**Proposition 3: - *Reliance upon NPM social structures and corporate agency had a de-humanising effect on UK police organisations***

In the following section of the chapter I will examine the data supporting proposition 4 and linked to public sector austerity. The data linked to proposition 4 is collected into 3 themes, these are ‘personal reactions to public sector austerity’, ‘personal reactions to the loss of staff’ and the ‘impact of austerity on other public-sector organisations’. As with the data already discussed, each of the themes has its own sub-themes which will be presented in the following sections.

The first theme is ‘personal reactions to public sector austerity measures’ and arises as a response or reaction to the recent, post 2010, austerity measures that were discussed in the literature review. This is the most highly populated theme emerging from the data by some margin, holding data collected from 17 of the 18 (94.44%) informants. For example, the first sub-theme of the group, holds data in a node labelled ‘lack of staff leads to feelings of helplessness and overwork’ and is collected in twenty-six sections of text taken from 12 (66.66%) of the informants. This is more data than is contained in some of the other themes, let alone sub-themes. One factor that may account for the number of references is that this is something that is contemporary, meaning the feelings were fresh in the minds of the participants at the time of interview. However, the number of references collected and the nature of what is said also suggests that as well as being fresh and contemporary, the feelings described are personally very significant and deeply felt. The simplest way in which to commence a discussion of the data collected into the first sub-theme is by looking at one of the twenty-six sections of text: -

*“but I think that we are at the elastic limit at the moment and that’s the scary thing I think the amount of work coming in for the officers we’ve got we*

*will have to say no to work and we are at that point right now work could tip us over I work with officers every day that are close to going off with stress they are breaking and I've experienced that myself but it's more tangible now more prevalent you can almost taste it when you walk into the office now that actually the level of work is getting to a point where people will start breaking"*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Archie Rees

The section of text used here is full of language and phrases that hold the meaning that the daily workload has reached a point where the ongoing health of officers is at risk and there is a real possibility that continued pressure at the same level will cause some people to break. The individual parts of the excerpt expressing this meaning are shown separately here, "*we are at the elastic limit*", "*and we are at that point right now work could tip us over*", "*I work with officers every day that are close to going off with stress*" and "*you can almost taste it when you walk into the office now that actually the level of work is getting to a point where people will start breaking*".

These four individual pieces of data were taken out of the first excerpt in order to view them independently however when they are seen together, as above, they almost reconstruct the entire section from which they were removed. This means that at the holistic level the excerpt has one central meaning that the officer feels so strongly about that he chose to express the same opinion in four different ways almost within one breath. There are however other subtler meanings emerging in the data when it is viewed at an idiographic level. In the first line, he states '*at the moment*' placing the time frame in early 2015 when the interviews were conducted, some 5 years after the austerity measures began giving sufficient time for their full effect to begin to be realised among the officers. The officer also describes the feeling of being "*at the elastic limit*" as a scary thing which immediately brings us back into the realm of having to live with daily fear and contributing to wider feelings of threat. In 2016 a journal paper was published that used qualitative methods research to examine the possible impact of a demand versus capacity imbalance in the Police Service of England and Wales (PSEW) and in short was titled 'Getting a Battering' (Elliott-Davies, et al., 2016). The research for this paper was conducted in 2015 and relied upon Home Office published figures to show that there had

been a 12% fall in the number of police officers in the PSEW since 2010. The pressure on police forces in the UK resulting from the government's austerity has been highlighted and discussed at length frequently, with this topic gaining momentum around 2014 when the impact of those cuts began to take effect. One PCC complained to the Daily Telegraph in 2014 that the anticipated loss of 400 police officers in his force was dangerous and was taking things too far (Barrett, 2014). Other writers all talk about the extent of the cuts to police budgets since 2010 and the resultant loss of police officer numbers, together with a view that the police forces are now under unprecedented pressures due to an imbalance between demand and capacity (Blanchard, 2014; Shaw, 2014, 2015; May, 2015; Mendel et al., 2017). This theme is carried on by White (2015), who as the chairman of the Police federation of England and Wales expressed real fears arising from his members about their current workloads and the risks to their own and public welfare. When considering the accumulating data provided in the texts relating to effects of police cuts Elliott-Davies et al. (2016), suggest that what was emerging on this topic was mainly anecdotal with little basis in genuine research. This then prompted them to conduct their qualitative research to add some empirical evidence to the discussion and from their analysis they claim that a commonly held belief amongst contemporary police officers is that they are overworked and are struggling to cope with the day to day demands of their work. Given the total number of references collected into the current sub-theme and the meaning attached to that data there can be no doubt that the police officers making this sample provide data that is totally supportive of the analysis of Elliott-Davies et al. (2016) and Mendel et al. (2017). The inclusion of the words "*and that's the scary thing*" not only suggest that there are feelings of overwork and stress but that these feelings are frightening which also suggests that the fear arises from a sense of helplessness and an inability to stem the flow of the tide.

The second sub-theme is also concerned with the loss of police officers under austerity but in this sub-theme the focus is staff supervision and holds data collected from 8 (44.44%) of the informants. As with all the sub-themes presented in the current theme, the reactions and feelings are expressed by the participants, in response to the ongoing austerity measures. The meaning attached to the data collected here is not concerned with the loss of frontline staff itself, (which forms the data for the second theme), but the loss



of line managers and how this affects the working relationships. A good example of the data comprising this sub-theme is presented here: -

*'CJ: I think certain parts of the organisation are I think by way of example we've now got one DCI for East division whereas 15 years ago you could have had five DCI's doing that job it's now one person that's been trimmed too far and we are now having to second-guess what our boss wants because we never see them'*

Mecronia Police Detective Inspector Connor Jenkins

In this section of text, it is possible to see that the reduction of Detective Chief Inspectors (DCI) for one policing division has gone from five to one. This represents a massive increase in workload for the remaining DCI which would tie in well with the previous sub-theme and individual feelings of overwork. The flip side of this reduction in numbers of DCIs means that for the subordinate police officers there is an equally significant reduction in the possibility of meaningful contact with their respective DCI. The participant, in agreement with data presented in other sections of the theme, also feels *'that's been trimmed too far'* suggesting that the austerity measures are cutting too deeply.

There is, as already stated, a wealth of literature intended to illuminate upon police culture and organisational behaviour. Some of this literature has been relied upon to support the analysis emerging in the data presented in this chapter. Of interest to this sub-theme are the papers of Prenzler (1997), Butterfield et al. (2004) also the book by Reiner (2010). One of the key points made in these academic sources is the importance of police sergeants to the functioning of the police. This is very plainly expressed by FitzGerald et al. (2002, pp. 141) when they state *"The critical role played by sergeants and inspectors cannot be emphasised too strongly"* The functioning of sergeants is essentially seen by these writers as being responsible for direct supervision of as Butterfield et al. (2004), put it *'street activity on a round-the-clock shift system'*. What is most important to understand is that the activity of the sergeants as described in these texts was identified in policing pre-2010, and therefore relates to the NPM and CP quadrants of the RPM. Data collected in the two case studies of Mecronia and Andrad, is supportive of the theoretical role

played by sergeants in the day to day activities of police officers during those quadrants.

For example: -

*“CA: we would if they called you up on the radio you were expected to deal with we weren't expected to sit in the station we had sort of like a 15 minute curfew as such and once briefings finished after 15 minutes they expected you out and if you got allocated a job you would have to deal with it and I would say probably the most serious or the the medium job upwards you actually often guess the sergeant sort of like literally breeze past to see how you are getting on and then sort of like the spirited away as such so they were there to make sure you were dealing with it and that you were dealing with it well obviously at that particular time if people didn't want to put pen to paper there was none of this you have to raise a crime report just for the sake of it if they declined to complain even though they'd already telephoned it was deemed that that was that and if you put pen to paper they'd be saying why have you put pen to paper they are not wanting to prosecute and there were no issues in respect of that”*

Andrad Police Constable Corey Andrews

The data here, timed early in the officers career during the NPM quadrant, is entirely supportive of the suggestion that in the past patrol sergeants would directly supervise the patrol activity of their staff in accordance with the opinions of Prenzler (1997), Butterfield et al. (2004) also the book of Reiner (2010). When considering the position in policing at the time of the interviews the data gathered strongly suggests that the loss of police staff due to austerity has had a negative impact upon the ability of sergeants to provide the correct level of direct supervision, for example: -

*‘with regards to the management of performance I think that's harder now because we haven't got the supervisory on the street when I was listening to the radio I'd quite often come up with common mistakes like wrong street IDs and things like this and I would have to speak up and say you can't do this because there was never a supervisor listening’*

Andrad Police Constable Aaron Perry

The participant is recalling his recent working experiences and very openly claims that there is a lack of direct supervisory contact by saying “*because we haven’t got the supervisory on the street*”. He continues to explain that at times he felt he needed to prevent others on his team from making mistakes, which should be the remit of the sergeant, because “*there was never a supervisor listening*”. Prior to the cuts to police budgets and the subsequent loss of staff, when considering the literature there would have been an expectation of a regular intervention of sergeants in a supervisory capacity at street level incidents. The previous section of data clearly expressed a recollection of working as a constable early in their career and remembered the regular presence of sergeants in a supervisory capacity at street level incidents. However, the most recent recollection of working as a constable describes an environment with a tangible absence of any form of regular supervisory intervention. This has caused the officer to have to step in and “*speak up*”, putting extra pressure on him, increasing his workload and stress. It also has a feeling that the officer is experiencing greater vulnerability due to the absence of direct immediate supervisory support. This then paints a picture of contemporary policing in the UK that has a definite lack of regular immediate frontline supervision. This absence is felt by the officers and in real terms most probably adds to the feelings of threat and fear identified in earlier parts of the chapter. If the opinions of the likes (Prenzler, 1997; FitzGerald et al., 2002; Butterfield et al., 2004; Reiner, 2010) are accurate on the importance of sergeants to the efficient functioning of the police then the apparent loss of direct frontline supervision presents a real danger to the wellbeing of police organisations. The data of the staff contributing to this theme indicates a need to fill the gaps left by the absence of direct supervision and a feeling of increased workload, greater vulnerability and being generally overworked. This therefore contributes support to proposition 4.

Moving to another sub-theme, the focus is still linked to the effects of austerity and is a view shared by 5 (27.77%) of the informants, but this time considers the effect on the organisation. The following text was taken from the interview of a Mecronia based sergeant and the two lines of text when viewed holistically carry the meaning that the officer is frustrated by what he perceives to be the destruction of the police service: -

*“AM: I found myself short of a couple of constables for a constant supervision so I got permission from the duty inspector who got it cleared through the district commander that we could get duties to find some people and bring them in on overtime to cover the constant rather than us having to do it erm duties phoned and phoned and phoned and I drew up a list of people I thought were quite likely to possibly help out and chip in and after I’d made 37 phone calls and the only answer I got was sorry skip I’m drunk or I’m sorry I can’t hear you (imitates dead phone line) or no answer after 37 phone calls I just gave up and stopped phoning and just sent two of my staff to cover it and fuck it live with the consequences of being short what can you do*

*CG: so, thinking about*

*AM: I’m not bitter Chris I still love my job I’m not bitter I still love my job, but I am massively frustrated by the destruction of the service”*

#### Mecronia Police Traffic Sergeant Amir Moran

For the purposes of this sub-theme the key part of the text is the final sentence, the feeling coming through in these descriptions carry the frustration and sense of overwork and helplessness. The final sentence delivers the weight of feeling about the current state of policing. At an idiographic level, the text *“I still love my job”* speaks volumes about the individual’s value driven love of policing and is an indicator of the presence of PSM, (Perry and Wise, 1990), in this officer. The choice of the words *“I’m not bitter”* suggest that the officer loves his work despite the context and pressures of his current daily working environment. The depth and strength of the officer’s feelings of love for his work, and consequently the presence of PSM, are emphasised by his repetition of the phrase *“I’m not bitter I still love my job”*. The cause for the officer to maintain his love despite something becomes apparent when he explains that he is massively frustrated *“by the destruction of the service”*. The deep frustration felt by the officer is very easy to see in this text and the message carried is powerful. The feelings of the officer are not isolated, other participants have expressed similar feelings for example: -

*“SM: no I’m under no illusion of the threat that policing is under and I do think that it is a sad indictment of the current political masters er and the importance*

*they place on policing and I think if you spoke to general members of the public they would still see policing of their communities as a vital importance it's quite clear government doesn't see it that way I understand that they have their own agenda I understand that we have financial constraints now and it's important that we play our part in you know saving money and rightly so Police has done a fantastic job I think of making the cuts in line with government requests and I think we managed to do far better than many other forces a look at the Met I was speaking to a colleague in the Met the other day they've not been touched your they've got a lot of hurt to come"*

Mecronia Police Inspector Stephen McDonald

Whilst this officer does not say he fears the destruction of the police service he chooses to express that same feeling in the words *"I'm under no illusion of the threat that policing is under"* and as with the previous data makes a direct connection to the austerity measures. This text clearly places the blame for the threat to policing at the feet of the government. This blaming of the government is easy to determine from the phrase *"I do think that it is a sad indictment of the current political masters er and the importance they place on policing"*. The fears of the officers in the case studies have also been mirrored and voiced by HMIC and the Metropolitan Police Commissioner according to BT News (2015) who claim:

*"Fresh spending cuts threaten to undermine the financial sustainability and operational viability of some police forces; the official policing watchdog has warned."*

(BT News, 2015 pp. 1)

This message of threat to police forces, from HMIC (*the official policing watchdog*), was made in 2015, but was repeated in far stronger terms in the 2016 annual report on policing by the chief inspector of HMICFRS (Winsor, 2016).

Therefore, from the data collected into the sub-themes presented here, the reactions of police officers to the effects of HM Government austerity cuts give the

impression of severely overworked individuals who are under immediate risk of meltdown. These feelings have been echoed by the media, police federation and other academic sources. Morale appears to be at an all-time low and the officers hold a genuine belief that there is a risk to the safety of the public and feel that if things continue in the same manner then there is a genuine risk to the future of public policing which continues into the following themes.

The next theme, 'Personal reaction to the loss of staff', is collected into three sub-themes and holds data collected from 17 (94.44%) of the participants. These are data linked to public safety, data linked to roads policing and data linked to the quality of service. For the first sub-theme the participants have expressed feelings of concern over the risks to public safety caused by the reduction in numbers of police which was shown earlier in this chapter to have been 12% between 2010 – 2015. The feelings of the officers collected here could have been included in the initial examination of data linked to austerity and is a feeling shared by 5 (27.77%) of the informants. However, the central argument emerging in the previous theme was linked to the feelings of stress and overwork. In the current theme the feelings are focussed on the impact for the public. The data relied upon to emphasise the nature of responses collected into this sub-theme appears in the interview of an Andrad officer and comes at the end of a long uninterrupted description of different units and teams in his force that have suffered recent significant losses of staff: -

*“AP: no I mean it’s become apparent I mean I deal in my daily role now with public safety and it’s become apparent as time has gone on the other two forces are more risk-based when it comes to public safety than we may be are so as a result we are may be forced to find somewhere on the middle ground and of course we now also come under joint protective services or we will shortly when we collaborate my unit is not at the moment collaborated but it will be from 1 April some of the other units obviously you spoke to some of the other guys in OpSu and traffic dogs all the rest they are all collaborated already which has seen significant changes for them in the respect that they have cut back on their operating areas are cut back on their officers so straight away there is a public safety issue there because there are less officers around from my point of view*

*in my office the collaboration will see the loss of a dedicated we had a dedicated boss my line manager who was dedicated for XXXXXXXX for Andrad and there was one for Slester when they talked about collaboration awhile back the Salhull and Slester one was competing for the post they were talking about collaborating to one post he then had to leave they don't know why but it was a bit suspicious our boss took over the running of the two units even though the two units were not joined"*

Andrad Police Constable Aaron Perry

The claim that the reduction in officer numbers will have a negative impact on public safety is plainly made by Aaron Perry in this text. He expresses the idea in the body of the text where he says, "*so straight away there is a public safety issue there because there are less officers around*". At the idiographic level, the use of language is plain with no hidden meanings or messages and no change to meaning coming from the context of the sentence. This may be just the feelings of the officer, but the participant is in fact an expert when it comes to public safety matters. This is apparent from Aaron's current role as a Public Safety Constable and is also expressed where he says "*AP: no, I mean it's become apparent I mean I deal in my daily role now with public safety*". The importance and significance of these feelings may have been lessened had this opinion been isolated however it is shared by a quarter of the participants. The same sentiment and concern for public safety because of austerity measures has also been raised by academic writers presented earlier (Elliott-Davies et al., 2016; Boulton et al., 2017; Mendel et al., 2017) in media articles Grierson (2017) and even by the Police Federation of England and Wales in the chairman's speech White (2015). The danger to the public arising from the very extreme nature of UK Governments austerity measures is a topic of major concern for many serving officers, academics and the media as seen above. The fears and concerns for the welfare of the public are not isolated to the police but also affect other partner agencies in the public sector which is easily evidenced by viewing pages on the UK Fire Brigades Union website. A good example from the website carries the heading 'Public Not Safe under further austerity cuts, say firefighters' union' (Fire Brigades Union, 2017). This parallels the fears and sentiments of serving police officers voiced here. It appears from the widespread concerns voiced in this data and in the other

sources shown that there may be a real risk to public safety arising as a direct result of the loss of serving police officers. At the time of writing this chapter the UK has recently suffered from terror attacks in Manchester on 22-05-2017 (BBC News, 2017) two attacks in London on 22-03-2017 (Allen and Henderson, 2017) and 03-06-2017 (Guardian Staff, 2017) and a fire tragedy at Grenfell Tower in London on 14-06-2017 (Weaver et al., 2017). In the aftermath of these events the topic of the risk to UK public safety caused by austerity measures affecting not only the emergency services but also local authorities have become a significant issue in UK media sources. The connection between any of these events and the feelings of concern for public safety raised by the participants, or indeed any of the other sources mentioned above can only be anecdotal but it is entirely possible that the fears voiced by the participants in 2015 have indeed begun to come to be realised. What is of importance to the thesis is the presence of PSM and feelings of duty and service to the public. It is apparent from the data that the participants have a genuine desire to uphold the key purpose of policing, the protection of the public. Therefore, where the officers perceive an increasing risk to the safety of the public it adds to their overall feelings of frustration and stress arising from austerity, adding support to proposition 4.

The previous sub-theme was concerned with feelings of concern for the safety of the public in quite general non-specific terms. However, 5 (27.77%) of the participants contained within the sample representing both police forces, had a history in roads traffic policing. These officers, unsurprisingly, express their concerns for the safety of the public in relation to their forces road traffic policing policies. The overall feeling of the data collected into this sub-theme is that due to staff cuts traffic units are significantly under resourced. Again, this is understandable as cuts to the numbers of police officers must ultimately affect the whole organisation, however the sense obtained from the data is that other areas of the business are being staffed in preference to roads traffic policing. This view is seen here: -

*“CG: okay so what’s the hold-up*

*AM: roads policing is not regarded as being a priority it’s not regarded as being a priority posting the local district policing team staffing is far more important than roads policing I don’t know how many vehicle movements there xxx*



xxxxxxx it's in the millions I don't know how many vehicle movements there are  
xxx xx xxxxxxxx that's probably in the high hundreds of thousands we have  
continual problems with vehicles simply parking up on the hard shoulder for  
vehicles as soon as the very limited number of parking areas are full they just  
park on the hard shoulder that's an offence I'm supposed to deal with it erm our  
SLA service level agreement has been reduced and reduced and reduced and  
I'm a Sgt you know what my role is my role is to provide supervision and then  
to attend incidents and to supervise at those incidents erm I'm now regarded as  
being part of a double crew erm we've been reduced and reduced and reduced  
to the extent now that our service level agreement is one Sgt and five constables  
to cover the entire county"

Mecronia Police Sergeant Amir Moran

The data gives a real sense of feelings of frustration and isolation it gives the  
sense that the officer feels almost abandoned as "*the local district policing team staffing  
is far more important than roads policing*".

Another aspect, emerging from the data collected into this theme, is a belief held  
by the officers that properly staffed traffic departments contribute greatly to preventing  
the loss of life in serious road traffic collisions. Conversely, there is a belief that, the  
reduction to the numbers of officers engaged in roads traffic policing, is responsible for  
increasing the number of people killed or seriously injured (KSI) on our roads. This link  
between reduced numbers of traffic officers and increasing numbers of KSI is openly  
voiced by Mecronia Traffic Sergeant Amir Moran here: -

*"AM: from my perspective it would be the number of persons killed and  
seriously injured*

*CG: that wouldn't have changed much I wouldn't have thought*

*AM: it's actually going up*

*CG: no, the demand for those figures not the figures themselves*

*AM: no, I don't believe that the demand has altered at all we provide those figures via the central process unit and that goes off and is provided to KCC (some unintelligible words)*

*CG: so, do you think it's going up*

*AM: KSIs is going up because we ain't out there doing our job*

*CG: that's because roads policing isn't a priority?*

*AM: there are so few of us now yeah, we are not regarded as being a high priority for staffing*

*CG: so, as the person that is responsible for providing the figures you can see a rise in KSI*

*AM: yes, there is a rise in K S I*

*CG: and you believe as an individual that that is due to the low priority placed on roads policing*

*AM: yes, I thoroughly and wholeheartedly believe that"*

Mecronia Traffic Sergeant Amir Moran

The feelings of the traffic officers, about the degree of reduction in roads traffic policing, are very well expressed by the participants. The most vocal and vociferous of the participants contributing data here as shown in the preceding text is Amir Moran. However, the other officers share his feelings as this data illustrates: -

*"PC: traffic is definitely being limited I've not as I say I've not been on since June 2013 but I I come home on the train so I regularly see the guys that stayed on traffic from what they are telling me you know they are looking at the numbers for reduction they are looking at*

*CG: okay so from just from my perspective not as a university researcher but as a concerned member of the public in terms of road traffic policing do you think that the number the reduction in numbers of specialist traffic officers carries any risk to the safety of the public?*

*PC: absolutely yes”*

Andrad Police Constable Patrick Cole

The views and fears of these officers are clear, and it can be seen from the News report (Kent and Sussex Courier, 2015) that there may be some substance to their fears and these are replicated in other police areas. This article claims that the numbers of KSI incidents reported as occurring on Kent and Medway roads rose by 11% in 2014 when compared to 2013, the actual figures being 658 and 594 respectively, or a flat numerical rise of 64 people. As a final consideration, the deaths of multiple persons in a tragedy such as Grenfell Tower caused massive public anger and outrage aimed at the authorities and austerity but the death of an additional 64 people in road traffic incidents passes almost without note. Again, as with the feelings linked to the general risk to public safety in the first sub-theme, concerns for the safety of road users adds to the overall stresses and pressure generated under austerity measures.

The final sub-theme resulting from the loss of staff is linked to the quality of service, the data collected into this sub-theme re-enters the discussions on the presence of PSM predicted by Perry and Wise (1990), Houston (2000) and Vandenabeele et al. (2000) and shown to be consistent with the data gathered from the current sample. As already seen in the data, at least some of the participants in the two case studies not only possess PSM but this manifest itself as a desire to give the best possible service to the public. The current theme is well populated with data, collected from 7 (38.88%) of the informants, even though it is formed by a single sub-theme it shows the reactions of some of the officers, to reduced officer numbers (Blanchard, 2014; Shaw, 2014, 2015; May, 2015; Mendel et al., 2017), arising from austerity. These reactions include feelings of an inability to provide the public with the service the officer believes the public deserve. This feeling can be interpreted from the following excerpt: -

*“CG: I know so I’m going to come up to the present now the present is divided again into three sections so the first question thinking about the community that you serve in the current political climate within the country how do you think that these influences affect your ability to act as a police officer?”*

*CJ: I think regardless of whether you agree with the cuts or not the cuts have had a significant impact on our ability to deliver the service that I think the public deserve equally before the cuts I think there was money sloshing around in the police service that could have been better spent so I would balance the two”*

Connor Jenkins Police Inspector Mecronia

Although the text does not directly state that there is an inability to deliver a quality of service when looked at on a holistic level the inability to provide service to the public is easy to see. At the idiographic level, the key words used to carry that meaning are “*a significant impact*” which could mean a positive impact however when viewed in context a negative impact is far more likely to be what was intended. Another section of data collected into this sub-theme makes the same point but in doing so leaves no doubt as to the negative intention of the words used: -

*“CG: okay a reminder sort of stuff we’ve been talking about is anything that came to mind fleetingly that you wanted to say but then didn’t have the opportunity or is there anything that you think might be relevant that you want to add?”*

*FH: I just think that at the moment within the police and public services at the moment in general with the reduction in all our budgets and everything else I and many of my colleagues feel that we are probably not giving the public the service that they actually deserve at the moment because we are because we haven’t got probably the time to investigate and delve into matters as thoroughly as we should”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Finlay Hudson

This text not only makes the claim for the participant but also claims the feeling is shared by many of his peers which would suggest that providing a quality of service to the public is a priority for those officers. This would mean the officers to whom he refers possessed personal values and feelings of service that mirror closely to PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990; Houston, 2000; Vandenabeele et al., 2000). Thus, in the data gathered

into this sub-theme, there is further confirmation of the strength and depth of PSM found in the data sample, suggesting the police officers have a genuine desire to provide a high quality of service to the public. If the genuine personal desire to serve the public and provide a quality of service is being constrained by cuts arising from austerity it must also generate feelings of helplessness and frustration. This then is the effect suggested by the overall theme in which this sub-theme resides, and it appears that the data collected here is supportive of that claim. The data presented in this theme has considered the impact of austerity measures resulting in the loss of police officer numbers. The data was presented in three sub-themes; risks to public safety, road traffic policing and the quality of service. When considering these sub-themes, the effects of losses of staff under austerity are cumulative. Each of the three sub-themes adds to the feelings of frustration and must be considered together with the feelings of overwork arising from the increasing demands discussed in previous themes. This theme therefore adds support to proposition 4. The following section will examine the impact of austerity on other public sector organisations.

The next theme examining reactions to austerity is labelled “Impact of austerity measures in other public sector organisations”. It holds data that highlights feelings in the participants linked to the impact of austerity on other public sector organisations and the effect of those impacts on their own organisation. The data in this theme, contributed to by 16 (88.88%) of the participants, is collected into two sub-themes, the first is linked to the effects on the NHS and the second sub-theme consider the wider public sector. The first sub-theme of this group is another highly populated sub-theme and is connected to issues around mental health requiring police action following significant reductions in NHS mental health provision. The current sub-theme is significant to almost two thirds of the informants and holds data collected from 10 (55.55%) of the 18 participants. In an annual report delivered in April 2016 HM Chief Inspector of constabulary, Sir Tom Winsor claimed that the police can no longer be expected to pick up the slack from other public services and highlighted the shortfall in mental health provision as being especially problematic (Travis, 2017). In a report for the British Medical Journal (BMJ), the official journal of the British Medical Association (BMA) Gareth Iacobucci takes up the claim that the police are increasingly becoming the first resort for mental health patients when

they ought to be the last resort (Iacobucci, 2017). The data collected into this sub-theme was collected in 2015, some 2 years before the claims made by Travis (2017) and Iacobucci (2017) but shows that even then police officers felt under great pressure from mental health incidents. For example:

*“CG: So, since joining the police when you intended to do good for the public have your views of the function of the police changed and if so why and do you feel that you have been able to achieve what you wanted to?”*

*S1: um yeah I think I have achieved what I wanted to, I think a lot of people that that still serve are feeling that it is a very different org it's very different from what I thought even from what it was when I joined 25 years ago, we are much more of a social service now um whereas before you know we would spend a lot more time being proactive dealing with crime at least half to a third of our time is spent dealing with mental health issues, something that er you know another organisation has a statutory responsibility for but because they are failing and cannot cope it falls upon us to pick up the slack for them um the ambulance service if they can't meet their target time they will call up has a can a patrol go to this um not so much the fire service but the NHS um it always amazes me where they have concerns for somebody their mental health they have them in a place of safety on an AandE ward um quite often let them go and have a cigarette and then 20 minutes later, oh this person has wandered off with a cannula in they are suicidal um and that falls then upon us to resolve”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Daniel Burns

When considering the meanings for this data the events are happening now which is made clear by the words “*at least half to a third of our time **is spent** dealing with mental health*”, the key to timing coming from ‘*is spent*’. Referring to the fieldwork timetable Daniel was interviewed in February 2015 placing his comments and concerns ahead of the identification of the issues by Travis (2017) and Iacobucci (2017). The highlighted sentence also claims between one third and half of the patrol time is spent dealing with mental health issues. When considered in the context of their daily policing activities appears to be a massive abstraction from other policing priorities. The participant also

identifies the fact that mental health is the responsibility of another public-sector organisation. When looked at holistically the whole section of text gives the impression that the officer feels frustrated by the constant demand placed upon him by the need “*to pick up the slack for them*”. This phrase used by the participant in 2015, pick up the slack, is the same phrase used by Sir Tom Winsor in 2017, according to Travis (2017). The meaning intended by these words is easy to determine when the context of the whole text is considered, the officer believes that other agencies are failing in their responsibility and it therefore falls to the police to step in and to protect the public. The feeling of the police needing to step in and take up the slack from public sector failings continues into the following sub-theme.

The second sub-theme, holding data taken from 6 (33.33%) of the informants, continues the examination of the effect of austerity but moves away from mental health to consider the wider UK public sector. There appear to be limited opportunities to obtain academic material that is relevant here, however contemporary news reports, the police federation of England and Wales and HM Chief Inspector of Constabulary all make claims with regard to the additional burdens in UK policing. Also, the earlier discussion in this chapter on the topic of participant’s feelings of overwork and helplessness was linked to a number of authors that had identified that the UK police were becoming increasingly overburdened (Barrett, 2014; Blanchard, 2014; Shaw, 2014, 2015; May, 2015; Elliott-Davies et al., 2016; Mendel et al., 2017). The current sub-theme has as its focus the impact of austerity on the wider public sector and is easy to see reflected in this section of text: -

*“FH: Patrolling the streets the public want to see maybe make them feel a lot safer I don’t think that’s happening in the police these days I think people of my length of service so of getting out walking round the streets sort of being a bit proactive I can’t see that happening with the cuts that we are going through at the moment and that’s the same for all emergency services because were all well the police in particular we seem to to be the main emergency service provider people call an ambulance and then the police will end up turning up to deal with it or somebody will be dealing with a mental health incident but it’s the police that end up dealing with it and we are the first people someone will*

*call when there's cars on fire it's the police you know rather than the Fire Brigade so we seem to be dealing with all these different issues you know teaching there's an incident in a school the police get called rather than teachers dealing with so we seem to deal with absolutely everything and although there's reductions in all these services we seem to be taking on more of the burden from all the other services"*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Finlay Hudson

There is no hidden meaning in this text the officer is clearly frustrated and feels put upon, which is evident in the final expression "*we seem to deal with absolutely everything*". What can also be found in the text is a complete agreement with the analysis of Elliott-Davies et al. (2016) and Boulton, et al. (2017) when the officer says, "*we seem to be taking on more of the burden from all the other services*". The data collected into this sub-theme therefore shows the participants to have feelings of being overburdened and frustrated by the additional expectations placed on policing arising from the current reduction in provision of services by the wider public sector.

In both sub-themes, the data makes the claim that the additional burden is due to other organisations failings. What is not said but is clear from the timing and context of the claims, is that the failings in other public services are the result of continued austerity measures. So, for the police the impact of austerity is twofold, they must cope with their own losses and budgetary dilemmas but added to this are the response of partner agencies to their own financial crises. The data collected into this theme therefore supports the claim that austerity measures have created an imbalance of work with the police dealing with their own staff losses but also needing to deal with increasing demands as a result of a reduction in services by other public sector organisations. This is therefore very supportive of the claim of overwork and proposition 4.

This completes the analysis linked to proposition 4 and as with the analysis linked to proposition 3, four officers were re-interviewed to determine their reaction to the claims made in this analysis. Agreement from the officers, as to the interpretation of their words, adds weight to the analysis. As can be seen in the following, very short sections of data, all four were in full agreement of the analysis linked to proposition 4: -



Statements made by the officers in response to the effects of the widening gap between resources and demand (proposition 4): -

*“You ring up now and are told we will get back to you in ten days .....  
I remember thinking Mecronia will never be like that.”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Daniel Burns

*“I can’t remember a shift when we have come on and haven’t had to take over a constant supervision of someone either at the hospital or at a mental health unit or in custody because of the lack of their numbers”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Finlay Hudson

*“What are we supposed to do? The national health hasn’t got anything, you’ve closed all your wards and stuff like that, you’ve taken away the support systems for these people.”*

Andrad Police Sergeant Tyler Gardner

*“Yes, and I would agree I don’t think this will change, if anything it’s getting worse.”*

Andrad Police Constable Aaron Perry

Therefore, the data collected from these four subjects provides justification for the chosen research methods. It adds weight to the meanings attached by the researcher to their original data and to the trustworthiness and accuracy of the analysis presented in this section. The meaning coming through from significant data themes and sub-themes is very clear and therefore provides clear support for proposition 4: -

***Proposition 4: - Police structures and culture since 2010 are greatly affected by the UK government’s austerity measures which have left many police officers feeling stressed and overworked.***

The data presented to this point in the chapter has been presented as data supporting proposition 3 and data supporting proposition 4. As a reminder to the reader

and for ease of understanding the key contributions of the themes and sub-themes have been collated into a table, presented here. In completing the table, the description of the contribution to the proposition is a brief summary of the arguments linked to the data and theories discussed in the relevant section of the chapter. (For a full explanation consult the relevant sections): -

Table 9: Summary of contribution of data to propositions 3 and 4

Proposition	Theme	Sub-Theme	Contribution to Proposition
Proposition 3			
	Reactions to numerical targets during the NPM and CP quadrants. (17 of 18 participants 94.44%)		
		Doing the wrong thing (6 of 18 participants 33.33%)	The mismatch arising between the demands of high-performance systems and the value driven PSM in the participants resulted in feelings of doing the wrong thing. This highlights the lack of reciprocity and non-human nature of the management systems.
		Feelings of discomfort (6 of 18 participants 33.33%)	Linked to doing the wrong thing and results in feelings of discomfort and unease. Reinforcing the de-humanising nature of high-performance systems in line with the view of Donati (2007)
		Un-wanted side effects (5 of 18 participants 27.77%)	The theoretical contributions of Donati (2007) predict the growth of social pathogens. Deal and Kennedy (1988) predict un-wanted side effects in organisations that operate high-performance management systems. The growth of un-wanted side effects support Donati and the growth of social pathogens and is an indication of the de-humanising of the organisation.
		Frequent management interventions (5 of 18 participants 27.77%)	Used to highlight the reactions of management during the NPM and CP quadrants to minor fluctuations in performance data. The reactions of the managers are in response to the numerical demands of high-performance systems and have no reciprocity. This supports the claim that systems during the NPM and CP quadrants led to a de-humanisation of police organisations.
		Numerical targets negative (3 of 18 participants 16.66%)	Negative feelings of the officers linked to numerical targets and goals present in NPM and CP quadrants. The data relies upon the mismatch between value driven PSM and feelings of duty and the requirements of working in a non-human (Donati, 2007) manner.
	Personal reputation: -a driver for police		

	officer actions (9 of 18 participants 50%)		
		Siege mentality (7 of 18 participants 38.88%)	Relies upon the siege mentality described by Prenzler (1997) and arising from feelings of stress and personal threat. The presence of a siege culture in the participants is used to reinforce the claim that high-performance systems increased the feelings of threat and stress resulting in increase in siege mentality. This adds to the claims linked to PSM, doing the wrong thing and feelings of discomfort listed above. Taken into consideration with the other sub-themes it adds support to proposition 3.
		Too frightened to talk openly (4 of 18 participants 22.22%)	Similar to siege mentality. The sub-theme identifies a fear culture linked to the personal reputation of the officer. This arises from the increased pressures and de-humanising effects of high-performance systems.
	Recent removal of policing targets (9 of 18 participants 50%)		
		Trivialisation of high-performance systems (3 of 18 participants 16.66%)	Indirect support offered for proposition 3. This sub-theme describes the removal of targets and goals in the NTP quadrant and uses the participants trivialisation of the previous high-performance systems to reinforce the weight of the previous themes.
		Positive feelings of now doing the right thing (6 of 18 participants 33.33%)	This is similar to the previous sub-theme. There is no direct support for proposition 3. The sub-theme highlights the positive feelings of the participants to the removal of numerical targets and goals and therefore reinforces the weight of the previous themes.
Proposition 4			
	Personal reactions to public sector austerity (17 of 18 participants 94.44%)		
		Lack of staff leads to feelings of helplessness and overwork (12 of 18 participants 66.66%)	This sub-theme holds data that exactly mirrors proposition 4. It is contributed to by 66.66% of the participants and as such provides the strongest possible support for proposition 4.
		Lack of supervisors (8 of	This sub-theme focusses upon reduced interactions between staff and line managers due to the reduced numbers of supervisors. The

		18 participants 44.44%)	sub-theme highlights increased workloads and pressure on frontline staff and a real lack of immediate frontline support from line managers. This adds to feelings of stress and overwork arising from austerity and supports proposition 4.
		Destruction of the service (5 of 18 participants 27.77%)	This sub-theme identifies the feeling that severe financial constraints due to austerity are in effect destroying the police service. Where these feelings occur, they are accompanied by PSM and a genuine drive to serve the public. The destruction of the service therefore generates extreme feelings of frustration and stress which when considered in light of the other two sub-themes adds further support for proposition 4.
	Personal reactions to the loss of staff (17 of 18 participants 94.44%)		This theme is not used to consider the effects of loss of staff in terms of workloads as this is covered in the first theme. Instead the three sub-themes collected here all consider the loss of staff due to austerity but consider three other aspects.
		Public safety (5 of 18 participants 27.77%)	Used to highlight the fears of participants that lack of police officer numbers is reducing public safety. This fear impacts upon the officers PSM and feelings of duty linked to the protection of the public. An inability to protect therefore adds to feelings of stress, helplessness and overwork providing support for proposition 4.
		Roads policing (5 of 18 participants 27.77%)	Linked to the increasing risk of harm to the public on the national road network.
		Quality of service (7 of 18 participants 38.88%)	Where the two previous sub-themes were focussed on public safety issues this sub-theme is concerned with the ability to provide a quality service to the public. Again, it is strongly linked to PSM and where the participant feels unable to deliver the level of service they believe is deserved it results in feelings of discomfort and unease. This adds to the overriding feelings of stress and overwork as a direct result of austerity and therefore supports proposition 4.
	Impact of austerity on other public sector organisations (16 of 18 participants 88.88%)		
		NHS and mental health (10 of 18 participants 55.55%)	Very clearly describes the amount of time and police resources being drawn into managing mental health issues. The feelings of the participants are overwhelmingly that the demands outweigh their ability to provide. This is a source of frustration and stress even to the point of bitterness. Provides good support for proposition 4.
		Wider public sector (6 of 18)	A similar response and set of data to the previous sub-theme. This considers the impact of austerity on the wider public sector. It

		participants 33.33%)	highlights the massive increase in demand for police services arising from a withdrawal of services from other public sector agencies. This is despite the reduction in police staff numbers and adds to the burden and sense of overwork. Providing good support for proposition 4.
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The final section of the analysis for the chapter is a consideration of the impact or importance of 4 themes that were of significance to the participants but did not fit comfortably into either of the key areas linked to proposition 3 or 4. It could be argued that these themes need not be presented as they offer nothing to the propositions. However, the strength of interpretive qualitative data lies in the richness of the contributions of the participants. The three themes all hold rich data that would be of a disservice to the participants to exclude. Therefore, these independent themes are presented in the following section.

The first independent theme, ‘Force reputation as a priority’, holds data collected from 7 (38.88%) of the informants and highlights a second aspect of the culture of fear, in this case a fear for the reputation of the force. The current literature in the theatre of policing makes a great deal about the existence of police cultures which has been widely covered by many authors. For instance, the ground breaking work of Reuss–Ianni and Ianni (2005) and their identification of ‘street cop’ and ‘management cop’ as distinct cultural identities or there is the work of Butterfield et al. (2004) who make a very close examination of the role played by Sergeants in the propagation and sustenance of a ‘canteen culture’ and Prenzler (1997) who looked very closely at key characteristics of behaviours fitting into the ‘canteen culture’. What comes out of this literature is what Prenzler (1997) described as a ‘siege mentality’ where the officers feel under permanent threat or a very clear feeling of ‘us and them’ as described by Butterfield et al. (2004) which leads to insular cynical behaviours. What is, for the greater part, absent from the current existing literature on police cultures is an identification of the existence of a culture of fear of damaging the reputation of the force laying behind everything that the police organisations do. This is fear a of taking actions that may cause embarrassment to the force and has come to the fore in UK policing in several prominent cases in recent years. Examples of this fear filled behaviour were evident in the actions of senior police officers in attempting to hide police failings in the Hillsborough disaster or the lack of

investigation into many child sex abuse cases occurring in the Asian community in Rotherham South Yorkshire. These cases have been widely reported in the media and are claimed to have been as a direct result of attempts to protect the reputation of the force. The data collected in the case studies of officers from Mecronia and Andrad, exhibit the existence of a similar fear of damaging the reputation of the force as also being present in those police forces. For example, one officer from Mecronia talks about assessing the suitability of probationary officers to complete their probation and become fully qualified police officers: -

*“AR: oh God yeah it’s always about the reputation the damage to our reputation is not about for instance when a probationary officer is put through probation it’s not a question of whether they can do the job it’s a question of whether they would cause the job embarrassment by what they do”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Archie Rees

The meaning of this text that emerges very strongly out of the data is that the officer feels he is expected to assess how likely the new officer is to cause embarrassment to the force rather than their overall ability to function well as a police officer. The strength of the fear of harm to the force is very apparent in the opening *“oh God yeah it’s always about the reputation the damage to our reputation”* which clearly states it’s always about the reputation and the strength of the feeling is emphasised by commencing with *“oh god yeah”*. What emerges from the data is that the feelings of a fear of causing harm to the force when described appear to be very strong which is conveyed in the choice of words and expressions used by the participant. This is evident in the way this officer talks about assessing his staff and the strength of the feelings of fear is also apparent in the data collected from other participants. The strength of the feelings of fear are consistent throughout this and all sub-themes collected together to represent this overall theme. The following data expresses how the officers feel the fear of harm to the reputation affects the behaviour of the organisation and the strength of the fear is again very evident: -

*“they are pathologically afraid of something going wrong, so they won’t be adopting Mecronia the absconder status rather than missing for certain*

*categories because he's too worried that if one of them did wind up dead our reputation would be hurt"*

Mecronia Police Inspector Dexter Atkinson

The data above, taken from a Mecronia officer, describes senior management responses to a report of a vulnerable missing person. In this example, it is important to understand that changing the report status from 'missing' to 'absconder' changes the responsibility and required responses of the police to the incident. When taking a holistic view of the section of text the overall meaning claims Mecronia are reluctant to change the status to absconder because of the potential harm to the reputation if the person is found dead. This overall general meaning supports the theme that this sub-theme contributes to and the existence of a culture of fear of harming the force reputation. It goes a little further because it also highlights how the actual actions of individuals and overall force behaviour is adjusted and affected by that fear. When considering the data at a more idiographic level the strength of the fear becomes clear right from the opening few words used in the text. Here the participant chooses to begin with "they" which in the current context has been used to mean both the senior managers and the organisation itself. The section goes on to state "*are pathologically afraid of something going wrong*" and the choice of words here a particularly powerful in conveying the strength and depth of the perceived feelings of fear. Going back to the data from a more holistic view point the final feeling is that the officer is frustrated that the organisation seems more concerned about the reputation of the force than they are about the actual welfare of the individual concerned. From a theoretical perspective, the data collected into the current sub-theme is impacted by the work on police cultures in the same way as the previous sub-theme. Therefore, the ideas of Prenzler (1997), Butterfield et al. (2004) and Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2005) are all relevant. However, whilst there is a lack of literature specifically concerned with fear culture in policing the same cannot be said for a societal wide fear culture. The book by Furedi (2002) concentrates on the emergence in contemporary Western society of a risk averse culture which he states gives an inflated sense of potential dangers and a heightened sensitivity to possible risk. For him the overall effect is to: -

*"elevate safety into a cardinal virtue of contemporary society"*

The viewpoint of Furedi (2002) is further supported by the work of Boutellier, (2008) and Waiton (2008) who both describe a growing culture of risk aversity in Western contemporary society. Thus, it appears that a fear of risk taking has become an integral part of contemporary Western society and if this is the case it can be no real shock to find that the police, who are in effect a reflection of society, have an embedded risk averse culture of their own which affects their responses to everyday policing matters. The data gathered into this sub-theme is therefore supportive of the work of Furedi (2002) in respect of the wider societal issues but presents as a contribution to knowledge in the field of policing. The final section of data in this theme examines the way in which the existence of a fear culture affects the actions of individuals at an organisational level. The previous data was concerned with the actions of the organisation through systems and procedures designed to protect the reputation of the force. The current data pays more attention to the actions of individuals within the organisation whose actions carry the same emphasis on protecting the reputation of the force where complaints have been or are likely to be made: -

*“however, if the public wrote a letter into the chief constable or into the local area management team or the complaints team the IP CC whoever and said we are sick of this we don't think the police are doing a very good job they are letting us down that would then release staff from the SMT that was released staff from the local area to be outside that place and give tickets out or nick people”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Archie Rees

The meaning attached to this section of data describes the officer's belief that a letter of complaint from a member of the public would ensure that the senior management team (SMT) would make extra resources available to tackle whatever issue was being reported. This does not describe systems or procedures designed to handle complaints, rather it looks at the responses of individual members of the SMT and their fear of the reputation of the police being tarnished through a lack of action. The actions described appear to arise from the same organisational fear of causing damage to the reputation of



the force but have a different affect. One consideration of the impact of a culture of fear at the micro, personal, level comes from Graef (1989) where he considers the perpetual environment of danger as being a causal effect of professional stress. Thus, living with a culture of fear increases the feelings of threat which in turn adds stress which has negative health implications for the officers. This therefore feeds back into the consideration of concerns for the mental health and wellbeing of police officers as highlighted in previous studies (Hesketh, 2015; Hesketh et al., 2015; Padhy et al., 2015; Hesketh et al., 2016; Elgmark Andersson et al., 2017; Maran et al., 2018). In the previous section, there was an absence of action where the fear culture constrained the organisations ability to act. In this section, the fear culture is causing actions to be taken that would otherwise possibly not have been taken. Given the very real limit upon police resources, diverting responses in this way may result in more important issues being left undone, which may have a negative impact on the ability to deliver the service the public deserve. Possible harm to the overall quality of service delivery is also relevant when considered as a reaction to austerity and is discussed later in this chapter. One final consideration impacting upon the presence of a fear culture among individuals working in police organisations is our inability to totally separate our organisational influences from our wider societal influences. Therefore, the work of Furedi (2002), Boutellier (2008) and Waiton (2008) in their respective examinations of risk aversity in Western contemporary society is relevant to a culture of fear in police officers. Any consideration of a contemporary risk averse culture in society and its impact upon the behaviour of police organisations is equally relevant to the behaviour of individual police officers. Therefore, it appears that for contemporary Western police officers, the world at large as well as within their professional organisational settings, are places where fear is a daily factor adding complexity to their everyday dealings with colleagues and public alike.

The next of the independent themes is labelled ‘Personal reactions to UK Government and the popular press’. In contemporary society, the media has a vital role in the construction of public attitudes toward the police and criminal justice organisations. The majority of public knowledge about crime and the police is derived from their consumption of popular media (Graber, 1980; Ericson et al., 1987; Roberts and Doob, 1990). As such, the perception of victims, criminals, and law enforcement officials is

largely determined by their portrayal within the media. The data collected into this theme is connected to the attitudes and feelings of the participants about the media portrayal of UK policing. Behind these feelings towards the media lie the officer's perceptions and beliefs about the relationship between the media and the government and the theme is populated by data collected from 12 (66.66%) of the informants. The data forming this theme has been divided into three sub-themes. There are several sections of data collected from the interviews that show the officers hold negative feelings towards the popular media coverage of policing. The meaning contained in the data claims that the constant bad press is driven and manipulated by the government, for example: -

*“it's always quite amazing on the you know when something bad is about to happen we we've got into this culture of this government of bash the police the police lazy do this the police this percentage of police are corrupt and when you look at them there isn't a story there it's nothing new it's rehashed but it it comes out and a lot of it I think is probably driven by the Conservative Government's desire to reform policing and to break and almost to break the will of er those officers that are there and brave enough to say well actually that's wrong”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Daniel Burns

This text gives the impression that the officer believes that most of the negative press is unjustified and in the main consists as he puts it *“it's nothing new it's rehashed”*. It is also clear that he believes there is a deliberate effort to *“break the will of er those officers”* to remove internal police resistance to policing reforms. The feelings of the officers contributing data into the current sub-theme are for the main part anecdotal. There is no empirical data linking the desires of government to the activity of the media in relation to policing. Whilst there is no scope in this work for a full discussion the political views of the Italian communist Gramsci and his concept of hegemony, or state control of the population through ideas perpetuated by formal institutions including the press, they do give an interesting note to the feelings of the participant expressed above. The belief of the officer emerging from this section of text is that there is a sustained attack on policing by the press that is somehow orchestrated by HM Government. The

feelings of the officers represented in the data collected into this sub-theme are very close in meaning to the data collected into the next sub-theme and therefore the discussion of the data collected will be continued in that section. As in the previous section the data relied upon to populate the sub-theme tends to be lengthy and one example is shown here:

*“AR: I think the first agenda is to get us as cheap as possible we cost too much money for pensions despite paying into it as much as we do we are seen as being too expensive we retire to early 60 years old they want to get the most out of us whether they dress it up as austerity or whatever I think we cost too much money undoubtedly I think if you look at the Olympic Games, Group 4 Security took that on made a bit of a balls up of it but what they will say is they took that as a learning experience and they will move on from it I think we will have to become a bit more specialised and what we do but ultimately it will be private security”*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Archie Rees

The meanings attached to the data here are quite clear and the officer feels that the government think the police are too expensive for the public purse and that their ultimate goal is to replace public policing functions with private security. Whilst on the surface this has the same anecdotal basis as the previous section of text both feelings may in fact have some merit. The question of politically motivated handling of the public sector is considered by Reiner (2010) who in his book devotes an entire chapter to the question of ‘politics and the public sector’. In this chapter on UK politics, Reiner discusses the philosophy of ‘Big Society’ that was included in the conservative party manifesto during their political campaign leading into the 2010 general election. The philosophy was to replace what the Conservatives called big government with ‘Big Society’ which was envisioned as a society where the people took greater responsibility for themselves and their community, where the main driver was social responsibility and not state control. Once in power the government began to implement their economic austerity measures but relied upon ‘Big Society’ as an overriding principle to support cuts in state-run services, the transfer of services from the state to other providers and the transfer of power from local authorities to the communities they cover Reiner (2010). It therefore appears that, whilst the data collected into these two sub-themes has a distinct

‘conspiracy theory’ feel there may in fact be some basis to those fears. The Coalition Government formed after the 2010 general election held ‘Big Society’ as the ethos behind all of their policy decisions or in the words of their own manifesto: -

*“The Big Society runs consistently through our policy programme. Our plans to reform public services, mend our broken society, and rebuild trust in politics are all part of our Big Society agenda.”*

(Reiner, 2010 pp. 36)

The next of the independent themes is labelled ‘Responses to the introduction of PCC’s’. Simply put the 4 (22.22%) officers contributing data into this theme feel that there is no place for politics in policing and have no love for the newly created PCC role believing it to be subject to party politics: -

*“OG: I don’t think any one individual should have sway over a chief officer of police when you look at the previous set up you had selected members of the local community who had a vested interest in policing and as a quorum without any political sway they could honestly make decisions and give direction to the Chief Constable as to what they felt should be done I think that is the most democratic process you could possibly have to govern a police force. XXXXXX XXXXXXXX, political puppet any other PCC, political puppet”*

Andrad Police Constable Olivia Green

The point raised by the officer, is their dislike of the new PCC, based upon the control of policing priorities being given to a single individual which replaced the previous system that consisted of a panel of members. It is the feeling of the officer that there was less opportunity for a panel to be guided by a political master which is now a possibility and then describes one of the recently elected PCC’s as being a political puppet. The political dangers associated with the introduction of PCC’s has been voiced by Lister (2013) and Holdaway (2017) among others or even more strongly by the ex-Metropolitan Police Commissioner Lord Stevens, reported by the BBC, BBC News (2013), who urged the immediate abolishment of the role. At the time of their

introduction and implementation their lack of relevance and lack of public support was evident in the record low attendance in the first public election of PCC's. The low turnout in the elections was a record low figure of around only 15%, which at the time raised questions about the authority and legitimacy of the new role (Wintour, 2012). It therefore appears that the officers dislike of the new PCC's was not an isolated feeling being shared by the police officers, the experts and the public alike. Therefore, when considered together, the three sub-themes show the police officers reactions and personal feelings to the current political changes and drivers in the UK. The participants, contributing data here, clearly demonstrate feelings of distrust towards the government and their perceived manipulation of the media.

The final of the independent themes is labelled 'The provision of service'. It is contributed to by 10 (55.55%) of the participants and holds data collected into two sub-themes. The first sub-theme considers the informants reflections on their personal contribution to policing and pride in their achievements. It holds data taken from 5 (27.77%), of the informants. There appears to be very little written about police officer's feelings of pride arising from the work they perform. Indeed, a quick search on google scholar using the search phrase 'police officer's feelings of pride' produces a list of journal articles more concerned with issues of sexual identity in police officers than actual feelings of pride linked to their work. The second sub-theme, linked to feelings of doing the best job they can for the public, is contributed to by 5 (27.77%) of the participants. It can also be linked to several papers discussing police officers suffering from 'burnout'. One of the papers appearing early in the list is a work by Hodson (2007) that is not based upon police organisations but claims that pride in task completion has a statistically positive correlation to Organisational Citizenship Behaviour (OCB). OCB is exactly what it sounds like it should be and it manifests itself as behaviour of an individual within an organisation that is discretionary and not recognized by the formal reward system but promotes the effective functioning of the organisation (Organ, 1988). The paper of Hodson (2007) describes the many positive behaviours identified by other authors as being associated with OCB and these behaviours include conscientiousness, altruism, obedience and civic virtue. The positive behaviours listed are value based and the feelings of pride linked to OCB are suggested as resulting in a sense of self-respect and are all

linked to positive workplace outcomes. In the context of this thesis the value-based positivity of OCB mirrors the previously discussed value driven PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990) and there is therefore a possibility that statistically positive correlation between pride in task completion and PSM could exist. Earlier themes of this chapter have looked at feelings and reactions of the participants and claimed that some of the data gathered supports the presence of high levels of PSM within the current data sample. Given the descriptions of OCB by Organ (1988) and Hodson (2007) and the suggestion that PSM should therefore be linked to feelings of pride there must be an expectation of locating data within the sample that expresses feelings of pride linked to the performance of work. This is exactly what has been found in the data in the first sub-theme, for example: -

*'AM: a strong sense of right and wrong I did nay join this to be rich I joined this to try and make a difference and I know that sounds really corny I know it sounds really corny but the specific additional role that I'm doing now I'm a hostage crisis negotiator there are 18 of us in the county I can stand up with my hand on my heart and say that I have saved people's lives I know I've saved people's lives and that for me is a massive buzz'*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Amir Moran

The opening line of this section of text immediately tells the reader that the speaker is more intrinsically than extrinsically motivated by declaring in broad Glaswegian *'I did nay join this to be rich I joined this to try and make a difference'*. This is a clear indicator that the speaker has high levels of PSM, and he also talks about having a strong sense of right and wrong which simply adds strength to the weight of his personal convictions. The officer never actually states that he feels pride in his work however the data describes working as a hostage negotiator and saving lives. Looking at the end of the section on an idiographic level he chooses to describe his reaction to saving lives as being *'a massive buzz'* and the choice of these words portrays not only feelings of pride in a job well done but gives a sense of the overwhelming pleasure, and intrinsic reward, obtained. A section of text from another of the participants uses the phrase *'pride and accomplishment'* in his reflection of a job well done: -

*'DB: um, you kind of learn from every single one of them. You look back you know you look back with pride and accomplishment where you have made changes to people and that you know I look back and that and think that I have made a difference to somebody.'*

Mecronia Police Sergeant Daniel Burns

In this text, it is apparent that making a difference to somebody is again an important factor and can be used to evidence the presence of PSM in the participant. The officer reflects upon his past career and thinks about those occasions where his actions have effected positive changes in the lives of real people resulting in making a difference. The officer's feelings of pride, from his work, are clearly expressed where he says, "*you look back with pride and accomplishment*". The data collected into the current sub-theme clearly expresses feelings of pride arising from the work accompanied by strong feelings of duty or PSM and these taken together support the similarity of PSM and OCB. It is therefore possible that when OCB occurs in members of public sector organisations it manifests itself as PSM. Making a positive theoretical statistical correlation between OCB and PSM is beyond the scope of the current research but may present a further research opportunity. The following sub-theme continues to explore feelings of pride, but these feelings are expressed more as a desire to serve than as a consideration of the intrinsic rewards obtained from delivering this service.

Therefore, the second sub-theme holds data where the informant's express feelings of doing the best job they can when considering the quality of public service provided and is collected from 5 (27.77%) of the informants. It is a very simple idea but fully encompasses the value driven, intrinsic PSM present within the data sample. This idea of always doing your best is well illustrated in the following sections of data: -

*"DB: um no, it is still um the best job I think there is um and I would like to find anybody that joined up for the right reasons that would tell you it isn't um everybody will muddle through they will cope with the circumstances they will try their best to do their best for people they don't want to let people down"*

Mecronia Police Patrol Sergeant Daniel Burns

or

*“CJ: well I have, but policing is changed, so have I changed my view of what we here for no, I think we are still doing the people at ground floor level are still doing the best they can for the public. I do think I think we’ve got some lazy people within the organisation I think our regulations you know and the baggage that comes with it means that to deal with laziness effectively is it takes an extraordinary amount of time and effort for a manager but I think that that is something we should continue to focus on”*

Mecronia Police Detective Inspector Connor Jenkins

The feeling that emerges from the data collected in this sub-theme is therefore that policing at its core is about police officers at ground level delivering the best possible service to the public, despite the pressures of work. It has a sense that service is the most important aspect for the participants and that there is a strong desire not to fail in that service. The data in this sub-theme again reinforces the claim that the current data sample includes individuals with high levels of PSM. The need to deliver a service to the public, to do their best and not letting the public down are clearly motivators and drivers of behaviour for the individual officers. In considering police motivation many writers have looked at police culture which has often been cited as a barrier to the implementation of the NPM (Foster, 2003; Skogan, 2008; Stanko et al., 2012). For the main part, in these texts, police cultures are characterised by suspicion, internal solidarity, pragmatism and conservatism, some of which is also echoed in the work on ‘siege mentality’ of Prenzler (1997). The overall picture emerging in these texts is of police officers that have an action-oriented sense of mission, which also finds some resonance with the existence of PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990). The sense of pragmatism in police cultures is often claimed to be accompanied by an attitude of cynicism and pessimism that may clash with some of the more service-oriented goals of modern policing (Loftus, 2010; Reiner, 2010). However, what none of the literature on police cultures appear to identify is the strength of feelings that individual police officers hold towards a quality of service delivery for the public. From a theoretical perspective, there might be an expectation that the desire to deliver the best service to the public would appear in the literatures covering the existence of PSM or other claims about the intrinsic rewards of policing. However there



appears to be very little or no references to the desire of police officers to do the best they can for the public. The data collected here does just that and shows, that for these individuals at least, ‘doing the best they can’ is an important factor in their work. The data collected into the current sub-theme is difficult to use to address any other issues but does add weight to the claim that the officers feel pride for their work and that pride is linked to the existence of PSM.

The data collected into the two sub-themes support a claim that where PSM is present in police officers it is likely to be accompanied by feelings of pride. It seems that for these police officers the desire to provide a quality service to the public is paramount, which is the meaning attached to the current theme. A final thought, which is key for the purpose of the chapter, is that the presence of feelings of pride appear to be consistent throughout all quadrants of the RPM. The intention of the chapter is to assess the feelings of the participants to working under management systems present in the different quadrants of the RPM. From the data the feelings of service are linked to the internal drivers for the officers and therefore are not dependent on the systems in place. Equally, where the officers feel they have delivered a quality service they are able to attach feelings of pride. This means that although governance changes can produce feelings of discomfort or unease where there is a mismatch between expectations and personal values, as highlighted in previous sections of this chapter, these appear to have little or no impact upon feelings of pride linked to PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990).

### 6.3 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to address **RQ2: -**

***‘How have police officers reacted to the social structural and corporate agency governance changes in UK policing since 1980?’***

The analysis of the data and the meanings attached by the researcher were used to inform upon the sense making of the participating UK police officers. The data was presented in three sections, firstly data impacting upon proposition 3, de-humanisation of police organisations and the impact of PSM. Secondly data impacting proposition 4 and

the effects of austerity linked to feelings of overwork and finally three independent themes were presented. In the summary for Chapter 5, I provided the reader with a reminder of the contributions of significant themes, to the arguments of the chapter, in the form of a table. This process was repeated in relation to the data for propositions 3 and 4 (see table 9). To create the themes and sub-themes for the analysis in this chapter an analytical table was created listing the themes and sub-themes and their contribution to the arguments. That table is far too large to be included in the body of the text but is available and is located at appendix 7.

The first area to be considered are the feelings linked to de-humanisation and therefore proposition 3. The feelings of the participants when describing working during the period of reliance upon numerical targets and goals which covered both NPM and CPM quadrants were very negative. The overall sense obtained from the data was of a period of policing that caused feelings of discomfort and unease from the police officers. These very negative feelings appear to arise from the existence of PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990; Houston, 2000; Vandenabeele, et al., 2004) and the officer's personal values, which were at odds with the de-humanized nature of management by numbers (Donati, 2007, 2011; Meekings et al., 2011). Another aspect of the reactions and personal lived experiences of the officers that is strongly connected to PSM are the feelings of pride that the officers have for their contribution to the well-being of the public. It would have been easy to suggest from the data collected that the three-decade period from 1980 to 2010 was an entirely dark time for the officers. However, the feelings of pride expressed by the participants shows that they could still obtain significant intrinsic reward from their work despite the sense of mismatched priorities, which is a testament to the commitment and resilience of the officers. Whilst the academic literature has explored the implementation of numerical goals and targets under the NPM in very many texts (Loveday, 2000a; Shane, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Gilling, 2013) the presentation of the effects of those changes from the perspective of individual officers is limited. One such paper was the research of Butterfield et al. (2004), when they explored the implementation of new staff review procedures from the perspective of police sergeants. Therefore, the very negative view of policing held by the participants under the effects of numerical targets and goals is a contribution to knowledge. The data

collected here also serves as an affirmation of the existence and effects of PSM claimed by Perry and Wise (1990) which could carry implications for the wider public sector and the continued use of numerical targets and goals as a primary management tool.

Next I will examine the reactions to austerity which are therefore linked to proposition 4. The theme ‘Personal reactions to public sector austerity measures’ was easily the largest by some margin when considered in terms of the number of individual contributory statements. The number of statements collected into the individual sub-themes was high suggesting that the reactions of the participants to austerity is very significant for them. The very negative feelings of the participants towards the NPM and CP were also reflected in their feelings connected to the loss of staff because of public sector austerity cuts. The overall sense derived from the data collected into this theme is of a police service that is trying to balance increasing demand with diminishing resources (Elliott-Davies et al., 2016; Boulton et al., 2017, Mendel et al., 2017). There is a clear sense emerging from the data that the officers feel over worked and stressed. Some are almost at the point of complete helplessness with a very real danger of imminent meltdown. Also coming through strongly in the data are feelings, supported by academic sources (Elliott-Davies et al., 2016; Boulton et al., 2017) media articles (Grierson, 2017) and the chairman of the police federation (White, 2015), that there is a very real risk to the safety of the public linked to the reduction of police officer numbers. The risk to the public is also extended to a fear for the welfare of the public on the UK’s road network which is partially supported by Kent and Sussex Courier (2015). At the time of writing, late June 2017, similar warnings to those contained in the data and supported by the previously listed sources are being voiced loudly in the UK media as a reaction to recent events in London and Manchester. The details of these events were touched upon earlier in the chapter however I would suggest that it would be a very brave government that continued to ignore the growing negative feelings towards continued austerity at the current levels. As with the reactions of police officers to numerical targets, the academic literature in the arena of policing is concerned with the existence of austerity and its effects on the police ( for example, Elliott-Davies et al., 2016; Boulton et al., 2017) but do not focus on the personal experiences of the police officers, and therefore this research is a contribution to knowledge in this area.

Whilst not identified as such in the analysis many of the sections of text describe events and feelings during the NTP quadrant. Governance changes implemented by the Coalition Government in 2010 have seen an almost complete removal of numerical policing targets. The changes in response to the loss of targets, combined with a need to manage restricted budgets, has resulted in a new culture emerging in the two police forces whose officers participated in this research. When considering the reactions of the police officers to the recent loss of targets and goals the overall sense attached to that data is very positive. It appears that the mismatch between the very human feelings and values of officers possessing PSM and the dehumanized nature of policing under the NPM/CP has been replaced and the officers have used words like ‘brilliant’ and ‘awesome’ to describe their feelings towards the new culture. There is a return to an emphasis on service and day to day policing is now more about people and delivering a quality service. The emphasis provided then is much more in line with the personal values and the PSM of the police officers and may well go a long way to reversing the presence of the unwanted side effects reported in previous studies (Loveday, 1999, 2000a; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Shane, 2010), or the social pathogens of Donati (2007). The existence of NTP is a new concept and, as previously claimed, is a contribution to knowledge, as the recently emerging structures and culture have not been previously described. In the same way, the reactions and personal experiences of police officers to the new NTP style of policing have not been considered before and therefore must also become an original contribution to knowledge. The data collected in this research has therefore been successfully used to inform the personal reactions and lived experiences of UK police officers to the structural, cultural and corporate agency governance changes occurring in UK policing since 1980. This has therefore addressed the aim of the chapter and RQ2. The following chapter will present a discussion of the research and analysis, the implications of the research and recommendations for further possible research.

## 7 Discussion

### 7.1 Introduction

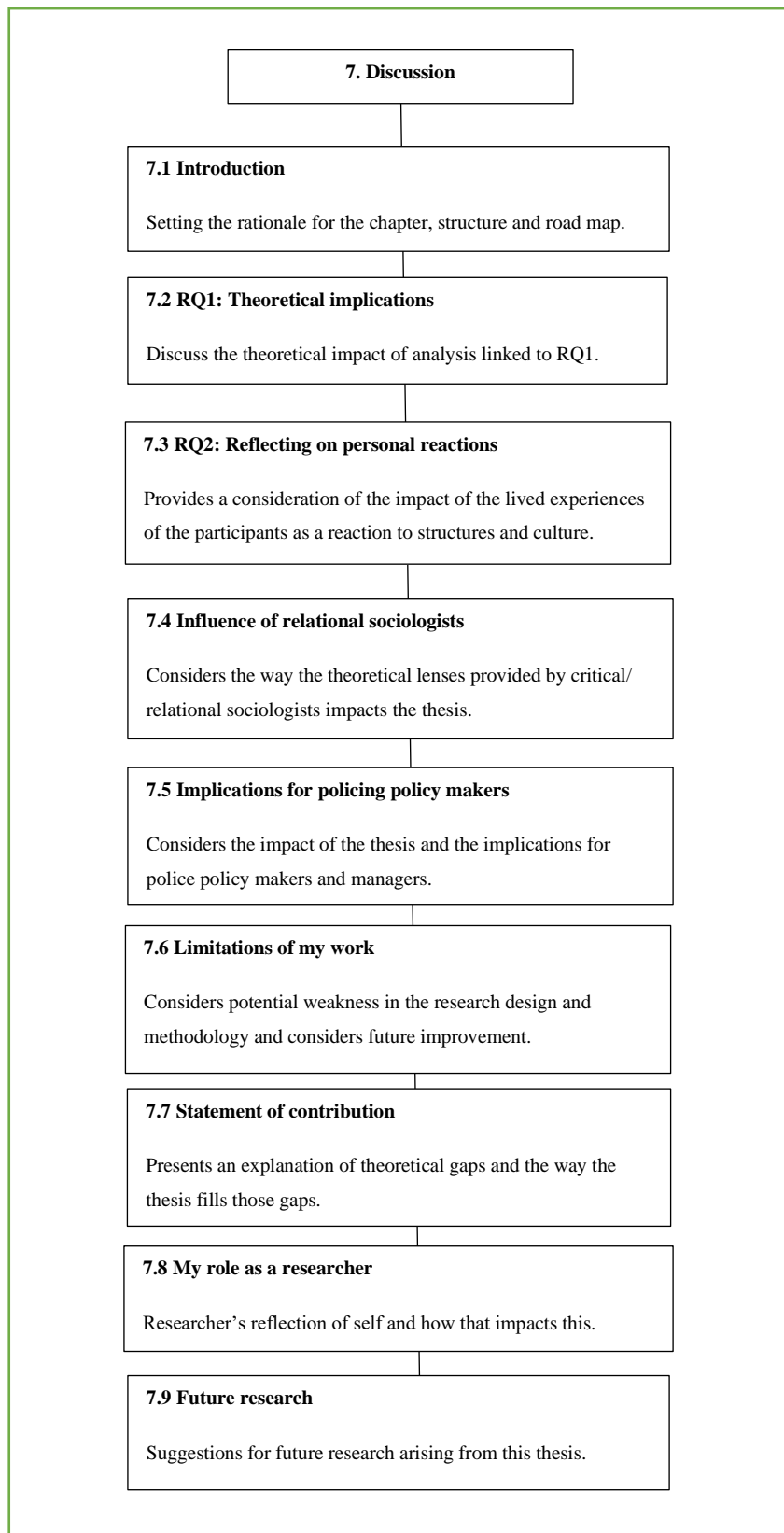
In this chapter, I will discuss what my IPA semi-structured interview analysis mean in terms of addressing the research questions using the interview analysis and literature and highlighting implications and contributions.

For RQ1, the theoretical implications of my work (e.g. corporate agency/social structure and morphogenesis) along with public service leadership and governance contributions of my new relational policing matrix will be discussed. I will argue that from a macro-perspective, the new matrix helps to conceptualise the interaction between organisational structures and corporate agency. Regarding RQ2, the theoretical implications of some of the Police Officer narratives in terms of their personal reflections on recent changes in policing policy will be examined. I will focus on the literature relating to PSM, POI and OCB for a micro-level analysis of what the changes meant for some of the individual officers involved.

The following sections of the chapter will reflect upon the usefulness and appropriateness of, the relational sociological views of, social forms and change concentrating on Donati (2007) and Archer (1995) in terms of informing my overall thesis, and matrix arguments in relation to both Chapters 5 and 6 (e.g. the roles of social pathogens). Then, I will briefly reflect on the benefits of my study for policymakers. I will suggest, what I believe are, useful proposals for operational tactics and procedures going forward in the neo traditional/ post neighbourhood policing styles. Because the role of the researcher in interpretive social research cannot be isolated from that research I will critically reflect upon my role as a researcher and my personal growth during the course of my PhD. Finally, I will discuss the limitations of my work, along with suggestions for future research.

The overall structure of the chapter is represented by the following roadmap: -

Figure 13: Discussion road map



## 7.2 RQ1: Theoretical implications recent changes in UK policing governance and public service leadership

### ***RQ1: What are the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of different UK policing governance systems since 1980?***

Introduced by this thesis as an original contribution to knowledge is the relational policing matrix which utilised a structure based on the grid/group approach of Douglas (1996). In developing the new RPM, the theoretical contributions of Archer (1995) and Donati (2007) provide the key theoretical underpinning. There are two key concepts contributing to the structure of the RPM, the first concept of importance is the morphogenetic process Archer (1995) which relies upon the actions of corporate agencies and group elaboration to explain societal change. The second concept of key importance to the RPM are the non-human social forms Donati (2007), and the associated growth of social pathogens.

The vertical axis of the RPM consists of the presence of management structures and cultures that mirror the non-human social forms of Donati (2007). In his examination of non-human social forms Donati (2007) used an organisation that relied upon numerical targets and goals as a working example of non-human social forms. The reasons given by Donati (2007) were that the use of autopoietic self-referential systems and overreliance on numerical targets and goals removed any capacity for the human to appear in professional exchanges both internal and external to the organisation. Looking at the analysis presented in Chapter 5 there is clear evidence that the systems and culture adopted by the police forces represented in the data in response to the NPM (and carrying forward into the CP quadrant) mirrored those presented by Donati (2007) as adopting non-human social forms. Also, of theoretical importance is the prediction of Donati (2007) that a reliance upon non-human social forms will be accompanied by the growth of social pathogens within the system. Again, when considering the data presented in both Chapters 5 and 6 (post) there are many examples of the presence of negative behaviours that can be considered as social pathogens.

The horizontal axis of the RPM was provided by the number and influence of corporate agencies taking an interest in policing who adopted or favoured more human social forms. Group elaboration for Archer (1995), is linked directly to increasing social complexity and her work therefore claims that if social systems, or organisational structures, increase in complexity there will be an associated increase in corporate agencies over time. The analysis presented in Chapter 5 were entirely consistent with Archers theoretical position and clearly showed group elaboration in action, that is, the number and influence of corporate agencies taking an interest in policing had steadily increased across the three-decade, plus, period of policing under investigation. Both Donati (2007) and Archer (1995), share an ontological consistency with Bhaskar (1975), and the idea of emergent strata arising from the interaction between social structure and the actions of agents. Indeed, despite Archers own critique of Giddens (1984) and Beck (1992) and their tendency toward central conflation, these sociologists also share a belief that human society exists and emerges as an interaction between structure and agency. Although there are differences in the specifics of each theoretical approach presented by these authors, the critical/relational sociological view grew in popularity towards the end of the last century and is now widely accepted (King, 2001). Critical/relational sociology is focussed upon macro level societal changes, but this thesis is focussed upon an examination of police organisations. The shape and structure of police organisations under the influence of NPM has been widely discussed by many different authors presented in earlier sections (Butterfield et al., 2004; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Reiner, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Gilling, 2013), and these are but a few of the total contributors. There are many similarities in the characteristics described by these authors including the growth of managerialism and an over reliance upon numerical targets and goals as the primary mechanism for driving performance. When considered in the light of Donati (2007) the systems and culture described as arising under the NPM are identical to the characteristics described by Donati as adopting non-human social forms. For this reason, it is possible to replace the wider societal position of the relational sociologists with a macro view of police organisational structures/cultures.

Moving back to a consideration of the growth of social pathogens arising from the adoption of non-human social forms the focus of Donati (2007) is again on macro level



societal changes. Organisational behaviour and management literature has over the years looked closely at the management of organisational performance using numerical goals and targets; strong critique is found in the work of Ouchi (1981), Deal and Kennedy (1988) and Peters and Waterman (2004) and much more recently Arnaboldi et al. (2015), Ashkanasy et al. (2016) and De Silva and Chandrika (2016). Between them these authors have predicted several negative behaviours emerging in organisations as a response to numerical goals and targets. The predicted negative behaviours described in these and other management texts mirror the negative effects claimed by Donati (2007) as occurring within his example organisation and presenting themselves as social pathogens within the organisation. Therefore, in the same way that parallels can be drawn between Donati (2007) and police management structures it is also possible to draw parallels between social pathogens and the unintended, unwanted side effects of an over-reliance upon numerical goals and targets. It was the academic contribution of these older business and management texts, that first piqued the interest of the researcher, when applied to non-human structures described by Donati (2007). During the research, more recent texts have been examined and the same unwanted side effects are confirmed in systems relying upon numerical targets and goals (Loveday, 2000a; Diefenbach, 2009; Shane, 2010; Meekings et al., 2011; Arnaboldi et al., 2015; Ashkanasy et al., 2016; De Silva and Chandrika, 2016; De Maillard and Savage, 2017). In effect, these works reinforce the cross over between critical/rational theories, business and management theories and the literature on police organisations and thus provide support for the choice of lens for my thesis.

Despite rapidly growing acceptance the relational sociological view is not without its own criticisms for example King (2001) argues that the use of emergent strata arising from an interaction between structure and agency to explain societal change has great ontological inconsistencies and the arguments made by the relational sociologists are self-defeating. It is interesting that Kings (2001) arguments against relational sociology are very reminiscent of Archer (1995) and appear to be a simple reversal of her own arguments against any form of theoretical conflation. The data collected and presented in the analysis chapters has been seen to be entirely consistent with the theoretical predictions of both Archer (1995) and Donati (2007) and therefore refutes the

criticisms of King (2001). From a theoretical position, the analyses are therefore entirely supportive of the relational sociological views of Archer and Donati and as such are an important contribution in the wider sociological debate. Given the theoretical support of the relational sociological position provided by the analysis there is therefore also support for the use of these theoretical positions to provide the axes for the new RPM.

Considering the grid/group approach of Douglas (1996), she placed the system of classification moving between public and private on her vertical axis with ego moving from independent influences, to group-controlled influences on her horizontal axis. In this way, she could conceptualise the grid/group cultural alignment of the native tribes that formed the focus of her work. In the same way, the new RPM allows a full conceptualization of the grid (non-human structures)/group (human corporate agencies) cultural alignment of the police forces represented by the data at a macro level. The relational sociological view of Archer (1995) and Donati (2007) when viewed at their most basic level, is that social forms emerge from an interaction between social structures/culture and agency/corporate agency. The objects of social enquiry for the relational sociologists are therefore the emerging social forms or emerging strata that appear between the interaction of these contributory factors. The new RPM generates four quadrants each of which represents the interaction between the elements forming the vertical and horizontal axes. As the axes of the RPM are essentially structure versus corporate agency, which from a relational sociological perspective are the contributory factors, the characteristics of the four quadrants represent the emerging social forms or strata of the police forces represented by the data. Using the grid/group approach of Douglas (1996) to examine the interaction between organisational structures/culture and corporate agency in this manner has not been attempted before and is therefore an important contribution not only to sociology but also to organisational behaviour, management and policing studies.

For RQ1 the aim was to understand the perceptions and reactions of federated rank UK police officers to determine the long-term effects of ongoing governance changes on those individuals. The chosen methodology, following an IPA model, was to conduct semi-structured interviews followed by iterative analysis of the collected data following the analytical protocol (appendix 5). The philosophical underpinning of the

IPA method is constructed from a combination of the concepts of phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography which allows researchers to obtain a view of the sense making of individual interview participants. The concepts of phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography are the study of understanding lived experience, the study of understanding texts and the study of understanding the specific (Smith et al., 2009). These three concepts presented together by Smith et al. (2009), cover a wide area of philosophical thought taken from a number of important philosophical texts. Central to the IPA method are several key philosophers namely Giorgi and Sartre (Smith, 2004), Heidegger (Larkin et al., 2006), Merleau-Ponty (Eatough and Smith, 2006), Gadamer and Schleiermacher (Smith, 2007) and finally Husserl (Smith et al., 2009). IPA was originally conceived as a method of exploring the sense making processes of individual patients in the field of psychology, but over recent years has been used to conduct a variety of social research projects, for example Cope (2005, 2011), Reid et al. (2005) and Palmer et al. (2010). The interviews conducted in this research were analysed using an iterative process moving backwards and forwards between a holistic (macro) view of the text (hermeneutics) and a specific (micro) view of individual words and phrases (idiography) to provide an understanding of the lived experiences being described (phenomenology), which is the basis of IPA. Research question 1, attempted to understand the perceptions of UK police officers and to apply this understanding to inform ongoing governance changes in UK policing. As seen previously, the analysis of the data has provided a clear view of the characteristics of the axes and quadrants forming the new RPM and fully support the relational sociological theoretical position. Therefore, the use of an IPA methodology has successfully enabled the researcher to conceptualize the interactions between the factors forming the axes of the RPM. In choosing to conduct this research through an IPA case study methodology I could closely examine the lived experiences and sense-making of police officers. Their collective and individual experiences allowed me to successfully identify the main characteristics of policing styles emerging in response to the ongoing governance changes. The successful identification of these key characteristics, through the use of an IPA methodology provides a measure of justification for my theoretical choices during the research design.

The use of IPA to explore the sense making of UK police officers in this manner was also beyond the scope of the original IPA methodology, which was limited to understanding the sense making of individual psychology patients. However, the research of Cope (2005, 2011) and Palmer et al. (2010) strongly suggests that IPA as a research method has a place in much wider social research settings. The successful use of an IPA methodology in this research is also supportive of this wider use and is therefore an important contribution to the wider field of social research.

### 7.3 RQ2: Reflecting on police officer reactions to governance and leadership changes

***RQ2: - How have police officers reacted to the social structural and corporate agency governance changes in UK policing?***

The focus of RQ2 moves away from the macro level consideration of governance changes seen in RQ1, to a micro level consideration of the effect of those changes on individual experiences. The examination of the data from the micro level allows the narrative of each participant to be developed producing a thematic analysis of their lived experiences. In the second analysis chapter, there were frequent links made between the themes emerging from the data and the existence of PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990) and therefore the impact of that data compared to literature relating to PSM is deserving of a more careful examination. The term PSM was first used by Perry and Wise (1990) who identified a growing trend in public sector management that assumed all employees were motivated through rational choices and extrinsic reward schemes, particularly at a senior management level. Their research went on to illustrate the existence of PSM and claimed that the higher the level of PSM in an individual the more likely that individual was to seek employment in a public-sector organisation (Perry and Wise, 1990). Also, arising as a conclusion of this research was the proposition that in public sector organisations PSM is positively linked to individual performance. Given the passage of time from its initial introduction, a period exceeding 15 years, the existing body of literature on PSM has been thoroughly examined by many authors (Brewer and Selden, 1998; Houston, 2000; Perry, 2000; Vandenabeele et al., 2004; Perry et al., 2006). What follows in this

discussion is therefore a brief consideration of the major contributions made in this area to highlight the significance of PSM for this thesis.

The first point is to establish exactly what the literature means by PSM and the most widely-accepted definition of PSM across the literature was first penned by Perry and Wise (1990): -

*“PSM: - an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisations”*

(Perry and Wise, 1990 pp. 38)

The theoretical claim is therefore that those individuals who possess PSM are motivated by service to the public and not extrinsic rewards. As employee motivation is linked to many aspects of work and performance, PSM is also positively linked to productivity, improved management practices, accountability, and trust in government (Brewer et al., 2000). Due to the theoretical links between PSM and the many aspects of employee behaviour listed by Brewer et al. (2000), Houston (2000) and Vandenabeele et al. (2004). PSM is therefore a highly significant topic of discussion in the area of public sector management, which of course includes the public police. However, the importance of PSM, is not restricted to the public-sector, as the existence of PSM behaviours and values occurring in employees working in private sector not for profit organisations has been evidenced by Wittmer (1991). The growth of the third sector not for profit organisations during the latter stages of the last century gives those individuals, that have strong feelings of duty and a need to serve, another outlet rather than just the public sector, potentially blurring the boundaries between the three sectors (Wittmer, 1991). The greater part of the literature on the topic supports the existence of PSM as a motivator and as an indicator of performance among public-sector employees. Careful investigation of PSM by various authors support its theoretical validity (Brewer et al., 2000; Perry 2000, 2006). Further support for PSM can also be found in cross-sector comparisons such as Wittmer (1991) who in his examination of reward preferences among government, hybrid, and business sector managers, found that public and private managers showed significant differences in their perceptions of the importance of

different types of rewards. In contrast to private managers, public managers regarded public service and work that is helpful to others as being of key importance, whereas higher pay, status, and prestige were less important (Wittmer, 1991).

Thus, PSM provides a theory of motivation that links the pursuit of the public interest with public sector working and performance. Perry and Wise (1990), argue that individuals with a high level of PSM are more likely to select public sector careers. Having joined such an organisation, members with high levels of PSM appear to contribute to the success of that organisation in positive ways. The evidence from the collected theoretical contributions suggests they are more willing to engage in whistleblowing to protect the public interest (Brewer and Selden, 1998). When considering the literature on the topic of individual motivation, Perry (2000) highlights the importance of PSM and intrinsic rewards as a key motivator for public-sector employees and suggests this is more important to them than rational self-interested theories of motivation, which focus on more extrinsic rewards. Of interest and relevant to the data presented in the analysis chapters is the assertion by Brewer et al. (2000) that trust of the government is somehow linked to the level of PSM held by the individual member of the public-sector organisation. The way in which PSM is linked to trust in government is not established by Brewer et al. (2000) but they do make it clear that the presence of PSM in an individual is likely to affect their perceptions of government. This becomes important for the data collected in this thesis as one of the themes emerging from the analysis of the data focussing upon the personal feelings and lived experiences of the officers was concerned directly with growing feelings of distrust towards the government. Therefore, the suggestion of Brewer et al. (2000) that there is a link between PSM, and trust of the government seems to be, perhaps in a tenuous manner, supported by the data.

Continuing to focus on the analysis presented in Chapter 6, there was an examination of the existence of high levels of PSM in the participants of both case studies contributing data to this thesis. Indeed, for the greater part, the very negative feelings attached to the reliance upon numerical targets and goals evident in the NPM and CP quadrants, were attributed to a perceived conflict between individual PSM and de-humanizing systems and culture. That is, those systems and cultures associated with management by numbers which somehow interfered with their ability to freely serve the

public. The data collected is entirely supportive of the existence of PSM in the participants and therefore is equally supportive of the theoretical existence of PSM in public-sector employees. The support provided for the theoretical position of Perry and Wise (1990) is therefore an important contribution to knowledge and the literature on UK public sector management, but that support is also equally important for the literatures in the fields of UK and global policing.

A similar area of study to PSM but concerned with the behaviour of individuals in organisations, irrespective of their sector, is the topic of Organisational Citizen Behaviour (OCB) discussed by authors like Hodson (2007) and Organ (1988, 1997). In the analysis linked to personal lived experiences presented in Chapter 6 it was possible to draw some parallels between the behaviours associated with PSM and those associated with OCB. The data presented highlighted the existence of pride for the successful service to the public in several of the participants. The literature on OCB had established that feelings of pride were being attached to successful completion of work, which suggested that in public sector organisations the existence of PSM may well manifest itself as OCB in some individuals. It is therefore entirely plausible, that the possible existence of PSM found in non-public sector organisations identified by some authors for example Wittmer (1991) were attributing PSM to the observed behaviours, however, what they were observing were in fact examples of OCB. This then means that the data collected at least in some small way also contributes to the literature on OCB and the potential cross over of PSM into certain sections of the private sector but more importantly presents as a potential area worthy of further research. Both the literature on PSM and OCB although having implications for the management of organisations at a macro level are concerned with an examination and understanding of the motivations and actions of individuals at a micro level. Another area of study that has implications for police management at a macro level whilst being focussed upon the feelings and beliefs of police officers at a micro level is the work of Hoggett et al. (2014) and their theoretical identification of the existence of police organisational identities (POI). In their paper Hoggett et al. (2014) draw upon the wider social identity literature to propose that police officers will possess POI, meaning that wherever they are based, they will face similar

challenges and because of POI will tend to respond to those challenges in similar ways, sharing many of the same feelings and views.

The data collected in this thesis was provided by serving police officers who represent two out of the forty-three publicly funded police forces in England and Wales. The two police forces represented had significant differences in terms of the demographic characteristics of the county they served. Even with these significant demographic differences a lot of the data collected, and statements made by the officers were interchangeable and could have been made by officers from either force. Given the claims made by Hoggett et al. (2014) and the nature of the POI these similarities in personal feelings and lived experiences are not surprising. The data presented in the analysis chapters is therefore very supportive of the work of Hoggett et al. (2014) and as such is an important contribution to knowledge in the field of policing and the social identity of police officers and the field of social identity.

#### 7.4 Influence/role of critical/relational sociologist in informing theory arguments

The theoretical underpinning for the creation of the new RPM was presented in some detail in the focal literature section of the literature review chapter of this thesis (post). The research presented in this thesis consists of an examination of two police organisations and therefore existing literature in the field of organisational studies provided an important base to build upon. For example, the view of organisational studies provided by Smircich (1983) or the work of Hare and Collinson (2013) highlighted the sheer number of competing views of culture that existed in the literature. The number of differing views could be a challenge for social researchers however it also provided potential researchers a wide range of theoretical choices. Whilst exploring the literature the definition of organisational culture provided by Hare and Collinson (2013), described the culture that exists in an organisation as something that is very like the culture that exists in society. The definition goes on to describe layers of culture emerging from the interaction between elements of the organisation, the individuals making up the staff and the wider external environment. There were many similarities between the cultural view



of Hare and Collinson (2013) and other writers in the field of organisational culture, for example Schein (1990), where both authors describe several layers of culture including often hidden basic beliefs and assumptions. Far more importantly for the development of the current thesis were the obvious similarities that could be drawn between the organisational cultural views of Hare and Collinson (2013) and the emergent nature of social forms found in the relational sociological work of Archer (1995), Donati (2007) and Crossley (2011). The view of Hare and Collinson (2013), that organisational culture was akin to wider sociological views of culture and the obvious similarities of the descriptions of emergent layers found in the critical/relational sociological literatures allows the researcher to utilise the relational sociological theoretical position to examine the emergent nature of changing structures and cultures in organisations. For the critical/relational sociologists, the avoidance of any form of conflation in theoretical considerations of society are essential. This avoidance of conflation was touched upon very briefly in the literature review chapter post. Archer (1995), makes a very detailed argument in favour of the avoidance of conflation which she claims is responsible for the inability of earlier paradigms to either properly explain or fully explain the emergent nature of social forms or social change. The key to understanding the critical/relational sociological view of society is that any social structure, shape or form is an emergent layer arising from the interaction between the pre-existing social structures/ culture and the individual agents who make up that society Archer (1995), Donati (2007), Crossley (2011) or in other terms an interaction between macro and micro levels or between holism and individualism.

Of major importance to the analysis arising from the data collected for this thesis is evidence of the growth of social pathogens within the organisations. The vertical axis of the RPM is formed by the level of non-human management structures and culture in the police organisation moving between low and high states. The concept of non-human management structures is taken from Donati (2007) and mirror his concept of non-human social forms and in this work, he predicts that these non-human social forms will result in the growth of social pathogens within the system/ organisation. The theoretical basis for the RPM therefore suggested that social pathogens should be found if the systems and culture adopted were primarily non-human. The data presented in Chapter 5 established

the existence of both organisational structures and cultures that fitted the theoretical description of non-human social forms being present in both police forces during the NPM and CP quadrants of the RPM. There were also, clear descriptions presented that supported the existence of behaviours that could be considered as social pathogens. The data presented in Chapter 6 was not primarily concerned with the characteristics of the RPM however when the data was viewed through a lens provided by personal feelings and reactions there were many examples of behaviours that could be considered as social pathogens. The type of behaviours that some of the participants described which presented as potential social pathogens in the data for Mecronia included dishonesty and lack of integrity that appeared as manipulating the crime figures, cronyism and misogyny. Care was taken, in the analysis chapters, when describing the sense making of individuals linked to negative behaviours, to ensure that it was clear that these were merely the opinions of the participants. It must be reiterated, at this point, that these are the feelings and opinions of the participants themselves and that the sample in this research can in no way be considered as representative of the general population of either police force or indeed the wider policing community.

There is material in the literature, as early as 1999 (see HMIC (1999)), of concerns linked to police integrity which is further supported by Winsor (2016) and Holdaway (2017). There is also evidence of playing the game and loafing/coasting which are in line with undesirable behaviour in employees described by Deal and Kennedy (1988) and Peters and Waterman (2004). In the data from Andrad officers, the incidence and descriptions of social pathogens in the data is far less frequent, than for Mecronia, however there is still some disclosure of dishonest crime counting and manipulation of crime figures and some limited revelations of game playing. As both organisations were subjected to the same external forces and governance changes it would be natural to assume that the growth of social pathogens would be the same. However, the morphogenetic process of Archer (1995) requires social forms to emerge from the interaction between existing social structures/culture and corporate agents. In this case the exact existing structures/culture may have been slightly different, but even if they were identical, some of the individual agents making up the corporate agents acting on each force would be different therefore the new emergent social forms would most likely

differ. This is a continuous ongoing process meaning that even with identical starting structures the presence of different individuals in the respective organisations would result in increasing divergence over time. Given the effect of individuals on the emergent social forms as time passes the structures and culture will become different thereby accentuating natural divergence occurring because of the morphogenetic process. The Andrad data when compared to the Mecronia data paints a picture of individual senior managers in the force who did not fully accept management by numbers as early as 2000. Despite being subject to the same external forces, because of the actions of individual agents in the force, Andrad was more resistant to the external pressure than Mecronia. The data from Mecronia painted a picture of a force whose senior managers were fully subscribed to the managerialism of the NPM/CP leading to higher levels of non-human structures and culture. Given the differing levels of non-human structures and cultures present in both forces the occurrences in the data of significantly higher levels of social pathogens occurring in Mecronia are not surprising. The data collected is therefore very supportive of the claims of Donati (2007) and his predicted link between non-human social forms and the growth of social pathogens. The research is therefore an important contribution to knowledge for the social sciences, the relational sociologists, policing and the wider public sector.

## 7.5 Implications for policing policymakers and practice

The analysis of the data for Chapter 5 was focussed on a macro level examination of the characteristics attached to the four quadrants forming the RPM in response to many governance changes. The analysis of the data for Chapter 6 was focussed on a micro level examination of the feelings, personal reactions and lived experiences of the participants in response to the same governance changes. Despite the very different focus of the two analysis chapters the most significant themes emerging in both analysis phases were those linked to austerity measures. At a micro level, the most significant sub-themes emerging in the data were without doubt the increasing workload caused by the loss of officers resulting from severely restricted budgets. The extent of the financial cuts, the effect on staff numbers and indeed the shift in demand measured against the ability to respond were

well covered by the literature by many writers presented earlier (Rogers, 2014; Elliott-Davies et al., 2016; Boulton et al., 2017; Grierson, 2017). The data collected from the participants of both police forces highlighted that officers are feeling increasingly stressed, pressured and overworked to the point that several of them predicted the collapse and mental breakdown of individual officers. The interviews for this thesis were all conducted in 2015, some two - three years prior to the time of writing but the fears of the officers appear to be somewhat prophetic. On 19/07/2017, (6 days before this section was written) an article in the Evening Standard newspaper was concerned with the mental health of UK police officers and claimed that the number of sickness days lost to the Metropolitan Police due to some form of mental issue had increased by 72% over the 6 years between 2011 and 2017 Gillett (2017). When viewed as a percentage the impact of a 72% increase fails to deliver the same message as looking at the actual numbers, the following is taken from the same article: -

*“In London, 48,248 sick days were taken by officers for psychological reasons in 2010/11. This number increased to 83,439 days in 2016/17. The number of officers in that time decreased by 1,275.”*

(Gillett, 2017, pp. 1)

These figures are distressing, and it is probable that the suggested resilience training measures from Hesketh (2015) and Hesketh et al. (2015) could go some way towards reducing the incidence of sickness due to mental health. However, it is likely that if the degree of pressure from mismatched resources and demand is significant enough then long term exposure will continue to have a detrimental effect on the mental wellbeing of police officers regardless of any resilience measures. At the macro level, there are predictions made by the participants and found in the data, that some of the smaller police forces making up the 43 forces of the PSEW (Police Service England and Wales) will be unable to maintain the provision of policing services under the financial cuts at their current level and will therefore simply collapse. The data on this topic represents the beliefs of the officers and is not yet supported by any further evidence or literature. However more significant (in terms of themes in the data) fears and responses to the austerity measures at a macro level were linked to the officer's perceptions of the potential

risks to public safety resulting from the imbalance between demand and staff numbers. The officers deeply felt fears for the safety of the public were well supported by several other sources, for instance Rogers (2014), Elliott-Davies et al. (2016), Boulton et al. (2017) and Grierson (2017). The fears for the safety of the public extended to their use of the UK road network and the increased risk of KSI's and was supported by Kent and Sussex Courier (2015).

The previous highlighted concerns of Gillett (2017) focus on the harm to individual police officers from mental health problems. However, whilst the need to take time off work due to mental health concerns is a very negative consequence for the wellbeing of the individual officer at a micro level, it also has an impact on the force at a macro level. The feelings of overwork, stress and helplessness presented in Chapter 6 were attributed to having insufficient staff and it appears that long term exposure to these feelings is having a negative impact on the mental health of increasing numbers of police officers. However, the increased rate of sickness in the organisation causes a further reduction in the number of officers available thereby increasing the imbalance between demand and resources, which could increase the likelihood of further mental health issues. This therefore has all the hallmarks of a precarious position which if left unchecked has the potential to spiral out of control with very negative consequences for the staff, the organisations and the public.

Another major contributory factor of the growing disparity between staff numbers and demand that was discussed in the analysis chapters was the additional demands placed onto the police arising from the reduction or withdrawal of services provided by partner agencies. This was again supported by the authors who were concerned with police staff numbers (Rogers, 2014; Elliott-Davies et al., 2016; Winsor, 2016; Boulton et al., 2017; Grierson, 2017). For the officers taking part in the research this additional pressure was apparent in their interviews. The additional workload resulting from mental health incidents was very significant and was sufficiently well referenced by the officers to be presented as its own theme. Whilst it is true that all public-sector organisations in the UK share the burden of financial restrictions imposed under austerity the data and literature show that the burden on the police is twofold because as their ability to deliver services shrinks (like their public-sector partner agencies) the demand for those services is

growing at an alarming rate. Whilst the data presented in this thesis is taken from only two of the police forces of those making up the PSEW, the supporting literature does represent the wider UK policing sector. As such the effects and impact of austerity presented in the data are likely to be replicated across the UK policing sector. The data highlights two police organisations that appear to be in serious difficulty as a direct consequence of the ongoing austerity measures affecting the UK public sector since 2010. Therefore, this means that unless the core issues are properly addressed there are potentially serious consequences at the micro, individual level, the meso organisational level and at the wider macro sector level. The current crisis for the police appears to be perpetuated by the drastic growing imbalance between demand and resources. The problem for the police and policy makers is therefore, if service to and safety of, the public is to be maintained, the imbalance needs to be addressed. At the macro, policy level there are therefore only two possible solutions which are either a return to realistic numbers of police officers, which has major financial considerations for those with budgetary responsibility, or a realistic reduction in the demand for policing services. This leaves UK police organisations attempting to find methods by which the demand for their services can be brought in line with their ability to deliver. The only manner that occurs to this researcher as a means by which this can be achieved is by streamlining the provision of policing services. Police organisations and policy makers need to decide which services fall within the remit and ability to deliver of the public police in the UK. The services included in this provision need to be fully publicised so that the public could have a realistic expectation of those services. Finally, and most importantly, once the decisions as to service provision have been made the police need to limit their activity to the provision of those and only those services. In this way, the burden of reduced budgets and staff losses will be shared among partner all agencies.

In Chapter 5, and earlier sections of this chapter the perceived mismatch between PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990) and non-human structures/culture (Donati, 2007) inherent in the NPM/CP quadrants of the new RPM were discussed. The argument made was that the negative feelings attached to working under those systems and described by the participants were caused by an internal conflict. The data was presented as showing that the management systems and culture that relies upon mainly numerical means was

making the workforce unhappy. Academics in the field of organisational behaviour and organisational culture have made great claims about the beneficial effects of keeping a happy workforce (Ouchi, 1981; Deal and Kennedy, 1988; Peters and Waterman, 2004; Lumley et al., 2011). A good example of these types of literatures is provided by Peters and Waterman (2004) who, in their book 'In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies', discuss the benefits of all staff sharing a vision and an ethos which empowers the staff resulting in improved performance because the staff are happy and are always willing to go the extra mile. So, at the micro level the effects of the reliance on using numerical goals and targets as the primary means of managing the performance of the police officers can be seen to be having a very negative impact. Looking at the influence of an over reliance upon numerical targets and goals to drive police performance from a macro level perspective also results in effects that appear to be very negative for policing. As discussed in some detail in the analysis chapters and earlier sections of this chapter the structures, systems and culture forced upon the police under the NPM and carrying forwards into CP are very reliant upon management by numerical means (Butterfield et al., 2004; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Barton and Barton, 2011; Gilling, 2013). At a theoretical level, it was straightforward to show how these systems mirrored the non-human social forms of Donati (2007) and to show how this was also reflected in the data.

The theoretical predictions of Donati (2007), propose that there should be an increase in the incidence of social pathogens occurring within the system when non-human social forms were predominant. As the claim being made was that it was possible to draw upon the similarity of Donati (2007) and police management structures under the NPM and CP there was a theoretical expectation of finding incidences of social pathogens within police organisations. The analysis chapters (post) presented the data gathered in the case studies and could easily provide clear examples of the existence of social pathogens in both represented organisations. The type of behaviours being described by the participants and claimed as being social pathogens by the researcher were all very negative and included massaging crime figures, playing the game, dishonest practices and cronyism, all are potentially harmful for the wellbeing of the individuals at a micro level but also for the health of the organisations at a macro level. A good example, of the potential harm to both individual police officers and police organisations alike, can be

found by looking at events in Kent Police and is provided by the 2012 arrest of 5 Kent Police detectives for corrupt practices linked to crime counting figures (BBC News, 2012). One social pathogen, not mentioned in the preceding paragraph, that was evident in the data collected from both police forces and presented in Chapter 6 was the emergence over the last three decades of a culture of fear. That is a culture of fear for one's own reputation and wellbeing but more significantly fear for reputation of the police organisation. The data gathered from the participants in this thesis is supportive of the existence of a fear culture as described by Butterfield et al. (2004) which when impacted by some of the other social pathogens (e.g. dishonesty, loss of integrity etc.) arising from non-human social forms could well lead to undesirable behaviours in police officers, which is an effect all police forces would dearly love to avoid. When considered in this way, linking the growth of a fear culture to non-human social forms and social pathogens is supportive of Butterfield et al. (2004) who explore the experiences of police sergeants, but also suggests the fear permeates the organisation rather than being limited to the sergeant rank. From a theoretical perspective, the data presented in relation to fear cultures is impacted by the work on police cultures of Prenzler (1997), Butterfield et al. (2004) and Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (2005). These literatures focus on police culture without being specifically targeted at a fear culture in policing which does appear to be a gap in the existing literature. However, whilst there is a lack of literature specifically concerned with fear culture in policing the same cannot be said for a societal fear culture. The book by Furedi (2002) concentrates on the emergence in contemporary Western society of a risk averse culture which he states gives an inflated sense of potential dangers and a heightened sensitivity to possible risk. For him the overall effect is to: -

*“elevate safety into a cardinal virtue of contemporary society”*

(Furedi 2002, pp. 26)

The viewpoint of Furedi (2002) is further supported by the work of Boutellier (2008) and Waiton (2008) who both describe a growing culture of risk aversity in Western contemporary society. Thus, it appears that a fear of risk taking has become an integral part of contemporary Western society and if this is the case it can be no real shock to find that the police, who are in effect a reflection of society, have an embedded risk averse culture of their own which affects their responses to everyday policing matters. The data



presented in this thesis is therefore supportive of the work of Furedi (2002) in respect of the wider societal issues but also presents as a contribution to knowledge in the field of policing.

The final section of the analysis chapter focussing on the lived experiences and feelings of the participants discussed in some detail the very positive feelings attached by the officers to recent changes in structure and culture. Towards the end of 2013 the structures, systems and culture in Mecronia underwent some major changes which saw the end to any form of numerical goals and targets to manage the activity of the staff. The analysis chapter presented this data clearly and could link the very positive, happy feelings of the staff to the now more human social forms being adopted to manage the force. According to Ouchi (1981), Deal and Kennedy (1988) and Peters and Waterman (2004), who provided the original spark for my reading linked to management by numerical means, this increase in staff happiness must also have a positive effect on staff productivity. Again, this view of performance linked to staff wellbeing is not limited to these early authors and has been confirmed many times in the following four decades. For example, Nowak (2006), conducted a multinational survey and claimed that customer satisfaction, profitability, turnover of staff and less work mishaps were due to a higher satisfied and engaged staff. This then can therefore be seen as a match between the internal PSM of Perry and Wise (1990) and the human social forms of Donati (2007) removing the old conflicted feelings and resulting in happier staff. At the time of data collection, the complete removal of goals and targets from Mecronia as the primary means of managing staff was a very recent change and it was not therefore possible to evidence any reduction in social pathogens but in following the work of the relational sociologists this is a theoretically reasonable expectation.

The implications for the wider field of policing and police policy makers are simple to see in the threads of the current discussion. Where the NPM resulted in an over reliance upon numerical goals and targets there was an associated removal of the human from policing. This resulted in social pathogens leading to potential harm to the wellbeing of individuals at a micro level and organisations at a macro level. The recent complete removal of numerical targets and goals has seen a significant upturn in the attitude of the police officers. This means that to provide healthy viable police organisations and to

minimize the harmful effects of the growth of social pathogens the removal of goals and targets as the primary means of managing staff should be replicated as a priority across all the forces making up the PSEW.

The de-humanizing effects seen in the data were predicted by the relational sociologists as the management structures and cultures imposed upon the police under the NPM mirrored non-human social forms. The impact of these forms was discussed in the light of the data gathered in the field of policing. There are clearly implications, not only for the police, as the NPM was applied across the whole of the public sector. Indeed, the removal of targets and goals from the policing agenda appears to have begun with the arrival of the Coalition Government in 2010. This has not been translated into an equivalent removal across the rest of the public sector and as such the implications of this research are significant for other public-sector organisations including health and education. The significant changes to police and other public-sector organisations across the relevant period of this thesis have been clearly linked to global changes and modernisation (Senior et al., 2007). The influence and impact of political changes arises from modernisation cannot be overstated for example Senior et al. (2007) describe modernisation as a political process that uses three tactics, these being, censure, compliance and commitment to shape and reform public-sector organisations. In this context changes during NPM fitted the process of censure. Again, as already stated earlier in this thesis, a consideration of the impact on and responses of organisations in the wider-public sector are worthy of significant coverage. However, to do so is a major undertaking and is beyond the scope of this thesis, thus any consideration of the wider public-sector is necessarily brief. From the data gathered and the implications for theory and practice discussed the researcher is suggesting that the two of the greatest challenges facing UK policing at this time (August 2017) are managing austerity and finding the means to put human social forms back into police structures/culture. The implications, emerging from the data in this thesis, for police policy and practice are therefore clearly linked to the four propositions introduced in the analysis chapters (Chapters 5 and 6): -

**Proposition 1: - *The (changing) characteristics of social, structural and corporate agency governance can be explained relationally through a new conceptual Relational Policing Matrix.***

**Proposition 2: - *In terms of where we are now, the absence of NPM social structures and the influences of many corporate agencies operate together, resulting in a neo-traditional policing style.***

**Proposition 3: *Reliance upon NPM social structures and corporate agency had a de-humanising effect on UK police organisations***

**Proposition 4: - *Police structures and culture since 2010 are greatly affected by the UK government's austerity measures which have left many police officers feeling stressed and overworked.***

In the next section of the chapter, I will consider the limitations of my work through an examination of validity and trustworthiness. I will present some of the additional data intended to provide an affirmation of the analysis, collected as a second phase after the initial analysis was completed. I will also conduct a critical examination of possible insider bias in my work.

## 7.6 Limitations of my work

In the research design chapter (post) a full discussion of the positivistic use of validity, reliability and generalizability were cited as the only true measure of quality in research (Kvale, 1995; Gibbert et al., 2008; Piekkari and Plakoyiannaki, 2010). This was followed by Yin (2014) and his arguments leading to the suggestion that for interpretive research these should be replaced by four tests that are necessary to ensure quality in interpretive research. These tests are known as construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability however, all are still clearly trapped by adherence to the empiricism of a positivistic natural science view of social research. In the context of the theoretical underpinning of the methodology of this research the importance of the views of Archer (1995) cannot be understated. For her, the conflation inherent in either side of the structure vs agency dialectic arise out of an insistence on empiricism and the need to theorize based solely upon only observable data. Social researchers relying upon post-modern, critical realist and relational sociological views all share a belief in the emergent nature of social reality. To maintain ontological and epistemological consistency of

approach, Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009), argued that the reliance upon the empiricist positivistic measures could not be properly applied to research conducted under their paradigms. In their argument, they consider the position of social research in the context of post modernism but more importantly for this thesis from a critical relational perspective. The argument made by these authors is that social research is valid if its claims to truth are supported by the data, the claims made and data itself and the chain of arguments linking them are acceptable to the wider scientific community and finally that community determines the overall validity of the research, a position that is also supported by Lincoln and Guba (2000). In real terms, this means that any qualitative social research should be both authentic and fair giving all stakeholders a voice which should be visible in the final report. The overall acceptance of the work to the wider scientific community cannot be assessed until after the work has been received by that community, however a systematic transparent collection and presentation of the data is an essential element in gaining that approval.

In the context of the current research, which is firmly grounded in the relational sociological position, the views of Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009) and Lincoln and Guba (2000) are very relevant in any consideration of the quality of the research. This means that claims made need to be acceptable to the wider scientific community and the research process should be honest and transparent giving all stakeholders a fair voice. One aspect of the research that needs careful consideration is the position of the researcher in relation to policing and the organisations represented by the data. Prior to undertaking this full-time research project, the researcher worked as a detective sergeant in Kent Police and served the full expected period of 30 years prior to retirement in 2013. This means that there is a potential for unintentional bias adversely affecting the research which from the outset needed to be addressed.

An 'insider' is a researcher who conducts a study that is directly concerned with the setting in which they work, so when considered in these terms the researcher is now based at a University and no longer fits the true definition of being an 'insider' (Robson, 2002). However, several of the positive aspects linked to 'insider' research will be relevant for this researcher as well as questions of bias linked to the POI of Hoggett et al. (2014). Further, views of how an 'insider' fits into an organisation are provided by other

writers for example one theory suggests that research is conducted by ‘complete members of organisational systems and communities’ in and on an organisation (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007). Another suggests that insider research is conducted alongside the normal role within the organisation (Coghlan and Holian, 2007). The one constant in all the literature is that the researcher must be a member of the organisation being studied which clearly does not apply in the current context. It could even be argued that a member of one police organisation would not truly be an insider if the research was conducted on another police organisation.

Access is more easily granted to the insider researcher, data collection can be less time consuming with greater flexibility about interview times and locations (Mercer, 2007). Also, there may be no additional travel required (Robson, 2002). For this researcher, fully understanding the operational needs of the participants enabled sufficient flexibility in relation to timing and location of the interviews, many of which were conducted off site, but all the interviews necessarily involved differing degrees of travel. ‘Insiders’ understand how the system really works, who to approach, and can have immediate ‘street credibility’ as someone who knows what the job entails and what pressures there are within the organisation (Robson, 2002). These are all relevant factors that applied in this instance. This knowledge or preunderstanding of informal structures within an organisation supports the research process (Roth, et al., 2007). However not all considerations of ‘insider’ research are positive and insider research has been under scrutiny for the very fact that the insider is an actor within the setting and from an intellectual basis it is more difficult to reference supporting techniques and procedures for controlling ‘subjectivity’ (Alvesson, 2003). This means that the researcher needs to be fully aware of personal bias affecting the research. As this researcher is no longer an actor within the setting the fears of Alvesson (2003) do not carry their full weight but the rigours of controlling subjectivity are crucial for the quality of the research.

In her paper on managing insider research bias Van Heugten (2004) writes:

*“Whatever the terminology that we employ, it would seem clear that the researcher’s subjectivity must be open to intensive scrutiny. Values, beliefs and personal interests should not only be declared but challenged on an ongoing*

*basis. If the researcher's self is to function as a well-calibrated instrument, passion must be valued and harnessed."*

Van Heugten (2004, pp. 208)

With Van Heugten (2004) in mind, there are numerous examples located within the interviews where the researcher in response to a statement made by a participant uses the term 'we' rather than 'you' when talking about the police organisation. This is a clear indication that the researcher was strongly affected by the POI not only during his service but continues to identify himself as a police officer even after several years of retirement. Also, apparent to this researcher is the fact that very many of the views and sentiments expressed by the participants from either police force could easily have been uttered by the researcher himself which is also a clear indicator of personal bias. The chosen methodology for the research was to undertake two linked case studies involving the semi-structured interviews of federated rank serving police officers. The interviews were conducted following an IPA methodology and the data analysed according to the sense making protocol (appendix 3) which builds systematic rigour into the analytical process (Smith et al., 2009). The method used followed a strict iterative process moving backwards and forwards between a holistic and idiographic view of the text. In this way, careful attention was paid to the meanings being attributed to the text and in this manner the researcher attempted to avoid personal bias in determination of the meanings of the text under scrutiny.

Irrespective of the researcher's best attempts to remove any traces of bias, as with all qualitative social research, the ontological, epistemological and personal values of the researcher must provide the lens through which any data is viewed and analysed. This means that possible researcher bias is always a constraint, particularly in qualitative analysis, and other possible meanings could be attributed by different researchers to the same data which therefore must be a limitation of the research. The data in this research was collected and analysed from an interpretive qualitative viewpoint for generation of theory and the creation of propositions. The necessary iteration involved in the analysis of interview data when following an IPA methodology is extremely time consuming and was originally intended for the analysis of one or two interviews. This means that when

conducting IPA research sample sizes are small and as such do not represent the general population. In qualitative research, great value is attached to the deep understanding emerging from information- rich cases and in quantitative research generalizations applied to large populations permitted by random and statistically representative samples. Although a sample size of one will never be sufficient to permit generalization of analysis to populations, it may be sufficient to permit the valuable kind of generalizations that can be made from and about cases, variously referred to as idiographic, holographic, naturalistic, or analytic generalizations (Ragin and Becker, 1992; Firestone, 1993; Lincoln and Guba, 2000).

In the context of the current thesis one final limitation arises from the sample size which in effect prevents any attempt at claims of generalizability linked to the wider population. This limitation arises mainly from the interpretive positioning of the research which was intended as a means of generating new theory rather than positivistic hypothesis testing. Having arrived at the four new propositions further research could approach the same research from the perspective of hypothesis development and testing.

## 7.7 My role as a researcher

I came to academia late in life having completed around 25 years' service in Kent Police before undertaking an MA by research on my own organisation. For me, the MA raised more questions that it could answer and provoked an interest in further research. On retirement from the police undertaking a new significant research project felt like the right thing to do and I obtained a PhD scholarship. Prior to embarking upon my research journey, I was a firm believer in the empirical natural science view of the world, indeed as a police detective drawing logical conclusions from the available evidence was a necessary element of any investigation. At the beginning of this journey I was completely unaware of the profound changes to my own ontological and epistemological views that were about to occur. However, the free process of reading, following its own undefined route through the literature, eventually lead through the post- modernists and critical realists into the relational sociological emergent view of society. It was here that I found real personal resonance in the emergent nature of social forms described by the

critical/relational sociological position and at this point felt that I was ready to narrow the focus back to the management and governance of policing which were the original subject of the proposed research project. At the outset, my world view meant that my intention had been to simply extend, my MA research from one police organisation to all the forces making up the PSEW. The opening of my mind to the possibilities provided by the change in ontological and epistemological positioning changed the focus and intention of the research. This new thinking resulted in a consideration of the many governance changes occurring in policing during the three-decade plus period, commencing around 1980 and moving to the present, from the perspective of the officers that lived through some or all of those changes and the possible ways in which their narratives could inform upon those changes. As I intended to explore governance changes in policing organisations the problem, from a relational sociological perspective, was to determine how it would be possible to properly conceptualize the interaction between the structures/cultures present in those organisations and the individual agents. At this point in the theoretical consideration of the problem the morphostatis and morphogenesis introduced by Archer (1995) took on far greater significance for the current thesis. In her explanation of the process of social change Archer (1995) attributes that change not to the actions of individual agents within society but to the coordinated efforts of corporate agents. This then left the researcher considering how to properly conceptualise the interaction between the structures/cultures present in the police organisations and the actions/influence of corporate agents taking an interest in policing.

The final step in the theoretical construction of the relational policing matrix came following a consideration of the grid/group matrix of Douglas (1996). The grid/group approach provides a framework that allows for the proper conceptualization of the interaction between the elements forming the axes of the framework. As the problem facing the research at this stage was to discover a means to properly conceptualize the interaction of two elements the grid/group of Douglas (1996) offered an elegant solution. In this way, a relational sociological theoretical view of the governance changes in policing could be represented by a grid/group style matrix. As the relational sociological emergent view of society resulted from the interaction between structures/culture and corporate agency it was a simple step to adopt the changes over



time of these factors, as the axes forming the new RPM. From this theoretical position, it was possible to begin to visualize the interactions taking place in UK policing in response to the governance changes over time and the possible characteristics of the nature of policing present in each of the four newly formed quadrants. This initial visualization resulted in the creation of a first draft of the RPM. Having recently retired from Kent Police, although no longer strictly an insider I still have very strong feelings of being a police officer and possess the POI of Hoggett et al. (2014) and PSM of Perry and Wise (1990). It was this feeling of membership of the police family and self-identification as a police officer that dictated the need for me to explore the sense making of serving federated rank police officers. I strongly believed that by listening properly to the feelings and lived experiences of individual federated rank police officers at a micro level would provide data capable of informing upon policing at a macro organisational level. This narrowing of focus and consideration of the theoretical positioning of my research entailed a detailed, systematic review of the existing literature and the creation of a first draft of the literature review covering both the background and focal literature. Once the initial literature review was completed, I could properly consider all the potentially connected factors and completed my first draft of the RPM which was included in the first draft of the literature review chapter.

With the first draft of the RPM in place and the desire to explore the sense making of federated rank police officers as a driver the initial research questions were formulated. As with any research there is an absolute necessity for theoretical, ontological and epistemological consistency to be maintained throughout the entire research process including the research design and analytical phases (Collis and Hussey, 2009; Miles et al., 2014). Because the aim of the researcher was to utilise the sense making of the participants to inform upon the characteristics and effects of governance changes in policing it was important to find a method that allowed the participants a full voice. Therefore, the semi-structured interviews following a sense making protocol suggested by Cope (2005) based upon the IPA of Smith et al. (2009) was incorporated into a case study approach. The IPA approach, being based upon the three philosophical positions of hermeneutics, phenomenology and idiography has a sound theoretical underpinning and was designed as a tool to examine the sense making of participants. This made IPA

the ideal tool to allow the researcher to achieve the objective of sense-making whilst at the same time maintaining theoretical, ontological and epistemological consistency in the methods used. Now, I was ready to move away from the literature review but was aware of the rapidly changing nature of the theoretical playing field. As a means of remaining connected to changes in literature occurring during the research period, I created automatic notifications of publications linked to keywords in the University e-library, the British library and google scholar. This enabled me to keep abreast of new publications as they appeared.

It was then time to commence the gathering of data in the field and as the intention was to interview individuals working for real organisations ethical permission to proceed was obtained from the Universities ethics committee. In terms of selecting which police organisations to conduct case studies upon the only necessary criteria were that they were one of the 43 police forces making up the PSEW. Having recently left the policing family I was aware of the College of Policing and the fact that they maintained an online map of the UK showing the police force locations of any ongoing police research that they were aware of. This meant that I could see which police forces were more likely to be open to approaches from universities requesting access to staff and facilities for conducting research. With several police forces fitting those criteria I made approaches to them and in each case, was very quickly directed to the person responsible for granting the level of access needed. The details of the proposed research, in brief, were sent to them in writing setting out my intentions to interview nine of their officers. At this stage I rather naively believed that my status as a 30-year police veteran would enable me to easily open doors in any police organisation. I was very soon to discover that in policing you are either in or out and once returned to the status of a civilian member of the public your previous levels of easy access are withdrawn. Every police force I approached held onto my request for several months, burning valuable time, before eventually refusing to grant the access requested. This then left me with a possibility of falling at the first hurdle but also highlighted the extent to which I could no longer be considered as an insider researcher reducing the effects feared by Alvesson (2003).

Going back to the literature on conducting IPA studies and the sampling criteria I returned to Cope (2005) who stated that locating subjects for IPA studies can be

problematic and successfully argued that due to the richness of data gathered the use of any available subjects was acceptable. Time was becoming a factor and it was essential that the data gathering phase was completed without much more delay. I therefore reconsidered the manner of sampling and decided to utilise my available personal contacts from my time working for Kent police. I therefore contacted some personally known Police Officers, looking to find sufficient participants within a single police force. In Mecronia, I located 9 serving police officers who agreed to participate in my research. One of my contacts worked in Andrad, he not only agreed to participate himself but also with his help I managed to arrange access to 9 officers in his force. This meant I had sufficient participants located in Mecronia Police and Andrad Police to proceed with 2 case studies.

The Mecronia interviews and analysis of the data were conducted first with the collection and analysis of the Andrad data coming at a later stage. The analysis of the Mecronia data highlighted some areas and themes arising from the interview questions that appeared to be noise, for example there were long sections detailing previous working and life experiences prior to joining the police. Following the analysis of the Mecronia data it was apparent that the sections of noise added little to the thesis, also some areas that would be valuable were a little sparse, for example locating sections of data concerned with the existence or absence of corporate agencies taking an interest in policing. This meant that I reconsidered the 10 seed questions used for the Mecronia interviews and these were reworked resulting in 10 similar but different questions for use in the Andrad case study. In generating the questions, the morphogenetic view of Archer (1995) was essential, for her social change occurs in a cyclic manner over time (see fig 13) post) and the movement over time is crucial. In arguing against conflation in social theorising Archer (2000) claims that central conflation occurs when structures and agency are considered to be opposite sides of a single entity. Treating structure and agency in this way is central to the structuration theory of Giddens (1984) but Archer (2000) claims the instantiation inherent in the central conflation of his theories deny the possibility of a past or future for social forms. This means that there must be a consideration of a social past, present and future, in any social enquiry based upon the morphogenetic cycle of Archer (2000). Therefore, both sets of interview questions are divided into three-time

bounded sets of questions considering the past, present and future for the participants. The seed questions used to conduct the interviews in both case studies are included at appendix 3) and 6).

In both cases studies the analytical protocol was used to create lists of themes and sub-themes emerging from the interviews by collating ideas and concepts into Nvivo nodes. By using Nvivo it was a simple process to examine the created themes in terms of the number of individual statements collected into each of the generated nodes and to determine what percentage of the interview each of the nodes contributed. I felt that the more often a theme was mentioned by the participants the more significance it held for them and that the longer an individual chose to speak about an issue the more significance it held for them. This enabled two forms of ranking of the emergent themes which could be combined to produce a single ranking of significance for the collected themes to be created and in this way the most significant themes emerging from the interviews could be identified. The use of any ranking system would have been valid but for me I initially considered using the number of times an idea or concept was mentioned as the single means of ranking the emergent themes. It then occurred to me that an officer might want to talk about a burning issue at length but on only one occasion and by using only the number of references valuable insight may be lost. The reverse is also true that if the amount of data collected into a node was considered as the only measure of significance it would be possible to hide instances where individuals were frequently making very short comments on a subject, but the accumulated amount of data was low. It therefore felt right to me to consider both frequency and quantity of data as relevant measures of significance and combining both reduced the risk of losing valuable data.

With the analysis completed the first attempt at writing the analysis and discussion chapters was made. I attempted to present the analysis from the Mecronia case study in relation to RQ1 and RQ2 in one chapter with the analysis from the Andrad case study in relation to RQ1 and RQ2 presented in a separate chapter followed by a discussion chapter. This then formed a completed first draft of my thesis which was presented to my supervisory team and it was decided that far greater clarity for the reader would be obtained by addressing analysis from both case studies in relation to RQ1 in one chapter with a separate chapter focussing on RQ2 as this was much more closely linked to the

overall aims and objectives of the thesis. As previously stated, data analysis of 18 semi-structured interviews is an arduous and time-consuming process, I was therefore keen to use the one phase of analysis to address both RQ1 and RQ2. After two attempts to write a meaningful chapter related to RQ2 I finally realized, what I am sure my supervisory team had been leading me towards but wanted me to discover for myself, the lens through which the data had been analysed whilst perfectly suited to address RQ1 was completely unsuited to address RQ2. I then made the decision to return to the original transcripts and to reanalyse the data but this time with a lens provided by the feelings and personal reactions of the participants. Whilst the sense making protocol allowing for the meanings of the text to appear was again followed and the data was still collected into Nvivo nodes. A table of the emerging themes (open coding categories), sub-themes (axial coding sub-categories) and linked theoretical contributors was created. The creation of this table then provided the headings, sub-headings and material for discussion in the analysis chapter linked to RQ2. Although the raw data for each of the analysis chapters is identical the different lenses adopted by me during the analysis lead to the generation of different themes.

With the themes provided by the second phase of analysis I was able to approach the writing of the analysis chapter linked to RQ2 and on this occasion identification of relevant themes went ahead on a much more successful basis. A suitable format for the discussion chapter was considered in close collaboration with my supervisory team and I continued with the final writing phases of the thesis. Again, a final iterative phase was entered with various sections of the completed thesis undergoing writing and rewriting leading to the final completed version of my thesis.

One aspect of the research process that I became aware of at an early stage was the collation and retention of academic sources that were in some way relevant to the research. I was introduced to the use of physical card boxes or electronic databases to store concepts and views from various sources that were being read together with full bibliographic details for ease of use later in the research process. At the time, this sounded like a good idea and I began putting every journal or book into my own electronic database. This was commenced with the best of intentions however after a short time despite collecting many articles and books I felt that the time needed to enter the details

into a database was more of a hindrance to the process than a help and I stopped adding further information. On reflection, I believe that had I continued to use the database throughout the research the writing up process would have been helped enormously. There were many occasions when I recalled reading something that fitted into an argument I was attempting to make, and I was unable to fully recall what or who had said it meaning I had to return to the literature to relocate the information. I therefore believe that the writing up process would have been greatly assisted by the systematic generation of my own research database during the research process. Another benefit from the process of completing the database entry is that it forces you to properly identify the core concept that you are trying to retain for later use, therefore improving the clarity of your own understanding. For me this was a hard-learned lesson but believe it will serve me well in possible future research.

## 7.8 Future research

The first area of possible future research arises directly from the limitations of this thesis. In writing the thesis I have been able to generate four propositions based upon the data collected from samples. These however cannot be considered to represent the wider population in statistical terms. This limitation appears in two forms firstly each case study was conducted on only 9 participants and therefore their views cannot be a statistical representation of their own police forces. Also, the research was conducted as case studies on only 2 out of the 43 police forces making up the PSEW and again must lack the ability to be considered as representative of the wider population. Therefore, one possibility for further research would be for statistically sound testing of hypotheses using sufficiently large sampling to allow theoretical generalizations to be made.

During the analysis of the data the significance of the existence in police officers of both PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990) and POI (Hoggett et al., 2014) was relied upon in order to complete theoretical arguments and both of these subjects open possible avenues for further research in policing. The potential influence of PSM is clearly not limited to the field of policing but extends into the wider public sector and offers opportunities for further research in that field. With POI in mind and the theoretical field of social identity

it is possible that where PSM carries into the wider public-sector other public-sector employees may be influenced by their own version of organisational identity which is an area for possible further research. The links between PSM, POI and OCB are also worthy of further examination and provide an area for future research.

The removal of numerical goals and targets, from the police, by the home secretary (May, 2010), was discussed in Chapter 6 (ante). In this discussion reference was made to the positive responses of the public to the changes in Mecronia, highlighted by HMICFRS (2017). The researcher alluded to the likelihood that the return to human social forms provided some kind of causal link to this upturn in public support. This then provides a possibility for further research.

The final area of potential research arises from the impact of NPM on police organisations. It is clear, that whilst the research concentrated on police organisations, NPM in the UK was implemented across the wider public sector. If the negative effects linked to NPM in police organisations are an indication, then it is likely that similar effects are present in other public-sector organisations. This then provides the wider UK public sector as a potential area for future research.

## 8 Summary and recommendations

### 8.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, I conclude the delivery of my research by summarising some of the key features of my thesis as presented in earlier chapters of the study. This will be a deliberately brief re-examination as I do not intend to repeat or recount all of the highlights as there are chapter specific summaries included in each chapter. In providing this final summary I will consider the key contributions of each chapter, in turn, to the overall thesis. This is followed a statement of contribution and my final recommendations for future research and police policy makers.

### 8.2 Thesis rationale and connection to existing literature

The thesis rationale and the motivation for my study was the focus for Chapter 1. I explained how a growing consensus linking high performance cultures to negative effects on organisations was emerging in three distinct academic sectors. I suggested that this provided a potential area of interest for social research in UK policing. I considered the existing literature linked to police organisations and their collective focus on the organisations but not from the perspective of individual police officers. A good example of the organisational focus can be found in De Maillard and Savage (2012), where they compare the implementation of NPM in the UK to the implementation of NPM in France and the impact on police organisations on both sides of the channel. The tight organisational focus is also apparent in the book by Reiner (2010) and his detailed consideration of the politics of policing. Further examples of the organisational focus are provided by Cockcroft and Beattie (2009) who examine the growth of managerialism or Gilling (2013) who explores police reforms. Even more contemporary work such as Elliott – Davies et al. (2016) that is concerned with the impact of austerity and the widening gap between demand and resources is focussed on the macro organisational level. The consideration of the effect of ongoing police governance changes, with a focus on the impact and effect on individual police officers, approaches the context of police



management from a new perspective, filling an apparent gap and contributing to the literature.

From the literature review, potential negative effects of managerial policing systems, for example Diefenbach (2009) or Mendel et al. (2017) provided a key problem area that had already been highlighted from the perspective of organisations but not front-line police officers. The negative effects of NPM, on police organisations from the macro perspective, were also the focus of Meekings et al. (2011) and De Maillard and Savage (2017). By considering the perspective of individual police officers to highlight the effects at the macro level (organisational) and micro level (individual feelings), this research contributes to the existing body of policing literature. This thesis and the overall aim of the research, was guided by the development of two research questions, **RQ1: *What are the social structural and corporate agency characteristics of different UK policing governance systems since 1980?*** and **RQ2: *How have police officers reacted to the social structural and corporate agency governance changes in UK policing since 1980?*** – both discussed individually in the analysis of the data in Chapter 5 (RQ1) and Chapter 6 (RQ2).

As a background literature review, Chapter 2 provided a critical review of more than 20 key governance changes affecting police organisations between 1980 and 2010. This was intended to provide a contextual setting for the research and through the literature identified three distinct periods of governance. The chapter was therefore presented in sections, the first was a brief look at UK policing from the 1964 Police Act up to the arrival of the conservative government in 1979. Then, three further sections considered the governance changes from 1980 -1999, from 2000 – 2010 and finally considered ongoing changes since 2010. The main focus of the thesis remains changes since 1980 and the theoretical contributions presented critically, evaluated the introduction of highly managerial management systems and an over reliance upon numerical goals and targets under the influence of NPM between 1980 – 1999 (Loveday, 1999; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Reiner, 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012, 2017; Gilling, 2013; Loader, 2016). In the later sections of Chapter 2, the key characteristics of police responses to NPM were considered, identifying the reliance on numerical targets and goals as a key characteristic. Also identified was a loss of professional discretion and

an increase in unwanted negative side effects. In relation to the period between 2000 – 2010, the theoretical texts described the introduction of NHP under new localism and the confused messages from central government (Fleming and Mclaughlin, 2012; Gilling, 2013). The main characteristics of NHP as intended and as implemented were considered by an examination of the existing literature highlighting the conflicted nature of policing during this period. The final sections of Chapter 2 consisted of an examination of policing in response to the removal of targets and goals by the coalition government in 2010 (May, 2010), the impact of government austerity measures and the introduction of PCC's (Williams, 2012; Gilling, 2013; Mawby and Smith 2017).

In Chapter 3, a second literature review chapter, I critically analysed the structures of police organisations emerging under NPM and considered the contributions of many authors previously discussed (Loveday, 1999; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009; Reiner 2010; De Maillard and Savage, 2012; Gilling, 2013; Loader, 2016). There was a consensus among these writers as to the shape and structure of police organisations emerging under the effects of NPM. There was universal agreement that NPM structures were managerial with a strong focus on the attainment of numerical targets and goals. In my critical analysis I also explored the literature that claimed management structures under NPM were found to produce unwanted negative side effects (Loveday, 2000a; Diefenbach, 2009; Shane, 2010; Arnaboldi et al., 2015; Ashkanasy et al., 2016; De Silva and Chandrika, 2016). There was a theoretical comparison of the literature from different sectors, highlighting the remarkable similarities, between ideas emerging in the critical/relational sector and those linked to negative organisational effects in management texts. These were shown to be identical to structures and culture in police organisations working under the influence of NPM. Then at the end of Chapter 3, I brought together the three areas, police management, business management and critical/relational sociology to develop the new conceptual framework, the RPM. In this process, I relied upon the interaction between the levels of non-human social forms Donati (2007) and corporate agencies Archer (1995) in police organisations, to examine the characteristics of policing under differing non-human structural and corporate agency conditions. The interaction between structure and agency has been a central area for debate in social sciences for some time. However, using the critical/relational sociological

work of Donati (2007) (non-human social forms) and Archer (1995) (corporate agencies and morphogenesis) to provide a lens for research on police organisations has never been attempted before. Therefore, using the new RPM, I follow the work of Donati (2007) and Archer (1995) adding support to their work, also extending their work into the wider area of social research and contributing to knowledge. Using the same arguments, the critical/relational lens has not previously been used to examine police organisations in this way, therefore my thesis also contributes to the literature on policing.

Chapter 4 outlined my research design and methodology and I relied upon Yin (2014) to argue that a case study approach was the preferred research method where the object of interest was complex, but the researcher had no control of the environment. As the context and chosen area for the research was police organisations which were both complex and beyond the control of the researcher a case study approach was used. The central aim of the thesis was to examine the relational, cultural and performance aspects of police organisations informed by the perceptions of the participants. The IPA methodology, Smith et al. (2009) was designed to provide a case study approach for research in psychology. The method allowed a rich deep examination of the lived experiences of research participants through their own sense-making. Therefore, an IPA approach assists the researcher to gain a deep understanding of the perceptions of the participants, which was the goal for my research. IPA was therefore the chosen methodology for my thesis. Through this design, I was able to develop an investigation of the macro-level (organisational characteristics) of UK police organisations and a micro-level (personal lived experiences) analysis of the effects on individual police officers. The question of design quality was examined, and I considered the positivistic measures of research quality, construct validity, internal and external validity and reliability as suggested by Eisenhardt (1989) and Riege (2003). These views were ultimately rejected in favour of Jarvensivu and Tornroos (2009), who state that for interpretive qualitative research under post-modern paradigms, more appropriate measures of quality are provided by trustworthiness and general acceptance by the wider scientific community. The final sections of Chapter 4 were dedicated to the methodology which was a step by step description of the actions taken by the researcher in completing this thesis.

In Chapter 5, I presented the first of two analysis chapters, with the focus of this chapter being an investigation linked to RQ1. Addressing RQ1, the characteristics adopted by police organisations were examined through the theoretical lenses of critical/relational sociology Archer (1995) and Donati (2007). The successful use of the Relational Policing Matrix (RPM), previously developed in Chapter 3, was the key contribution of my RQ1 investigation. Through the RPM, I was able to establish what each of the four quadrants of policing looked like in the terms of both their non-human structural (person oriented or task-oriented) and corporate agency (self-determining or externally dependent) dimensions and characteristics. One of the notable characteristics of the RPM is the cyclical nature of the changes with police organisations almost coming full circle. This was highlighted in section 5.4 (pp. 185-187) and graphically represented in fig.11 ‘RPM Cyclical Representation’ (pp. 186). It needs to be stressed, it is impossible for the ‘circle’ to fully close or return to an exact replica of traditional policing. This is because, police organisations in the NTP quadrant (post 2010) are constrained by the activity and influence of many corporate agencies, for example the growth of groups linked to ‘diversity’ following the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the subsequent Macpherson Report, which was totally absent for their earlier predecessors (TP pre-1980). There are several implications of the RPM, however, by establishing the dimensions and characteristics of the four quadrants of the RPM I could provide support for: -

**Proposition 1: - *The (changing) characteristics of social, structural and corporate agency governance can be explained relationally through a new conceptual Relational Policing Matrix.***

and through the characteristics and dimensions of the fourth quadrant (NTP) I was also able to address: -

**Proposition 2: - *In terms of where we are now, the absence of NPM social structures and the influences of many corporate agencies operate together, resulting in a neo-traditional policing style.***

In Chapter 6 the focus moved away from the characteristics present in the quadrants (Macro) to a consideration of the impact of those characteristics on police

officers through an examination of their feelings (Micro). In the first section of the chapter, I examined the data that described the characteristics and de-humanisation linked to management structures emerging in response to NPM. These were the reliance upon numerical goals and targets and the growth of social pathogens (Donati, 2007) in response to non-human social forms. I explored the negative feelings expressed by the officers in response to these structures and relied upon the mismatch of the structures to the values linked to PSM (Perry and Wise, 1990). The theoretical texts and data combined therefore provided support for: -

**Proposition 3: “*Reliance upon NPM social structures and corporate agency had a de-humanising effect on UK police organisations.*”**

In the second section of the chapter, I examined the data and theoretical texts that inform the UK government’s austerity measures. I highlighted the theoretical claims that austerity had resulted in UK police organisations being under extreme pressure due to a widening gap between demand and resources. I used many examples of data to support this position and additionally was able to show that officers were feeling increasingly overworked and stressed. This therefore provided clear support for: -

**Proposition 4: “*Police structures and culture since 2010 are greatly affected by the UK government’s austerity measures which have left many police officers feeling stressed and overworked*”**

In Chapter 7, I presented my discussion, where (in sections 7.2; 7.3; 7.4) I drew out the ‘*so what*’ elements of my thesis and pinpointed specific contributions to the various literatures. In this process I focussed on the propositions (P1 -P4) which I believe establish the non-human structural/corporate agency characteristics of police organisations over the relevant period and the effects on police officers. I considered the theoretical contributions of the critical/relational sociological emergentist view of society to the thesis. In section 7.5 I considered the impact of my work on policy and practice, focussing on the gap between policing demand and resources, the negative effects linked to the de-humanisation of police organisations under NPM and the implications for the wider public sector. In Sections 7.6 and 7.7, I considered the limitations of my work concentrating on highlighting the trustworthiness of my research and the impact of

researcher bias. I also explored the contributions of my thesis to theory, policy and practice. The final section (7.8) is a consideration of future possible areas of research arising from my study, which in brief are positivistic hypothesis testing of the theory generated by my research, examination of the phenomena of PSM, POI and OCB, research into the impact of NPM on the wider public sector and research into possible positive effects of returning to more human social forms.

### 8.3 Statement of contribution

Given the theoretical arguments leading to its creation, the support located in the data, highlighted by the analysis and discussion chapters, the new RPM is a useful tool of analysis and is a major contribution of the thesis. No one has described these changing governance characteristics in relation to the police from the perspective of serving police officers. No one has analysed the impact of those characteristics on those police officers. The thesis contributes to theory in describing governance using a relational sociological lens. In this way it follows from the work of Donati (2007) and Archer (1995) contributing to critical/relational sociological emergentist view adding support to their models and arguments. As the context of the RPM is UK policing, examining police officers and police forces in this way has not been done before, therefore the thesis also contributes to policing theory.

The chosen methodology used IPA to conduct two case studies, the thesis therefore contributes to theory in applying IPA to examine police organisations. Using IPA for this research follows on from the work of Cope (2005,2011) and Palmer et al. (2010) and adds to their arguments in favour of using IPA for social research. The chosen context for the research is provided by the changing governance of UK police organisations. Police governance and management has been considered in detail by many authors. In setting the background context for the research a chronological examination of many key police governance changes were examined. This approach followed on from and added to the work of Reiner (2010) and therefore contributes to policing theory. The thesis contributes to policy in describing the acute fears of the police officers arising from their perceptions of a growing gap between the increasing demands for service and the ability of the police to meet those demands. These analysis support claims made by

Winsor (2016) and Gillett (2017) that UK police forces are facing an ever-widening gap between resources and demand.

Finally, the analysis identified the negative impact of numerically based management structures and culture in response to NPM, particularly the growth of social pathogens in police organisations. These social pathogens included dishonesty and integrity issues. For the police, where their integrity is crucial it is imperative that these types of effects are kept to an absolute minimum. Therefore, this thesis contributes to police policy and practice in describing the negative effects of management structures and culture linked to NPM.

#### 8.4 Recommendations

This research was conducted from an entirely interpretive position, for the generation of theory, using an IPA methodology to examine the lived experiences of serving police officers. Because the adopted method necessarily utilises very small sample sizes nothing presented in this thesis could be considered as a statistical representation of the overall population of either police officers or police forces in the UK. Therefore, the first recommendation for further research would be to reconsider the RPM from a positivistic hypothesis testing position using large sample sizes and careful sample selection criteria to address this potential weakness.

During the analysis of the officer's reactions to the turbulent governance changes presented in Chapter 6, I argued that the presence Public Service Motivation (PSM) (Perry and Wise, 1990) was significant in the data sample. I suggested that it was a mismatch between PSM and the demands of performance management under NPM that resulted in feelings of discomfort and unease in the sample. Further, I made a tenuous link between PSM and links to the Police Organisational Identity (POI) from the work of Hogget et al. (2014). Therefore, the second recommendation for further research would be to explore UK police organisations/officers looking to identify and understand any correlation between the PSM and POI. Continuing to consider the impact of PSM in my sample I also suggested that there were potential links between PSM and Organisational Citizen Behaviour (OCB) Organ (1988). This therefore provides another area for further research,

which could be either combined with an examination of POI or alternatively conducted separately.

During the analysis (Chapters 5 and 6) and the discussion (Chapter 7) I showed that in response to the arrival of the coalition government in 2010, the removal of targets and goals from UK policing was fully adopted by Mecronia and was welcomed by the officers and public. My thesis suggested this approval was linked to a return to human social forms (person-oriented policing). However, the links made were anecdotal and simply made as a possibility and not empirically supported by my data. Therefore, a clear area for further research and my next recommendation is to examine the current position of UK police forces to establish the extent of human vs non-human social forms and the possible effects of a move from non-human to more human social forms.

At several points during the thesis I have claimed similarity between UK police organisations and organisations in the wider public sector. Whilst I have acknowledged the importance to policing of wider public-sector reforms, due to size and time constraints there has been minimal discussion of the literature or academic theory linked to public-sector reform in this thesis. My research has been completed solely in the context of police organisations, however the impact of NPM must be a consideration for the whole of the UK public sector. Therefore, similar research using a critical/relational lens, either from an interpretive theory generation position or a hypothesis testing position, on the ongoing effects of NPM in the wider public sector is my next recommendation for further research.

My final recommendation arises following the identification of a culture of fear, particularly in senior officers, of behaviour or actions that could have serious repercussions for police organisations at a macro level and for police managers at a micro level. During my analysis of officer's feelings in Chapter 6 I showed how the officers, not limited to senior ranks, had a culture of fear for both their own reputation but also how this culture of fear extended to the reputation of the organisation. This culture has definite implications for the ongoing conduct and possible responses of police organisations to serious or critical incidents in the future. Therefore, my final



recommendation for further research is an exploration of a police fear culture at both personal (micro) and organisational (macro) levels.

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## 10 Appendices

Appendix 1: Copy of ethical approval request forms



For Research Office Use
Checklist No:
Date

### 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 animal<sup>1</sup> 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	
<b>Research</b>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<b>Knowledge Exchange</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>

### Section A: Applicant Details

A1. Name of applicant:	Christopher Goodman
A2. Status (please underline):	Postgraduate Student
A3. Email address:	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
A4. Contact address:	<p>XXXXXXXXXX</p> <p>XXXXXXX</p> <p>XX XXXXXX</p>
A5. Telephone number	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

- 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 <b>not</b> 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 <b>interaction</b> 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"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
15.	Will the study involve recruitment of participants ( <b>excluding staff</b> ) through the NHS?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
16.	Will the study involve recruitment of participants through the <b>Department of Social Services</b> of a Local Authority (e.g. Kent County Council)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

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

D1. Project title:	Performance Culture in UK Police Forces: A relational sociological perspective
D2. Start date	
D3. End date	Oct 2013
D4. Lay summary (max 300 words <i>which <b>must</b> include a brief description of the methodology to be used for gathering your data)</i> )	<p>Oct 2016</p> <p>This study will explore the cultural and management processes within the context of UK policing. Since the end of the 1970's public sector organisations, including the police have been subject to very many long-term ongoing reforms under the umbrella of New Public Management. For the police these governance changes have resulted in a focus on performance outcomes which can be termed managerialism or performance culture. At the same time certain business academics have criticised these types of management processes.</p> <p>During the same time period the field of sociology has seen the advent of new ideas which seek to overcome the perceived failings of earlier sociological models. One idea that is finding increasing support is the idea of relational sociology. Key to this area are the works of Pierpalo Donati, Nick Crossley and Margaret Archer. Taken together they provide a sociological view that describes non-human social forms. These forms closely mirror management structures adopted under the New Public Management. They also provide for human social forms which are reflected in increasing numbers of corporate agents. This feeds directly into the long-term ongoing debate of agency vs structure and provides a unique tool for examining the current sociological processes taking place within the context of UK policing.</p>



	<p>The initial phase of data collection will be a case study of a single UK police force utilising semi-structured interviews and an Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis following methodologies first used and developed by Smith Flowers and Larkin. The data gathered in the case study will be fully analysed to identify patterns and themes and then used to develop a series of questions for use in a wider large-scale survey. The exact questions and methods for the survey cannot be fully considered until after the initial data gathering phase and analysis has been completed.</p>
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Section E1: For Students Only

E1. Module name and number or course and Department:	M/Phil Business Studies, The Business School
E2. Name of Supervisor or module leader	Dr Heather McLaughlin
E3. Email address of Supervisor or Module leader	heather.mclaughlin@canterbury.ac.uk
E4. Contact address:	The Business School, Canterbury Christ Church University, Room Rf32

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:	<input type="checkbox"/>
The topic merits further investigation	<input type="checkbox"/>
The student has the skills to carry out the study	<input type="checkbox"/>
The participant information sheet or leaflet is appropriate	<input type="checkbox"/>
The procedures for recruitment and obtaining informed consent are appropriate	<input type="checkbox"/>
If a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check is required, this has been carried out	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments from supervisor:
---------------------------

## 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 and 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
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Principal Investigator	Supervisor or module leader (as appropriate)
Name: Christopher Goodman Date: 24/10/2014	Name: Date:

## 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](mailto: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.



26 November 2014

Ref: 14/BUS/107C

Mr Christopher Goodman

c/o The Business School

Faculty of Social and Applied Sciences

Dear Chris

**Confirmation of ethics compliance for your study “Performance culture in UK police forces: a relational sociological perspective.”**

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I have received an Ethics Review Checklist and appropriate supporting documentation for proportionate review of the above project. Because you have answered “No” to all of the questions in Section B, no further ethical review will be required under the terms of this University’s Research Ethics and Governance Procedures.

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In confirming compliance for your study, I must remind you that it is your responsibility to follow, as appropriate, the policies and procedures set out in the *Research Governance Handbook* ( <http://www.canterbury.ac.uk/centres/red/ethics-governance/governance-and-ethics.asp> ) and any relevant academic or professional guidelines. This includes providing, if 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 of the study over its course should be notified to the **Research Office**, and may require a new application for ethics approval. **It is a condition of compliance that you must inform me once your research has been completed.** Wishing you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Roger Bone'.

Roger Bone

Research Governance Manager

Tel: +44 (0)1227 782940 ext 3272 (enter at prompt)

Email: [roger.bone@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:roger.bone@canterbury.ac.uk)

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cc: Dr Heather McLaughlin

Research Office

Research and Enterprise Development Centre

Canterbury Christ Church University

North Holmes Campus, Canterbury, Kent, CT1 1QU

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[www.canterbury.ac.uk](http://www.canterbury.ac.uk)

Professor Rama Thirunamachandran, Vice Chancellor and Principal

## **Mecronia Case Study**

IPA - Semi-structured interview proposed questions: -

### A) Historical Influences

1. Can you tell me about your personal background and what made you want to join the police? (Allow subject to speak freely, through additional questions ensure you bring out family structure, community, education, previous employment, marital status and membership of any groups.)

2. Can you explain how you came by your current role and also what previous policing roles you have performed? (Allow subject to speak freely, through additional questions concentrate on how those experiences and cultural influences have shaped his present.)

3. What personal traits, views and opinions or membership of any groups made you suitable as a candidate for the police or any of the roles you have performed since joining the police? (Allow subject to speak freely, try to allow the subject to give voice to his own personality as being instrumental in shaping his present.)

### B) The Present Position

4. Thinking about the community that you serve, and the current political climate how do these influences affect your ability to act as a police officer? (Allow subject to speak freely, try to let him/her identify any influences, structures or corporate agents, that are external to the police that impact on him/her providing enablement's or constraints.)

5. Now looking at your own force and your current area or team, how do these affect your ability to act as a police officer? (Allow subject to speak freely, try to let

him/her identify any influences, structures or corporate agents, that are internal to the police that impact on him/her providing enablement's or constraints.)

6. Since joining the police have you changed your view of policing, if so why and if not why not? (Allow the subject to speak freely, let him/her identify their own influences do these provide any enablement's or constraints.)

#### C) Future Predictions

7. Could you describe the ways you believe the UK is likely to develop in the future? (Very open, let the subject have free rein then try to focus on possible structural/cultural morphogenesis/morphostasis based on their initial answer.)

8. Could you describe the ways you believe your police force, or even policing in the UK is likely to develop in the future? (Very open, let the subject have free rein then try to focus on possible structural/cultural morphogenesis/morphostasis based on their initial answer.)

9. Considering your views of the possible future developments described, how do you think these will affect you as a police officer or as a private individual? (Let the subject talk about their own perceptions of their possible future do they believe it is carved in rock, pre-determined or can they influence this future at all.)

#### D) Summary

10. Thinking about the structures and culture in your force and the nature of our discussion is there anything else you would like to say or add, or anything you wanted to say but did not have the opportunity to express?





### **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET**

A research study is being conducted at Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) by Christopher Goodman

#### **Background**

This study will explore the cultural and management processes within the context of UK policing. Since the end of the 1970's public sector organisations, including the police have been subject to very many long term ongoing reforms under the umbrella of New Public Management. For the police these governance changes have resulted in a focus on performance outcomes which can be termed managerialism or performance culture. At the same time certain business academics have criticised these types of management processes.

During the same time period the field of sociology has seen the advent of new ideas which seek to overcome the perceived failings of earlier sociological models. One idea that is finding increasing support is the idea of relational sociology. Key to this area are the works of Pierpalo Donati, Nick Crossley and Margaret Archer. Taken together they provide a sociological view that describes non-human social forms. These forms closely mirror management structures adopted under the New Public Management. They also provide for human social forms which are reflected in increasing numbers of corporate agents. This feeds directly into the long term ongoing debate of agency vs structure and provides a unique tool for examining the current sociological processes taking place within the context of UK policing

#### **What will you be required to do?**

Participants in this study will be required to take part in a semi-structured interview with the researcher. This interview will be digitally recorded to ensure accuracy in creation of later transcripts.

#### **To participate in this research you must:**

Be a current full or part time serving police officer

#### **Procedures**

You will be asked to take part in a semi-structured interview with the researcher.

#### **Feedback**

The general nature of your contribution will be verbally available to you on conclusion of your interview. However details of your full contribution to the study will only be available to you, if you wish to receive this, on completion of the project.

#### **Confidentiality**

All data and personal information will be 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 Christopher Goodman. After completion of the study, all data will be made anonymous (i.e. all personal information associated with the data will be removed). It must, however, be understood that the need for confidentiality will not offer protection in any cases involving disclosure of criminal conduct or behaviour amounting to gross misconduct. In any case where such a disclosure is made the information will be passed, via official report to the relevant line manager.

#### **Dissemination of results**

The data is being collected as part of PhD thesis which is due for completion in October 2016

#### **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.

Appendix5: IPA analytical protocol

Analysis Stage	Level of analysis	Method of analysis
Stage 1	First review of the data	Listen to the recording then reading and re-reading of the transcribed interview to gain an appreciation of the whole story and recall of the interview. The intention is to become 'intimate' with the account. Memos should be captured as reflective notes of the researcher's first impressions.
Stage 2	Immersion and sense-making	During this process of immersion and sense-making, a 'free textual analysis' will be performed, where potentially significant excerpts are coded into Nvivo nodes. Units of meaning will be identified for each transcript and clustered together using Nvivo coding.
Stage 3	Categorisation	Linking the holistic reflective analysis (stage 1) with the clusters of meaning (stage 2) (this reflects the hermeneutic circle) will allow for the emergence of themes. This will highlight the meanings that appeared to be salient to a particular interview in terms of the emerging social phenomena within the organisation. This will be an iterative process going backwards and forwards between the whole and the particular where individual Nvivo nodes will be modified and refined. On completion this will have generated a master code list of nodes for the interview.
Stage 4	Developing inter-case themes	Once all of the interviews have been analysed and stages 1 – 3 have been completed the master code lists can be compared using Nvivo in order to identify and explain similarities and differences between the accounts. In this process you will be looking for shared aspects of experience in order to create superordinate categories that aggregate themes from across the accounts. This will include both

		general and unique themes from all of the interviews
Stage 5	Development of theory / linking to literature	An analytical discussion of the data will take place which will undertake a theory-building process linked to the literature. In this way the research will be phenomenologically grounded with interpretative hermeneutics. The analysis will involve an iterative and comparative process of tacking back and forth between existing theory and the data (Yanow, 2004), whilst remaining sensitive to the unique situated experiences of the participants.

## **Andrad Case Study**

### IPA - Semi-structured interview proposed questions

#### A) Historical Influences

1. Can you tell me when you joined the police and what the structure and shape of the force was like at that time?
2. When you joined the police how was performance managed and what was the culture like?
3. When you joined the police how aware were you of groups or organisations that took an interest in policing either internal or external including government agencies?

#### B) The Present Position

4. How has the shape, structure and processes of your force changed over time and how are they now?
5. How has the management of performance and culture changed over time and what is it like now?
6. How aware are you of internal or external groups organisations or agencies that take an interest in policing and how much influence do they have?

#### C) Future Predictions

7. How do you think that the shape and structure and processes of the force are likely to change in the future?
8. How do you think the management of performance and culture in your force is likely to develop in the future?
9. Do you think the numbers and influence of groups organisations and agencies will change in the future?

#### D) Summary

10. Thinking about the structures and culture in your force and the nature of our discussion is there anything else you would like to say or add, or anything you wanted to say but did not have the opportunity to express?

Appendix 7: Personal feelings: Full analytical table

Category/Issue	Theme (Open Coding)	Sub Theme(concepts)	Theoretical Links (axial coding)	Supporting Quotes
Performance	Corporate Agencies			
	Pre 1980 Low levels of Corporate agencies	low level corporate agency(K1/1)	Archer(1995)	S1: No, we lived out in the countryside so, it was very, it was all village life so there really wasn't anything.
		Originally low levels of corporate agents(C9/12)		S7: are you right okay but but I wasn't really aware of many other groups and there wasn't to be fair as many groups as there are now not I was aware of CG: so there wasn't really anything very much when you joined S7: no not massively
	Movement to high levels of Corporate Agencies over time	Increasing Influence - Corporate agencies(C9/24)		what about these corporate agencies then from when you started to now how aware are you of the existence of the sorts of organisations? S6: absolutely absolutely CG: more than there were? S6: yes absolutely
		corporate agencies affecting behaviour(C6/17)		S3: yes absolutely I would say that I think things like the Hillsborough disaster pleb gate all of that lot at the moment all we are getting is negative publicity and them we have a reaction to that in the police in that right okay as soon as something happens in the press you know for a fact that there will be something coming out internally to up our standards
		holistic multiagency approach(K1/1)		S9: they basically erm it's a multi agency approach to the problems we have in particular ward here

		police need to move away from too much public engagement(C1/1)		S5: absolutely and you know bringing offenders to justice and that so I do think that is not just about engaging with the public and being lovely and (unintelligible) CG: there is an enforcement side S5: absolutely
	<b>Traditional Policing (TP)</b>			
	Bureaucratic Hierarchy	bureaucratic hierarchy(C1/1)	Silver (2005), Reuss-Ianni and Ianni(2005), Newburn(2005), Loader and Mulcahy(2003)	S3: chief superintendent's at the top and obviously the rank structure down below that and then obviously at force level which was well be my pay scale at the time to force performance boards you know up to the chief officers
		serious incidents passed on through escalation process(C1/1)		whether you could deal with it on your own whether you needed backup support or whether it had to go higher because obviously certain things suspicious deaths or whatever else and you would get management structure involved
	Large patrol Teams	dealt with incoming calls(C4/4)	Loader and Mulcahy(2005), Bitner(2005)	S3: Gen reactive duties traffic you had separate CID very little in the way of squads CG: so not many specialist departments? S3: no no no you either CID traffic or uniform and then in Andrad city we ran a shoplifting squad which was taken from uniformed officers to do problems in the city centre



		<p>Divisional Structure - Large Central Station(C6/8)</p>		<p>S9: obviously I was a reactive officer because once I did my first two years and being in Andrad city was part of actually a big shift then and we used the parade and we used to have to parade their 15 minutes before your duty time so we go down into the basement a big table they used to be I would think easily a dozen of us and four sergeants and that's when the control rooms were sort of area based not centralised so we had a control room and obviously the custody block so one Sgt would go to custody one would go to the control room and that left two sergeants patrol Sgt to look after the shift you teach be allocated paper copies of what was left over from the last shift working on incidents giving those out</p>
		<p>sectorised model(C1/1)</p>		<p>we were in a sectorised set up so we had three main centres in Peter Boro we have one where I was Yaxley which covered south of the town bridge when the underlying villages Yaxley home and the southern townships Wooten, Fletton that kind of thing we then had another base in bridge Street which is the main one that is now due to close in Peterborough and that was a city centre base so that covered the city Eastfield Eastgate when the sort of the immediate areas this</p>

				would have been covered by that as well and then we had a third-base at Thorpe wood which then covered the western part so Werrington North Britain and then the villages right out to wittering right up to Northants and Lincolnshire borders so a job would come in and who's ever area it was in a car from that particular area was allocated and we would work single double crewed and it seemed to work obviously I was new to it all but it seemed to work quite well
		frontline supervisors maintained standards(C8/12)		if you got allocated a job you would have to deal with it and I would say probably the most serious or the the medium job upwards you actually often guess sergeant sort of like literally breeze past to see how you are getting on and then sort of like the spirited away as such so they were there to make sure you were dealing with it and that you were dealing with it well
		sufficient staff to deal with calls and have enough down time for self generated process(C2/2)		most of the work was reactive we had divisional cars but in my area we had four area cars and we had a number of walking beats as well we had enough officers on I would say at the time to cover those cars and beats double crewed not always but quite often we were able to double crew

		teams large enough to allow footbeats(C1/1)		where I started for instance it was divided up into five areas then you had your city centre where you go on foot beat and then you had the van so as you can imagine you had quite a few officers now the van was always double crewed as it went round the whole city the panda cars as it was then were single crewed so one for each of the five areas and then whoever was left particularly the probationer because for the first two years of my service I had to walk
		team culture constrained behaviour(C1/1)	Reuss-Ianniandlanni(2005)	S9: I mean not not if it was a real discipline issue but if they said oh we don't think you dealt with that correctly last night CG: so more like a bit of peer pressure S9: yes but people were discussing and you would also learn from your peers as well CG: I can remember in Mecronia quite a few informal discipline practices that were part of the culture of the teams rather than being anything official so if you were late for duty or if you missed to call or if you didn't attend properly if you hadn't arrested somebody they thought needed arresting there were measures that the team would take S9: oh they would tell you for sure
		traditional policing(K2/3)		CG: Ok. S1: Helping people putting people straight as opposed to being just a process.

				CG: So your overriding motive to join was to do good, S1: do good yeah, CG; community minded? S1: emulate those old fashioned you know village bobbies that I'd grown up with.
	Few Specialist Functions	had small variety of specialist teams(C1/1)	LoaderandMulcahy(2005)	we had a drug squad we had well it was sort of like a bit of a vice squad that dealt with issues down at Wandsford dealing with homosexual activity etc and they dealt with prostitutes we had a burglary team and the think we had a car crime team and that was about it
		more serious offences assisted by CID(C1/1)		if it was anything like your ABH is and things and things like that in place at the time was the well you would take him in and you would have a CID officer that would come in with you into interview so there would be 2 of you
		serious crime passed to CID(C1/1)		the more serious stuff then went to CID
	High Professional Discretion	old culture - high discretion(C7/9)		S3: I think that is probably more discretion then in what the reason now in essence we would go out to jobs and can go by how I was I was more than empowered to deal with things I didn't have to go back to the Sgt and say have I done the correct job or anything like that
		IP declines(C3/6)		obviously at that particular time if people didn't want to put pen to paper there was none of this you have to raise a crime report just for the sake

				of it if they declined to complain even though they'd already telephoned it was deemed that that was that and if you put pen to paper they'd be saying why have you put pen to paper they are not wanting to prosecute and there were no issues in respect of that
		minor jobs dealt with alone(C1/1)		S1: no it if it was minor such as your shoplifting bits and pieces like that you would literally sort of pick it up and sort of crack on with it and deal with it
	Low Levels Non-Human Structures	pre NPM performance not managed(C1/2)		S5: I don't remember it being managed back in those days we used to have paper crime reports and I don't ever remember being chased up
		Uniform officers - no pressure to detect crime(C1/2)	Reuss-Ianni(2005)	S1: we didn't get the pressure I'm probably in the wrong department you know possibly if you were to speak to somebody in a CID department is running with a crime queue like 15 so then the pressure is on we would always the only pressure that we would get is to resolve the crime one way or the other
		old structure - 3 divisions(C4/4)		S5: at that time it was I'm just run think yeah I think we just had the three divisions then so we had Northern which was Peter Boro and everything north of Sawtry and then we had sort of Fenland central and then Huntington sort of area that was all came in the central and then had southern which

				was everything from sort of St Neots South down towards the Aleby Police border and towards Salhull Police you're out towards Royston and out towards Aleby Police so we had just three simple divisions
		performance monitored through quality of outcomes(C2/2)		but we used to get you know reviews after we did once with done the job for the first time when we were obviously in your probationary but you were obviously monitored and if you done a really good job then they used to give you a sheet if you've done a real crap job they give you a sheet as well but that's how you learn you know
		targeted issues not numbers(C2/3)		S1: we didn't really get that information fed back to us to be honest when I 1st joined if we had an issue in regards to sort of if the burglaries were going through the roof we would get pointed in that direction as reactive officers if we had car crime issues going on we would get directed patrols to sort out that stuff we never really got the information coming through about percentages how it's gone up how it's gone down
	<b>New Public Management (NPM)</b>	NPM(C7/13)	Loveday(1999),Collier(2006), De MaillardandSavage(2012), FieldingandInnes(2006), Coleman(2008),,Hoque et al(2004),Loveday(2000), (Bao et al 2013) Barton and Barton(2011), CockcroftandBeattie(2009)	CG: so goals and targets when do you think you 1st became aware? S1: the 1st time I can remember you must have been looking at the early to mid 1990s CG: okay so what form did that

				<p>take? S1: um it was how many fixed penalty tickets had you dished out how many stop searches you'd carried out CG: so what they call in Mecronia PPI's personal performance indicators? S1: that's right yes yes CG: and TPI's for the teams? S1: yep yep</p>
		driven culture suited his personal drive(K1/2)		<p>S8: from the management go get them boy from the management it was definitely a go get em I never ever regarded it as being a competition if someone didn't have to be arrested I would report them to summons if someone needed to be arrested I'd be the first one in through the door to do it but the management were always very very go-ahead CG: so that was when you first arrived? S8: yes</p>
		for profit business culture - does not fit(2/2)		<p>S3: I think there's little things with regards to what you said about culture and things is that we have gone from being a police force to being a police service you know slight changes they talk about being a business we talk about our customers it's all management speak for for business CG: it's all from the for-profit organisations S3: yes it is but which we are not</p>
		frontline shrinkage due to specialisation(C1/1)		<p>S2: because people have been taken off and put into offices and onto squads and this is where the lunacy of it all comes in</p>

		game playing - figures(2/2)		18 months ago we were a performance driven figures dictated organisation which resulted in what I would call noble cause corruption we weren't taking reports of rape when we should be we weren't criming things when we should have been
		high emphasis on proactive policing methods(2/3)		CID aid as it was in them days assorted nine months attached to CID three months of which was on a proactive unit dealing with burglaries and then after that with a change of the role in the police at that time the Mecronia policing model er the Mecronia policing model came in the first time around sort of intelligence led policing
		High emphasis on teamwork(2/3)		S1, yeah, a lot, a lot of my time has been spent, either working as a PC or as a skipper on small teams doing specialized proactive roles
		Incomplete acceptance of NPM(C4/6)	Partial success/police resistance,Barton and Barton(2011),Butterfield et al(2004),	S1: pretty much yes it started off as the personal ones then there were some rumblings by sort of militant officers and then they decided to sort of lump it together and do it as a team indicator and then we had a new boss that said look why are we spending so much time doing these indicators you know surely supervisors know which officers are doing the work and which aren't so a new boss comes along and they were scrapped



		increased structural complexity(C1/1)		S4: I think we are more complicated but complicated positively whereas before we were set in three divisions we are now internal districts and areas and areas of business but then from the outside that could look overly complicated
		increasing bureaucracy(K2/3)		S5: yeah they have I think we've erm I think now we are very much erm demand driven erm and due to the sort of reduction in numbers of police now we are basically struggling to keep on top of all because I think that there is so many levels of bureaucracy now within the police that we are more worried about filling in the right forms and putting the right stuff on the forms that actually at the time getting on with the job
		Mecronia had a more driven culture than Gloucestershire(K1/1)		you've been in five years surely you are aware of section 18 of pace and my answer was yes Sarge of course am aware of section 18 of pace I've just never be allowed to use it before because it might upset them if you go and search their house CG: what okay S8: that's the kind of thing I was up against in Gloucestershire (in a broad West Country accent) you can't do that you might upset em by searching their house you might CG: okay so very different
		loss of discretion(C3/4)	Loveday(1999), Butterfield et al(2004), De MaillardandSavage(2012)	S9: there are doing a lot more more work

				<p>more red tape more processes now in their I think they are told more what they have to do CG: so less discretion S9: definitely much less discretion definitely</p>
		low priority Human social forms(K2/2)	Donati(2011)	<p>CG: what about things like Pact do you still have Pact meetings is that a responsibility S2: CSU do it doesn't directly impact me and my day-to-day role CG: and in terms of the force is there much of the responsibility? S2: hand on heart sitting here right now I I'm blissfully unaware of any impact it has or any efficacy</p>
		silos culture(K1/2)		<p>I certainly didn't expect the amount of bureaucracy and prevarication and one thing I have found a lot during my service is that there are people that who are in supervisory and management positions who will spend longer arguing about why they shouldn't do something because it's not their responsibility than actually takes just to bite the bullet and do it</p>
		staff treated as resources(K4/5)		<p>S2: and I was doing Acting Inspector and then um in fact there was a bit of an overlap with the acting sergeant part at some point there was a shortage of detective sergeants and I had no interest in CID work at all absolutely none was good operational quite happy I was kicking doors and driving cars fast nonsense and</p>

				<p>XXXXXXXXXXXX who was our inspector one day the bastard came to me and you're a promotion candidate I said yeah he said you mentioned on your appraisal you wanted to go to the dark side no i fucking didn't yeah you did he got this appraisal from two years before and yeah two years ago you said you wouldn't mind an attachment to CID to broaden your experience I said yeah yeah but that was like two years ago now think by then I was now a substantive skipper back on TAC team so yeah quids in happy sergeant on TAC team fucking brilliant well know they're short one of their DS's is going to a specialist unit they say they'll take you for six months while he's away and you're going to be an acting DS I was fucking gutted I was absolutely gutted</p>
		old performance culture - negative(K2/6)		<p>CG: so that's part of the culture then that it's not mine S8: we had a lot of that under KPM the silo mentality not my job shunt it of CG: so that was a model a couple of years back S8: yeah a couple of years back CG: that silo mentality that silo culture where do you think that came from how did that arise what was the driver behind making that? S8: some of that I think was probably figures and performance driven</p>

		Previous focus , proactive policing(K2/2)		and then after that with a change of the role in the police at that time the Mecronia policing model er the Mecronia policing model came in the first time around sort of intelligence led policing that was when I went onto the tactical team so that was more the proactive uniform on erm and I then spent in their five years on their erm during which time I was team leader on one of the teams
		1996 - local policing sectors(C1/1)		S8: certainly I joined on 21 October 1996 a date that is etched into my brain and always will be at that time I think it's fairly similar to to now to be honest we have chief Constable a DCC an ACC local policing was managed by chief inspectors as is the case now although we had more sectors so sorry local policing was more devolved down so small teams at a local level we have moved away from that again in recent times
		performance via PDR process(C3/5)		S4: we are heavily driven by PDR's CG: so do you set goals and objectives in your PDR's S4: yes we have objectives CG: and are they linked to the policing plan? S4: yes yes yes like for example mine are quite wordy but if you break them down yes they are they will be linked to a policing plan yeah that has definitely changed
	Conflicted policing (CP)			

	Centralised control /reduced ability respond at the local level	BCU(C1/1)	BullockandSindall(2014), Butterfield et al(2004), De MaillardandSavage(2012), Loveday(2000),Scott(1998)	S8: that must have been about 10 -12 years ago that must have been about 2004 something like that I think may be a little bit before then really but I don't think that that looked too dissimilar to the old subdivision I think we just renamed our subdivisions to BCU's really I think that's pretty much what happened I think it was very easy very convenient and the infrastructure was in place to support that
		structure 3 areas - 2004(C1/1)		CG: what was the setup like how was it how was the force itself organised with the hierarchy and and where your divisional borders were what did the force look like? S4: so from memory we had Andrad was made up of three areas east Andrad city and Peter Boro the hierarchy was relatively easy to work out for find out all the way up to the chief Constable it was quite simple I don't remember a great deal
		teams working from satellite stations(C1/1)		S5: so I was first posted to St Ives which is like a small rural town in central division we had an inspector that actually ran out of sometimes at that time and was in charge of St Ives we had a think we probably had four shifts if I remember rightly and that was a Sgt and five officers in those days we didn't have a CSO's we did have special constables who will come and join us on

				the weekends so as a response Constable a patrol Constable I'd be responsible for patrolling the town and surrounding villages and under the direct line management of a Sgt
	Human Forms Under the NHP/Partnership Approach	worked in NHP(K1/2)	Donati(2011),MyhillandQuinton(2010)Home Office(2005)	S8: and neighbourhood policing erm response neighbourhood policing but it was neighbourhood as in the neighbourhood support unit crime reduction supervision
		previous style High community engagement(K2/2)		which are two of the most deprived wards in the UK and it was looking at how working with partners and doing partnership working you could affect not only the crime and criminality in those wards but also by looking at social change we could actually work at driving down and reducing the criminality and the anti-social behaviour towards the wards.
		can do culture(K2/2)		one of the great things about policing is the police service always seems to get the job done and that's the sort of attitude and ethos that inbred in the service so I don't see that changing and I believe that the police service will continue to deliver the emergency service that the public expect which is when they have their darkest day and they ring 999 we turn up and we deal with whatever it is that confronts us and that's the core

	<p>Conflicted nature of style</p>	<p>complied with the old culture despite personal misgivings(K1/1)</p>	<p>De MaillardandSavage(2012)</p>	<p>I often thought that when we were being pushed to chase numerical targets that none of it would impress the public I've always been of the view that there's no point telling a group of people at a community meeting that burglary is down by 8% if you've got one single victim of burglary sitting in front of you because as far as that person is concerned burglary is way way too high because they became a victim so I was never one to make much publicly of crime figures and stats and data having said all of that because I was in the organisation part of the organisation I did as I was told and I did well not play the game that makes it sound less serious than it is I did do what was required but sometimes with a slightly heavy heart</p>
		<p>Conflicted Policing (C3/5)</p>		<p>so this particular boss at the time it was more of a local thing issues were raised with sergeants saying look you know being in a minute this is taking us away from what we are supposed to be doing as such CG: as neighbourhood? S1: as neighbourhood yes so CG: so do you think that there was a conflict between the drive to increase performance and the need to supply neighbourhood policing? S1: yes yes I mean neighbourhood policing and I'm still convinced it is totally</p>

				undervalued it's the in my opinion it's the bread-and-butter
		Andrad federation actively campaigned against targets(C1/1)		S8: yes I think there were discussions think discussions at senior level with the Federation saying that these targets are not right certainly from again sorry to come back to me again but it's me that is talking
	<b>Neo-Traditional (NT)</b>		Neo Traditional is a unique contribution to knowledge thus no existing literature to link to	
	Removal of key fetures of NPM and CPM	dropped targets and goals - neo-traditional (C6/7)		CG: no okay so at force level there is still interest in figures and targets S9: definitely CG: do you know how much of that gets disseminated back to the officers on the Street S9: only through policies and procedures that are put in place as a result of that actual hard figures aren't put out to them it's what's generated as a result of the senior officers getting those CG: so senior officers get the stuff and then look at what's their make the policy decisions S9: yes and then that filters down and then the officers will then I actually worked within policy I work in operational and crime support so I will actually put policies in place along with the inspector we will write things as a result of what's come from above so it will come to us and then it filters down



		death of neighbourhood policing(K4/7)		S3: well basically he created he got rid of a lot of the little offshoot units and he said neighbourhood was going to be increased by 500 odd officers I wish he'd used a different word it had nothing to do with neighbourhood policing at all before there used to be neighbourhood police officers uniformed response officers CID and what he then made it was neighbourhood massively reduced down to just PCSO's
		death of proactive policing(K4/7)		I don't think we do proactive policing anymore as you will remember we used to have so many on a shift on nights you'd just put people out proactively in plain clothes you'd assign a couple of people to go and specifically to go and do A,B or C we just don't have the time to do that anymore it's pretty much limited to call handling and crime investigation and file preparation and that takes um all of the time there's very very few opportunities to do anything proactive
		new relaxed less rigid culture(K1/1)		S9: erm I've changed with the times I like to think open flexible erm of course you are affected by an influence by what you've learnt over the years I look now in particular at things like standards of officers in terms of their general demeanour professionalism I think perhaps we are far

				<p>more relaxed these days than we were we are not as rigid and organisation is not necessarily a bad thing erm I prefer a more disciplined structure and you know simple things like uniform standards the way people hold themselves</p>
		<p>counting rule changes allow greater discretion(K1/1)</p>		<p>S9: if there's one refreshing and positive that come out of policing recently in Mecronia it is the removal of policing targets so we are no longer chasing sanctioned detections out-of-court disposals they have gone and that is the most refreshing thing I have seen in recent years and it is positive erm instead of seeing now you know we had so many charges cautions erm community resolutions it's all based upon now around victim satisfaction the level of service we give if we go into those three or four outcomes there's now 20-28 possible outcomes so you know if a crime is filed say for instance undetected we will see why it's undetected i.e. you know victim withdraws does not support a prosecution or um the suspect is too ill to be prosecuted there's a whole range of sanctions</p>

		victim oriented culture(K1/1)		<p>S7: yeah it's because erm the chief Constable was not happy with the satisfaction surveys that are put out every single month victims are contacted they are not happy because one of the primary reasons is because they feel like they're not being updated enough because officers had never contact them not through the fault of the officers you know on most occasions it's because of shift work that you can't contact them you know the shift work hours because of the new model if you like police model erm officers now have to investigate crime reports as well as being response officers when an officer comes on duty nine times out of 10 without looking at their crime reports they are getting turfed out to calls to immediate calls and victims of slow time crime are i.e. not serious crime erm are feeling let down</p>
		Structure Change - Full Circle(C3/5)		<p>if you can think back how it changes how the shape and structure changes leading right up to what is now? S1: okay it's been like the wheel literally it's</p>
		one performance measure - appraisal timeliness(K1/1)		<p>G: I mean what other drivers there must be some drivers for you S4: staff appraisals are still something where there's a lot of focus on timeliness and less focus on quality</p>

				although the quality thing is there is an effort to improve the quality but timeliness seems to be the priority over quality
	Sensitive to corporate agencies/ modern pressures	increasing diversity in society problematic for custody suites(K1/1)		SS: yes we are then very reliant on the interpreter coming in being translated as well and being able to write charge and very much at the moment most forces in the UK are probably fudging the issue around will give them a notice in their own language effectively saying that they've been charged with an offence and the interpreter if they can provided it's not too lengthy a charge try and translated as I can't then they will just literally right in their i.e. burglary in their own language or you've been charged with theft on such and such a date and give them the basic details but that's come in probably nearly 2 years ago now and I don't think there's been any challenges in the courts in relation to it
		globalisation - cross border criminality(K1/1)		I think legally we're struggling with cross-border crime offenders you know committing crime from Eastern Europe from France and we are no longer set up to deal with the international crime we never have been but there's much more internationalism about crime now online crime were not fit to tackle at the moment and lastly I think for me I think the Isis threat is something

				that is going to come to the UK and not go away that is going to be a long-term and really serious threat to parts of the UK in particular
		increasing use of technology(K1/1)		S7: yeah it sounds easy a new computer system great erm but again it's red tape police like for instance if I brought a prisoner now into custody as from June I think it is whereas normally I'd go down to custody and I get my prisoner out come up and tell you sign out him or her it's all left to the jailers now we don't do any of that erm the solicitors legal reps are not given disclosure
		improving police efficiency through technology(K1/2)		S5: well we are very much going down the lines of trying to improve sort of the technology side of things around the police so because what we want to do is prevent the amount of time officers spent on station writing statements and filling in forms and doing reports etc what they are trying to do is increase the technology so that officers can deal with everything they need to do whilst there are at the scene
		new tech increases constraints(K1/1)		S7: Everything's going computerised so solicitors they will be given a screen to look at with disclosure obviously the bits they can see on the custody record is going to be on a computer and they can look at it and asked the print's we

				officers in the case won't be able to sign in and out so it's just yeah
		senior management empowered to deliver(K1/1)		S6: I feel entirely empowered to deliver policing on my patch and my district I am given the resource it's never going to be as much as I would like but I am given I think adequate human resource and indeed the other material to deliver the service and yes its tight and we would like more but we have to be pragmatic
		specialist roles empowered to deliver(K1/1)		S8: I think I have noticed a massive difference since I moved from a local division to tactical operations I really have CG: in what respect? S8: it's like I said to you coming in the door and given a job to do and no one chases me up they assume because I'm a grown up I'm going to just do it CG: so there's more trust S8: yeah there's more trust
	Structural return to traditional shape	new structure 7 areas(C2/2)	Links to theories around the traditional policing styles	S8: I think I have noticed a massive difference since I moved from a local division to tactical operations I really have CG: in what respect? S8: it's like I said to you coming in the door and given a job to do and no one chases me up they assume because I'm a grown up I'm going to just do it CG: so there's more trust S8: yeah there's more trust

		central reporting causes loss of service for satellite areas(C1/1)		so it all works out of Huntingdon so you don't have any officers who are divisional or response working from St Ives Ramsay has closed and St Neots is still a station but they don't work from there you've only got neighbourhood policing a PCSO so you've got PCSO's at St Ives PCSO's at St Neots Ramsay is closed and the they are at Huntingdon which consists of divisional response was not called divisional response officers and PCSO's the upshot of that is they go where the work is so I mean I'm an upward resident and I live very close to Ramsay it's a rare day that I see a police officer in Ramsay who is not responding to an incident that's the only time we ever see them
	Increasing human reciprocity	new culture , Mecronia - positive(K9/29)	Donati(2011)	CG: are you still under pressure in terms of crime report numbers and numbers of detections? S1: No, we've gone totally away from that we there are now a lot further disposal codes that we will use if we are not going to detect something we are free a skippers to justify and write the crime off as in not in the public interest er IP the suspect is known but the IP will decline there are a lot more there are a lot more stuff around it so we don't we are not under pressure to detect and get a we don't play divisional the divisional

				wacamole game any more
		new culture driven by chief constable(K1/2)		S6: as you well know it's not immovable it does change it takes time and the culture in Mecronia has changed I have to say it's changed far more quickly than I thought it would much of the credit for that has to sit with the chief Constable because he has personally driven it and I think back not very long to when I would get a phone call in the morning from an assistant chief constable saying you've had Z number of burglaries last night were you doing about it and that used to happen it just doesn't anymore
		relaxed culture is less professional(K1/1)		S9: yes very much so but again I think a lot of it is the current generation every generation is different every generation has a different breed a different culture different acceptable set of standards it doesn't mean that they are any less or any worse individuals than we were back then just again you've had that instilled a new from an early stage of your career about what is expected and you see that change some things you think is for the better something you think well you know when around the streets do they come across as



				professional do they come acro
	Effects of performance management/austerity	deskilled officers cant cope(K1/2)	Personal perspectives	you know the officers that were response primarily response officers and then told that got to do with crime reports as well as we were all promised we would all be put under one banner one hat in one bag sorry you will be given your response driving again you will be trained up it hasn't happened and that's the downfall you've got officers now that haven't got a bloody clue like you've got your good officers that are bloody good with response and emergency calls and you've got your officers that are good with their investigations
		intelligence is poor(K1/1)		S8: and then maybe the overnight crime summary but then when you look into the overnight crime summary and compare it to the list of stolen vehicles which being on traffic a list of stolen vehicles is quite important you normally find the list of stolen vehicles in the overnight crime when you go to the theft of motor vehicle part on the overnight crime summary is a bit different you know I think they're probably produced one in Dartford the other in Margate one by a bloke the other by a lady I honestly don't know there's just no

				commonality or very little commonality and I think that's a bit poor
		Team reciprocity lost(C2/3)		it's completely unrecognisable from where it was in 1987 the culture change well the culture has changed much more it may sound strange but is only one bar in the county now police bar and that's shared with accounting so there's not much else in there at all at Peter Boro they used to be about Peterborough which was a nice bar one Andrad one Huntingdon one of March in the Fens so you had this you socialised together after work you went and had a drink and relaxed together and got to know each other now people coming to work a go home from work they come into work they go home from work there's no overlapping interaction between each other
		internal conflict Old culture vs new culture(K4/14)		people that that still serve are feeling that it is a very different org it's very different from what I thought even from what it was when I joined 25 years ago, we are much more of a social service now um whereas before you know we would spend a lot more time being proactive dealing with crime

		old performance culture remains(K2/6)		o yeah they monitor predpol figures they monitor complaints they monitor sickness levels and Bradford scores increasing decreasing yeah CG: so really although they espouse the removal of targets and goals there actually still applying bean counting procedures they've just moved where that focus falls? S2: yes yes where the pain is it used to be wary as first level managers would be sitting in morning meetings you know wincing when the attack came you know you colleagues
		code G reducing arrests(K1/1)		S5: necessity test the necessity to arrest yes and that although there was a slight change this week which we are still challenging at this moment but around the use of summonses and staff erm but they are the reduction there has been a note a noticeable reduction in the number of people coming into custody
	<b>Crime recording</b>	crime figures unreliable(C2/2)	Loveday(1999),Frey et al(2013),	you've got this type of thing where you hear all about I think the drivers are reassurance of the public bringing crime and the recording of crime to some sort of way to show that crime is going down because in general sometimes when you look at sort of think that well is it going down because we are actually you know

				<p>better at investigating  better at dealing with  a I don't think you  know I don't think  that's been proved I  don't think we are any  better just the way it's  been recorded and  what it's been  recorded as it makes a  whole lot of difference</p>
		<p>crime recording -  frustrating(K1/2)</p>		<p>S7: erm choices I want  to erm really wish still  allowed to obviously  make our own  judgements at calls  and things like that  erm things such as  crime recording  (chuckles) that was  that frustrates a lot  officers</p>
		<p>crime recording -  unreliable(K1/1)</p>	<p>Loveday(1999)</p>	<p>crime recording erm  the figures are all  wrong it's not a true  perception what what  the public see is not a  true perception of  what is actually  happening CG: okay  S7: and they juggle  they always have  every that no 5 – 6  years they change the  way that crime is  recorded and the  public don't actually  know the truth crimes  probably never  changed in the last 15  years and hand on  heart it's the way it is  recorded and I wish  that the public knew  that (laughing)</p>
		<p>crime recording(C1/1)</p>		<p>S1: well at that time  that's when it was  coming through slowly  slowly that we have to  record it CG: 1997  that would have been  that would have  changed because that  was the 1st time that  the Home Office  counting rules were  published S1: right</p>

				<p>slowly slowly we were being told you know in the mid-70s blimey in the mid-90s look let's record it and you know but people were still because it wasn't enforced probably people were still saying if people didn't want to prosecute then it wasn't happening but we were being slowly educated saying look raise the crime and then just write it up that the person has declined</p>
		<p>falling crime rates not a true reflection(K1/2)</p>	<p>Fielding andInnes(2006)</p>	<p>S9: as a private individual erm would I turn to the police you know what a mess it was a serious crime I probably wouldn't seeing it from the inside if I had a minor theft at the home address or a minor damage I wouldn't phone because I know the likely response that it will get a minimum investigation and it will be filed and I would say what's the point phoning erm whereas in the past you have your local bobby to go around sit down have a cup of tea we not going to get the person who's done this but I'm here if you need me here is my number if I'm down your street next time I'll knock on your door say hello check up on you gone</p>
		<p>fooling the public(K1/1)</p>		<p>S3: yeah it could be it wasn't so long ago a year ago a chief inspector had an idea that actually we've got a really busy crime area let's Park a police car up overnight to</p>

				<p>make it look like there's police in the area and we were actually deploying police cars in areas to make it look like there were police very soon they got vandalised and I got pulled backing we just have to make it look like with doing more than we actually are I do it myself if I got a problem neighbour I've got a problem village that cry out that we haven't got enough policing so you work out who the councillors are that are complaining and you make sure that the police officers walk outside their shops or houses so they are seen</p>
		More professional now - crime recording(C1/1)		<p>S1: yes I think it's more professional to be honest up to a point from a working culture we literally record everything now where sort of 30 years ago even to appoint 20 years ago if someone didn't want to make a complaint that was it sometimes if you actually filled out the paper crime and put it in they look at it and say they don't Wanna complain</p>
<b>Relational</b>	<b>Austerity</b>			
	Loss of Staff	Loss of Staff - Austerity(C5/12)	Crawford(2012)HMIC(2012)	<p>so let's say 25 people on each shift now covering that same area in fact covering a bigger area now because they now cover up the A1 as far as Peter Boro we do the council boundaries so it's a lot bigger it's a much bigger area now</p>

				they will turn out eight people to cover all of those towns and all of those areas
		current lack of frontline supervision(C2/3)		for five years ago as often as not there would be one skipper and he would be spending its time and station working on the computers doing crimes whatever else and very rarely was there a supervisor out on the streets
		loss of frontline supervision(C2/3)		S7: unless they change the percentage ratio of supervisors out on the Street I think they will struggle because everything becoming regionalised as such you've got senior managers that are dealing with bigger areas which is probably not so hard but for our supervisors on the ground a lot harder
		Less arrests - Losing evidence(C2/2)		what they did was they made arrangements to interviewing two days later three months down the line that person can't be traced quite rightly so our superintendent is turned round and said that is totally unacceptable if you going to do that and it falls in that category where you can usual discretion still you will interview there and then which you got
		Loss of NHP - Austerity(C2/4)		S1: well it's sort of depleted the neighbourhood teams so where previously just about every area in Peterborough had its own local policing team obviously you would have to chip in

				and help out the reactive lads but you had a policing team covering five years ago covering Bretton South Bretton long Thorpe Netherton Westwood Werrington literally you could pick a township in Peterborough and each and every township had at least a bobby five years ago and most definitely at least probably two PCSO's which again in my opinion worked quite well
	Public Safety	loss of traffic officers affects road safety(C1/3)	Shaw(2014)(Kent and Sussex Courier, 2015)	S6: traffic is definitely being limited I've not as I say I've not been any sense June 2013 but I I come home on the train so I regularly see the guys that stay on traffic from what they are telling me you know they are looking at the numbers for reduction they are looking at CG: okay so from just from my perspective not as a university researcher but as a concerned member of the public in terms of road traffic policing do you think that the number the reduction in numbers of specialist traffic officers carries any risk to the safety of the public? S6: absolutely yes
		Public safety at risk - Austerity(C2/5)		in the respect that they have cut back on their operating areas are cut back on their officers so straight away there is a public safety issue there because there are less officers around from my point of view in my office the collaboration will see



				<p>the loss of a dedicated we had a dedicated boss my line manager who was dedicated for Peterborough for Andrad and there was one for Hartson Slester Police when they talked about collaboration awhile back the Salhull Police and Slester Police one was competing for the post they were talking about collaborating to one post he then had to leave the don't know why but it was a bit suspicious our boss took over the running of the two units even though the two units were not joined</p>
		road traffic policing(K1/3)		<p>I like vehicles I got onto the Thanet traffic unit and I will admit that I think that unit only survived as long as it did because of the protection that was afforded to it by superintendent XXXXXX otherwise I think it would have been shelved as an expensive luxury because it was expensive to run and it did take away a lot of staffing from the area</p>
		roads policing not a force priority(K1/4)		<p>S8: roads policing is not regarded as being a priority it's not regarded as being a priority posting the local district policing team staffing is far more important than roads policing I don't know how many vehicle movements there are out of the port of Dover it's in the millions I don't know how many vehicle movements there are in and out of the Channel Tunnel</p>

				<p>that's probably in the high hundreds of thousands we have continual problems with vehicles simply parking up on the hard shoulder for vehicles as soon as the very limited number of parking areas are full they just park on the hard shoulder that's an offence I'm supposed to deal with it erm our SLA service level agreement has been reduced and reduced and reduced</p>
		<p>traffic policing reduces KSI's(K1/1)</p>		<p>local neighbourhood residents about vehicles travelling at excessive speed I have XXXXXXXXXXXX sitting beside me in the office and I will bring up the complaints out that one matches will try that location so we have a complaint so would send people there to do speed checks and we were finding that 95% of the time we were getting vehicles travelling significantly over the speed limit in those locations so neighbourhood were getting their bit out of us we were reducing KSI's</p>
		<p>fears further shrinkage at a local level(C1/1)</p>		<p>S8: I'd like to see no more shrinkage of local policing and I think that you as a member of the public and as a customer of the police would want the same really I do fear that there will be more shrinkage I do fear that we will perhaps move back from our old BCU's subdivisions two divisional responses or maybe even less</p>

	Loss of Estates	custody closures(C1/1)	Crawford(2012)HMIC(2012)	S9: yes I can think of a couple of major changes if we go to what I've sort of spoken about before with our areas we went from three areas to 4 to now six so now we have is been broken up into six areas the control room is centralised so we lost those and now for instance we have lost a lot of our custody suites in that most stations had custody suites and we only had three now across the county so again that's being
		reduced vehicle fleet - Austerity(C1/1)		S2: well and and here's another we are reducing the vehicles at the moment each handler has their own vehicle they are responsible for making sure that that vehicle get serviced we kept our vehicles at home with us the vehicles were kept at home
	Collaborations	collaboration between emergency services(C1/2)	Crawford(2012)HMIC(2012)	S8: so the fire service are a resource for a number of resources who are it would appear underused so when it comes to missing persons when it comes to seem calls things that take up warranted police officers time where the jobs are queueing up it could perhaps that's the wish I don't know I think it could happen and hopefully the government are seeing this and thinking we have an opportunity here to fill some gaps in the gaps and the cuts that we had recently whether it will happen or not remains to be seen

		<p>computer software aids collaboration_mergers(C2/3)</p>		<p>S3: Athena CG: yes Athena it was I think it was eight forces in the collaboration S3: yes we are part of that CG: in those eight forces in the Athena collaboration would be a logical step S3: yeah and I think that's I think potentially that's coming in and again is nothing new you look at Thames Valley you know three forces anyway that other forces that are more than one county it can be done the only thing you've then got a look at his you know I mean one of the things that we've got is getting used to those changes in culture where you've got the size of Andrad is as big as Slester Police and Salhull Police and suddenly you've got these travelling from one end of the policing area to the other end stuff like that yeah I see it changing</p>
		<p>collaborations - false economy(C2/2)</p>		<p>S2: saving money that's all it is CG: that's to do with the austerity cuts then the government's funding cut? S2: yes and it's not making any savings at all because the savings that they are saying there making by cutting these dog posts our response times are diminishing massively my last set of day shifts I came on duty in this force area at Alconbury where we are allegedly based CG: is that the Air Force Base? S2: yes so were on the industrial side of it so my first job I got sent</p>

				<p>to Welwyn Garden City so I had to go to Welwyn Garden City I then came back up and got into Andrad before I was sent down to the term to Nasing which is on the border with Salhull Police is Salhull Police but I was actually sat in Aleby Police so you travel massive distances CG: okay so you've got time is money costs so your time is a cost that should be factored in and wear and tear on the vehicle and fuel</p>
		Tri - force collaboration - neutral(C2/3)		<p>S5: so we have collaborated firearms and some of our joint protective services and we have collaborated our professional standards so some departments have collaborated at the moment CG: why is that? S5: I presume that's money-saving and possibly a better service</p>
		Tri force collaboration - Negative(4/8)		<p>S2: well we're I'm quite lucky because I've been a dog handler for 20 years and I'm still a dog handler we are very very unhappy at the moment when I went onto the dog section we had 16 dog handlers and two instructors and a Sgt we now have Andrad over the last five years we've now dropped to 9 dog handlers and one instructor however we have also merged with Slester Police and Salhull Police</p>

	Wider Effects of Public Sector Funding Cuts	cuts to other public services puts additional work onto the police(K1/1)		because were all well the police in particular we seem to be the main emergency service provider people call an ambulance and then the police will end up turning up to deal with it or somebody will be dealing with a mental health incident but it's the police that end up dealing with it and we are the first people someone will call when there's cars on fire it's the police you know rather than the Fire Brigade so we seem to be dealing with all these different issues you know teaching there's an incident in a school the police get called rather than teachers dealing with so we seem to deal with absolutely everything and although there's reductions in all these services we seem to be taken on more of the burden from all the other services
		feels let down by partner agencies(1/3)		S2: as an organisation yes I can see massive frustration with social services who deal with this Friday 4 o'clock they will phone in with a oh we've got an issue with this you need to deal with it right well they haven't dealt with it all week or they've sat on it phoning up the CPS try and get a decision from them hours and hours waiting
		changes in external partners introduces additional demands on policing(K4/6)		I'm not saying that to avoid the issue being dealt with but other partner agencies have to live up to their obligations CG: that's

				<p>more important with S8: with ever decreasing numbers CG: the projections are not pretty are they over the next four years S8: I'm glad I'm not going to be here to see the end of it because I really don't think that there will I I think the service at the moment is creaking along on its knees erm I think if they take away the knees there will be nothing left to move it forward</p>
		mental health issues(C3/4)		<p>mental health is an example mental health is very much arrest somebody for breach of the peace try and get them the help they need and then let them go where as now they get the support they need we don't we try not to put them into custody we have a lot more custody isn't the right place for them as a whole process and procedure now on how we deal with somebody plus also in place once we get to the facilities it wasn't the greatest relationship well know the police are here again with somebody with mental health issues we weren't seen as open arms but now I know a lot of workers gone into building the relationship and having processes in place the ambulance service as well we now we don't transport mental health 136's ambulance crews do well I say that it's changed I'm sure it's proper changed since I did it a year ago I think mental health is</p>

				actually an area let's change quite I think we have a really good mental health
		Mental Health Issues(K5/7)		at least half to a third of our time is spent dealing with mental health issues, something that er you know another organisation has a statutory responsibility for but because they are failing and cannot cope it falls upon us to pick up the slack for them um the ambulance service if they can't meet their target time they will call up has a can a patrol go to this um not so much the fire service but the NHS um it always amazes me where they have concerns for somebody their mental health they have them in a place of safety on an AandE ward um quite often let them go and have a cigarette and then 20 minutes later, oh this person has wandered off with a cannula in they are suicidal um and that falls then upon us to resolve
	Long term Damage to Policing	continuing financial cuts will force the collapse of some forces(K1/1)	Crawford(2012)HMIC(2012)(Kent and Sussex Courier, 2015)	S6: I think that the continuing financial restraints will force police forces to continue to look at different ways of doing their business and I think that that's going to increasingly look like more amalgamations of forces mergers of forces particularly the smaller ones because



				financially I can't see that they are viable but they certainly won't be for very much longer
		austerity destroying the service(K8/31)		S8: the expectations of the public haven't changed in fact if anything it has increased erm they have disproportionately high expectations of what we can provide you've probably heard me say this before there is only so many ways that I can cut one small cake that small cake being the number of resources that I have and the size of the wedge you know how much I'm going to give you for that incident that job we are now significantly underfunded we are significantly understaffed
		cost reduction is driver for change - AusterityC5/11)	De MaillardandSavage(2012)	I think probably the drivers more recently is about cost saving we went through a period of time and I think even with the previous government of cutting down cost because they probably felt that there was a huge amount of cost to policing that we've got to look at ways where we can achieve public confidence but at a cheaper price so hence and I daresay that my colleagues liked PCSO's came about where you can have sort of people walking around in high viz high visibility giving the impression that we have more police on the Street than we actually did

		loss of human reciprocity - Austerity(C2/3)	Donati(2011)	<p>S9: there's a lot less human contact now than they used the things like laptops agile working that's changed a lot of those positives and negatives and everything but I think more of the human touch now since I joined CG: yeah I mean and that's kind of where my thesis sits saying that we have taken the human out of policing but I'm just try to establish to what degree and whether or not that's coming back to a certain degree S9: no in Andrad we actually have like diary appointments now I can see the way they are trying to filter out with offices going every incident and try and deal with some of it over the phone has been some talk of trying to do over Skype good in some respects because of the technology but then looking at vulnerable people from our society are they likely to have a laptop of a likely to know how to use it a lot of vulnerable people do but if you're looking at more of your vulnerable people it's not going to work</p>
		Predicts further losses to NHP - Austerity(C1/1)		<p>S1: I guess neatly my suspicion is that if things are quiet on the worldwide front and things settle down that cuts will take place again it's almost a well I think it's a bit of a guarantee to be honest now obviously is not gonna affect me because I've only got</p>

				<p>eight months or so to go but I think locally from sort of Peterborough perspective I think things will change in Peterborough I think the teams that where we are clinging onto a little bit of neighbourhood policing I think probably within the next year year and a half I can see the teams being streamlined again being chopped around and more resources put into not so much the frontline policing sort of it but I think they are looking at supplying new teams of all been set up</p>
		Senior officers wont cut senior posts-Self preservation(C2/2)		<p>S2: okay the structure in the force is the shape how I see it is going to change in the foreseeable future is the senior management structure will remain very much the same because whilst you have we are Andrad Slester Police and Salhull Police we are three forces that are collaborating if you want to save a lot of money let's collaborate the top posts but I asked this question on our question forum at work and the response came well we can't do that we need an act of Parliament today that we can collaborate everything else police Scotland can change from 4 - 5 forces overnight to 1 force but we can't do it now is there another blocking force here the fact that you've got three people receiving</p>

				80 odd thousand pounds a year as policing crime Commissioners you not going to get turkeys voting for Christmas so of course the collaboration is going to be blocked the senior officer role
	<b>Complaints</b>	complaints can constrain ability to act as a police officer(C1/1)	(Goldsmith, 1991) (Great Britain Home Office, 1987) (Waters and Brown, 2000)	6: and that although initially although it had quite a big impact on me when the analysis came out the Sgt who is in charge of the custody got was quite heavily criticised I know for a fact if it wasn't for if it wasn't for that Sgt that guy would have been dead probably 20 minutes prior
		officers threatened by changes to police complaints(C1/3)		S3: yes the burden in misconduct under the 2008 misconduct regulations CG: yes I must have been aware of that S3: 2004 it was a criminal test in 2008 now it's down to the balance of probabilities and they feel very vulnerable because it can go to a court case evidence can be looked at in the court case and a core can find you not guilty however you can put that same evidence to a tribunal and you've got more than enough so there is that element so I don't think it's particularly that because they see as a watering down you know our job is hard enough as it is yet you've watered is down
		over investigation - complaints - bad for officer welfare(K1/1)	(BBC News, 2015).	we can basically so that the officers aren't under investigation for

				any length of time so but as soon as the IP CC get involved it tends to drag out these investigations into months and years
		unnecessary over investigation of complaints(K1/1)		S5: erm again that's really difficult I I've got an ongoing investigation at the moment where it was investigated by the police and no further action taken and the complainant wasn't happy with that so they then referred the matter to the IP CC who you know then referred it back to Mecronia to reinvestigate which meant that the officer was effectively investigated twice erm and then erm and then basically when Mecronia reinvestigated again it came up with the same investigation the same outcome erm and that's now on appeal thing to me I think the IP CC although there are independent as such they do try to put a lot of pressure on officers and it drags out some of these investigations through the timescales it takes a erm clearly not happy or don't trust the fact that the police are strong enough to investigate their own officers which I don't think is right I think we will root out the bad ones and if it's a malicious complaint will get rid of it as soon as we can basically so that the officers aren't under investigation for any length of time so but as soon as the IP CC

				get involved it tends to drag out these investigations into months and years and everything like this so
		police complaints affect behaviour(K5/9)		nothing will get a better response to a problem than either a complaint or a letter threatening a complaint I will go to a neighbourhood engagement meeting and they will talk about let's say for instance they talk about the parking outside of school in Broadstairs and I'll have to manage it because A) I know that I will not get any police officers to do anything about that because it is not a hot crime I will have to manage it with PCSO's and myself PCSO's don't have any powers to deal with parking tickets or whatever so it's a big it's so basically a big threat I have to go there and show force of something that I haven't got however if someone wrote in to complain that the police weren't doing anything about it that with then go to the senior management team and the senior management team would then release officers or order officers from the other units to assist in dealing with a problem

	Joining The police	accepts personal changes over time (K1/1)	This section of sub themes is comprised of data exclusively provided by Mecronia officers .These results whilst interesting are a source of noise in the research and questions about this area were deliberately removed from the Andrad seed questions.	
		combat in war zone made lasting impression(K1/1)		
		did not join directly from school_college(K1/1)		
		experience of poor policing prompted joining(K1/1)		
		followed spouses career path(K1/2)		
		had fought for his Country and felt no further need to remain in the military(K1/1)		
		further education not supported by family(K1/1)		
		Good level of education(K4/4)		
		intrinsic motivation(K5/10)		
		no idea of policing prior to joining(K1/1)		
		previous work(K8/15)		
		reasonable level of education(K2/2)		
		sheltered background(K1/1)		
		Social Conscience(K6/24)		
		unpredictable nature of work seen as positive(K1/1)		
		life experiences equipped him to cope(K1/1)		
		joined 1997(C1/1)		
		joined Gloucestershire police(K1/1)		
		Joined the police spontaneously(K3/4)		
		joining the police - long term goal(K2/2)		
		strong family background(K4/4)		
		starting a family prompted a change of career(K1/1)		

		mature entrant , early public order training(K1/1)		
		training scenarios were the motivation to join(K1/1)		
		believed asthma was a bar to joining(K1/1)		
		discipline and adventure seen as positive reasons to join(K1/1)		
		Military Service(K1/3)		
		pressure not to join(K3/4)		
	<b>Social Pathogens</b>	anti feminist culture(K1/7)	(Deal and Kennedy, 1988) (Ouchi, 1981) (Peters and Waterman, 2004) Donati(2011)	S7: fine when I was married and I could work shifts etc but when I became divorced it all changed erm obviously when I split with my ex-husband and there was no way that I could physically do shift work erm I approached the management management well when I first approached them were absolutely fine but the culture within the office was the men would say because you have blonde hair and tits you can do what you want particularly when I got given the race hate crime because a lot of men went for that role and the role was given to me you know it will always stick in my mind even when I was on section when I joined CG: did you find that that was a big part of the culture of the organisation? S7: absolutely and it still is today to this day even today I got told that my role erm must be like being on annual leave every day that



				you know if only they knew
		breaches diversity legislation(K2/2)		I said and what's this stuff about XXXXXXXXXX then he said yeah that's what they were discussing I went XXXX mate I can't have anything more to do with this what you mean I went have you heard of the equality act well well what's that got to do with anything I said XXXX it is a crime it is a crime in this country to block an ethnic minority officer from a job they are otherwise accredited and qualified to have
		complied with the old culture despite personal misgivings(K1/1)		I often thought that when we were being pushed to chase numerical targets that none of it would impress the public I've always been of the view that there's no point telling a group of people at a community meeting that burglary is down by 8% if you've got one single victim of burglary sitting in front of you because as far as that person is concerned burglary is way way too high because they became a victim so I was never one to make much publicly of crime figures and stats and data having said all of that because I was in the organisation part of the organisation I did as I was told and I did well not play the game that makes it sound

				less serious than it is I did do what was required but sometimes with a slightly heavy heart
		disadvantaged by being white hetosexual christian male(C1/1)		S1: there are in my opinion don't always see why we have to have separate groups wider renewed Christian police Association why do we need different groups I don't know I don't pay into it so I don't because I I like to think that your a police officer everybody should deal with things in a certain way and do we you know do we need a white police officers group no doing it a black police group in my opinion no yes you need spokespersons you need people to obviously these people have experience you know have had bad experiences hence the groups or set up so from my little world where touchwood I've not experienced issues in in respect of race etc etc so I world I look at it thinking I can't even see what they've got these groups I can't see while I got a Christian group and are making such a big issue of things but in the big wide world if you got isolated little cases where we don't hear about but then you take those isolated cases throughout Andrad and then you take those isolated cases throughout the UK then there is a need for it

		feels disadvantaged by being a white heterosexual male officer(K1/5)		S3: the amount of groups there are like I say the Christian Association and gay and lesbian officers this all manner of little subgroups and subdivisions without a doubt there's now a heading for someone under any banner and this sounds really sexist and racist with the exception of the white heterosexual police officer which are by far the majority so don't get me wrong I'm not shying away from that but there is there is probably if you are any sort of diversity there is a strand for you that is there if you had a strand of diversity you're in a more powerful position than you have ever been because you can say what you want and you will get it because of your diversity
		dishonest culture(C1/1)		so honesty didn't always pay so the discretion there the discretion angle I decided to be truthful on that and others didn't but going back to the discretion side of it when you were in your probation dealing with things like shoplifters you didn't have any discretion you had to go to lock them up bring them back to the police station complete a search of the house deal with property

		dishonesty, lack of integrity(K2/4)	<p>it didn't occur to me that there would be the sort of collusion corruption nepotism um unethical behaviour at a high level are I genuinely didn't think that will happen I thought it was a bit like the military you see less of that in the military it's more regimented but I've really had that that has shaped me I in fact that that's why I said am not a Conservative voter anymore I think I mentioned neoliberal before I have become more liberal more humanist more socialist outlook the longer I've worked in policing and I do view without trying to sound like a because I'm not died in the mould you know I came to policing late I'm not a died in the mould constable I didn't join as a cadet and so I had no other worldview but I have become more negative and cynical about the machinations about the political interplay and about the senior managers relationship with the political level the resource and internal level and how that's played out in society</p>
		lack of loyalty(K1/1)	<p>was pushed off I was offered an opportunity to rebuild my career in uniform so I went back to uniform where I am now is because the chief inspector said to me I want you to go into community shake it up put your own pressure on it do this that and the other and</p>

				I got posted in the same week he got posted so he's gone and now I'm left where I am
		massaging figures(C1/1)		S7: I've got no direct evidence at this time but in the past I know that figures figures have been massaged and I can give you an example of that stolen vehicles we had a big problem with stolen vehicles in Peter Boro at one time and obviously they were undetected most of them you would find them burnt out so they changed it that if the car was stolen overnight and was found burnt out before it was reported stolen that the figures which show that it was an arson not theft there is an example you know because theft of the car car theft was going right up so it was changed to arson and I'm sure there's others there were other areas where that happens all the time so at the end of the day you can manipulate figures to suit your aims
		Medway 5(K5/5)		S2: yes yes definitely think there's a couple of years ago they tried to think it was Learmonth tried to bring in ring back discretion unfortunately that coincided with the Medway five with the cooking the figures and the T I C's so that all got kicked into touch

		nepotism external(K3/8)		I have a degree for instance in criminal investigation I have 13 years in CID I can do murder rooms and all sorts of things and yet I was released by CID overnight because I wanted to to Dover there was no attempt to try to keep you and that's my ego I get that that's me probably saying it because I wanted to flattery and most people that say I want to go just want to be told to stay but it does seem surprising that someone with a skill base is made more use of in particular areas and I've never understood that about the place
		Nepotism(C1/3)		was that actually say something about the force or the willingness of the units to investigate S2: I think they're looking after their mates again CG: okay it's not unheard of is it S2: no
		not a meritocracy(K1/2)		there were a number of people on the organisation who lacked operational credibility and I'm sorry to say really hadn't got a clue what they were talking about so hence I became the work stream leader for counterterrorism I knew nothing about it but I knew more about it than anyone else in the team
		racism- (possibly)(C1/1)		S7: yes well that's the big thing now isn't it of course like so many things you know and will probably touch on this later you can talk

				<p>about a racist incident  it's different now to  how it was then and  it's the same with the  crime then now if a  crime is reported to us  will take it further  whether they want to  take it further or not  of course that may fall  apart depending on  the evidence but that  is my understanding  last time I was on the  Street that was what  we did and that  caused problems in  itself appreciating that  I've not work the  streets for about  seven or eight years  now</p>
		racist undertones(K2/3)		<p>S7: well you have to  keep out the politics  don't you were not  allowed to it is difficult  (chuckling) is this  confidential CG: of  course it's confidential  totally S7: it is hard  obviously with all the  immigrants and all the  rest of it but CG: you  are entitled to an  opinion S7: we are  but we are not  allowed to voice it  we've been told</p>
		unethical practices(K3/8)		<p>but anyway XXXXXXXX  was one of these  people there and then  I heard began a move  and XXXX XXXXXXXX  was board is going on  is management course  now his going next  he'll be moved out  whoever is in the CSU  is going to bring  XXXXXXX in because is  one of his cronies from  before the plan is he  will basically be  promoted at the next  opportunity and so  this other guy the  XXXXX XXXXXXXX and lo  and behold there's just</p>

				<p>been aboard XXXXXXXX first board and he's passed so he was promoted to inspector two years ago he got moved after year onto area and he's well how did that happen but my source told me this was going to happen and that's exactly what fucking happened</p>
	<b>Human reciprocity</b>			
	Nature of Police work/the business of people	dealing with people - reciprocity(K2/4)		<p>CG: okay I'm just thinking about the manner in which an officer is able to interact with a member of the public over a crime report is the discretion to deal with it in the most appropriate way for the victim is that back can the officers pick and choose how they deal with stuff? S3: the victim can give their opinion but the officers will determine what the actual outcome is CG: in terms of what is most appropriate for everybody concerned? S3: yes</p>
		dealing with the public is remarkably constant(C1/1)		<p>S8: we do share all of that I was working I was working two days in Slester Police last week exactly the same as working in Andrad if someone just blindfolded me and plonked me there and said going do you job it would be no different and I wouldn't be looked at as if I had three heads just because came from Andrad CG: and then at the end of the day you just apply the law don't you S8:</p>



				absolutely CG: and although procedures might be different the law is still the same dealing with the public doesn't change S8: absolutely
		day to day uncertainty makes work exciting(K1/1)		S9: okay well most of my career has been uniform based I've had two or three years within crime group but erm my predilection has been bent towards the uniform role I enjoy the instantaneous aspect of what we deal with the spontaneous aspects erm so my first eight or nine years whereas a uniform PC
		good verbal communication(K2/3)		S7: right to be a police officer personally I think to be a police officer you have to be able to talk to people and I think I'm very good when I talk to people in 15 years I've never had to draw my asp my CS you know or use anything and I think that that is the biggest tool that you've got and I think that if my colleagues were honest they would say the same when they're out with me they see how I talk to people and I think that that is a bit trait and obviously with my experience they lot of the calls you go to our couples fighting over kids domestics I've been there done that I'm 42 you sit there laughing erm and I think it's the manner I have with when I'm talking to people which is why I've never been stuffed up so to speak and you know

				next question what was after that
		increasing diversity in society problematic for custody suites(K1/1)		SS: yes we are then very reliant on the interpreter coming in being translated as well and being able to write charge and very much at the moment most forces in the UK are probably fudging the issue around will give them a notice in their own language effectively saying that they've been charged with an offence and the interpreter if they can provided it's not too lengthy a charge try and translated as I can't then they will just literally right in their i.e. burglary in their own language or you've been charged with theft on such and such a date and give them the basic details but that's come in probably nearly 2 years ago now and I don't think there's been any challenges in the courts in relation to it
		communication difficulties caused by increasing diversity(C1/1)		ou have arranged marriages with people coming to the country but um the language barrier wasn't as bad as it is now of course with the diversity with got a lot of Eastern European in now we've got a lot of Portuguese and a lot of people have come from places like Iraq Afghanistan Syria as everywhere I think in the country

		cant beat local knowledge(C2/2)		S7: I can remember on many occasion get the radio saying start making your way to this whatever else well will advise you on a minute make your way with blue lights whatever so you start making your way and then they say right we've now got this in place this is going off blah blah blah can you show me or can you tell me and I didn't have mapping systems in those days and if you were fairly new to the area or wasn't an area you are familiar with they would say right go left you go down there go down here whatever else it's off this road they could give you local knowledge now of course you don't have the local knowledge you haven't got the local knowledge not only of the area geographically but of the area problems
		patrol function - more reactive(K1/1)		5: I found sort of when I was on patrol team you were more accountable to your line managers and senior officers and staff and probably a lot more accountable to the public to a degree because we were at their beck and call
		pragmatic common sense approach(K1/2)		I am not particularly naturally academic but I'm more a sort of common sense practical person which is why sort of my time on TAC team I was probably most suited to because I was quite a good problem solver so if people gave me a

				<p>problem to solve I would think of you know I was quite flexible with how I'm getting that problem solved I'm not the sort of person who is necessarily that structured around being told this is what you need to do you need to get on with it that way so I like to be given a situation and try to resolve it myself and so being quite practical you know</p>
		immigrant communities will integrate over time(K1/1)		<p>S8: they are going to local schools they are mixing with kids the same age that speak English I've been to a couple of jobs at their up Cliftonville before I moved where it was the kids that are telling me what mum and dad were saying erm and the kids are speaking English better than I am in my best broad Scots accent CG: so that cultural integration then S8: is great it's what it's got a be CG: do you think that will continue that that integration will continue once you get past the first generation S8: it has with every other group of persons that have come into Great Britain into British society</p>
		police work is practical problem solving(C1/1)		<p>academics can have no end of brains but when it comes to applying it to everyday life and you've got to be policing is about practicality it's about practical problem-solving isn't it it's not about whether you know e=MC2 things</p>

				like this it certainly pays to be sharp and it pays to be intelligent areas may be are not together but from a practicality point of view you need that to do the stuff on the Street so I don't think that having a degree is necessarily a good thing
		policing needs feet on the street(C2/4)		S1: no not really other than sort of beating on about the importance of ground level grassroots you know being on the ground you know having the feet on the ground where people can approach you and speak to you
	team and force culture	internal conflict Old culture vs new culture(K4/14)		S3: and you could argue actually that what we have done now is as a result of the shakeup in figures about a year ago is that now we record everything to the nth degree ridiculously so and I have seen ridiculous crime reports going on but now what we do is now we've hit that height of how much crime is coming in we can now tighten our belts and so I actually that shouldn't have been recorded that shouldn't have been recorded were not going to record that in the future so in six months time will say crime is at its lowest because with other 10% drop or whatever that's because we over recorded everything a year ago the figures at the moment mean bugger all they don't mean anything and they won't do for

				several years to come we take any credibility we had and thrown it out the window
		each police force has its own culture(C1/1)		S8: yes I think so yeah I think so there are different there's there's cultural differences certainly it's quite I was quite astounded I used to go out on mutual aid and had a look at other vans you know mainly PSU I used to think they are exactly the same as us they are just the same they've just got a different badge on their Hat or on the side of the other vans but they are just the same as us when you actually drill down to it it's a strange thing having worked with okay I'll say it Salhull Police they have got a completely different culture to Andrad and Slester Police whether it's a big city element because the just on the border of London I don't know but they are certainly more difficult to work with
		police forces need to reflect society(C1/1)		the police and in society to be reflected and if you're going to now start seeing were were all going to have to have degrees etc to get into the police how can we be reflective of society you may as well just shut hard front up and throw it out the window
		moral compass(K6/10)		S4: I think I would say I have always stood for fairness supporting people and I loathe

				bullies and I think I've been told that my moral compass is extremely strong and for me that has stood me in good stead it's one of the things also which for whatever reason I think at times has prevented me from going up the ranks but I'm happy that my moral compass is strong and that's fine by me
		team culture - supports reciprocity(C4/4)		so what was the culture like at that time S4: Brilliant yeah but I have to stress that I don't know if it's because I knew imposed and I'm enthusiastic not that I'm not enthusiastic now but your enthusiastic your new opportunity life is different you don't have kids priorities were different there were a lot more people on shift so the whole going to work was just an absolute buzz go to work very team orientated very social everybody was there to help it was good CG: so in terms of enabling you to act that was quite strong support S4: yes CG: that kind of help to act as a police officer S4 yes
		team culture constrained behaviour(C1/1)		S9: performance was continual it was yes you had it wasn't what we called PDR's then I don't know you were obviously continually assessed taking out the probation side obviously because for the first two years you're obviously continually assessed anyway in a different

				<p>format but when you are independent you go out there and yeah we were you were still continually monitored and feedback but I think also parading each time because if something was wrong as well they would tell you for right or wrong reasons they would tell you with a table full of officers</p>
		Team reciprocity lost(C2/3)		<p>it's completely unrecognisable from where it was in 1987 the culture change well the culture has changed much more it may sound strange but is only one bar in the county now police bar and that's shared with accounting so there's not much else in there at all at Peter Boro they used to be about Peterborough which was a nice bar one Andrad one Huntingdon one of March in the Fens so you had this you socialised together after work you went and had a drink and relaxed together and got to know each other now people coming to work a go home from work they come into work they go home from work there's no overlapping interaction between each other people don't really get to know each other</p>
		team social life(C1/1)		<p>S9: yeah or on the social side I mean we always used to go out after a late shift CG: so did you have Home Office canteens rather than bars in police stations S9: yes we had a TV room and bar</p>



				up on the top floor and you could always find some officers in their at 3 o'clock in the morning CG: that's called a late turn S9: yeah go out there and then yeah it was more of a social side then
	leadership	leadership through human social forms(reciprocity)(K3/3)	Donati(2011)Burns(1978)Bass(1985)	we have it appears come completely away from that I don't know I think it's probably lead by the policing College I don't know whether it's a Mecronia thing or a national thing I think that Mecronia are much more advanced down that route but what I've seen is that we are now doing the right thing certainly weren't doing the right thing two years ago
		poor communication - top to bottom(C1/1)		I'm a PC and I'm going to phone XXX up and say hello PC XXXXX here just want to let you know what's wrong with the dog section it's not going to happen he's not going to listen he said if it comes to somebody like you then he'd listen to you but he's not going to listen to us at the bottom and it's very true the chief constable comes out on his visits fact-finding visits the previous chief Constable XXXXX come to visit the dog section he went to 3 wrong polic stations before he eventually found us
		overly bureaucratic(K2/4)	Silver (2005), Reuss-Ianni andIanni(2005),Newburn(2005),LoaderandMulcahy(2003)	S7: there's obviously in the last as you know in the last sort of five or six years probably more there's been a lot more red tape that

				<p>sort of causes a a lot of officers to be more (unintelligible word)</p> <p>HMIC you know CG: what sort of red tape are we talking about?</p> <p>S7: where do I start Christ (laughing)</p>
	integrity	integrity - courage of convictions(K2/3)		<p>S9: in terms of personal traits I think I'm as I said before I think I have very strong moral compass I'm very proud of my erm integrity and honesty erm I'm very methodical and why do erm and I think on a good communicator with people and I think that is one of the most essential skills you can have a police officer knowing how to communicate if you can't talk to someone you know it's going to go wrong and 99 times out of 100 you can resolve any incident with this (indicates mouth) CG: pointing to mouth</p>
	Fear Culture	fear culture regarding force reputation(K4/6)		<p>the same with domestic violence the same with domestic murder you have failed haven't failed in anything is like you've got social services that are underfunded they could have prevented these people living in poverty that they've done so they are in social economical (unintelligible word), so that they are at each other's throats all the time they've both got substance abuse problems and he's butchered her it's not my fault that they did that but the perception on risk is everything must be attended on risk</p>

				assessed and bureaucratically assessed and documented so that in the future if something bad were to happen you could show there is no risk to our reputation
		Fear culture(C3/7)		but something is really concerning them after seeing that you do get the people the phone up all the time with a complete rubbish and they should be told actually this is complete rubbish were not dealing with you but because we are now so frightened of our shadow so frightened of being criticised for anything we have become overcautious and try to send people to absolutely everything to deal with absolutely everything and a lot of other things are nothing to do with policing or in the police arena
<b>Other Issues</b>	<b>Government Manipulation</b>			
	Government Agenda	long term government plan(K6/18)	<b>There is no specific literature linked to the hidden motives behind austerity suggested by these views but some of the literature dealing with austerity may fit the discussion at this point</b>	it's that it's that corporate driver again just as in health there are corporate drivers to get a slice of government money to do stuff and make a profit on it and obviously custody is one they are producing licences now for policing functions for private bodies to run so it's again it's the corporate slice the corporations will run

				that and so I can see the police as being the black suits with the badge that can use force and will be using it proportionately more often because there will be fewer of them and you will be required to deal with those types of jobs rather than the generic stuff at the moment that's what I think and it worries me but I think
		sees attacks on budgets as intended to force the police to greater privatisation in order to fill their own pockets(C1/1)		I think it's a case for me personally this Conservative government are filling their own pockets for the future but at the same time they are alienating the police not only by themselves but also with the public as a result all the other bits we've heard about the eroding point of view police are less and less liked
		government drive to flatten public services(C1/2)		S6: that's it yeah and I think that's more of the bigger picture in time to come and it'll be very much like the American system where you will have firefighters and paramedics everything you'll have the three circles just overlapping and some were in the middle you love a firefighter who is a paramedic you will have it's all going to melt into one
		government treat police with contempt(K2/5)		S8: the government don't treat us at all they simply treat us with contempt erm CG: okay how long has that been going on do you think how long is it likely to continue?

				<p>S8: I'll be upfront and tell you that I don't actually care I have less than two years to do and I'm leaving as soon as I possibly can erm they don't realise the damage they have done</p>
		<p>need for cost effectiveness supported by govt rhetoric about public pereptions(C1/1)</p>		<p>S3: I think..... It's a hard-won because when you sort of look at it when you think what is it that sort of behind it some of the stuff we get some of the rhetoric is that it's the public they want to know that they are getting a good service and getting value for money the perception of the public is a really difficult because I've always found that it's so easy to tag a perception label on something but then how do you actually deal with a perception because it could be anything you know we perceive it to be this so we are gonna do this so we'll take a knee-jerk reaction when dealing with things</p>
		<p>government dislike the police(C1/1)</p>		<p>we are disliked by decent members of the public because we give them a shoddy service and because the way and also the fact that the Government in my view don't like us this current Government in my view and I know it's not just my view because I've spoken to others feel that because they're stabbing us in the back certain elements because of the home secretary and that actually despise the</p>

				police and as a result that's filtered down to the general public so you know
		ongoing financial cuts(K1/2)		I think the overriding theme at the moment is getting the job done with less resource and we has a force are now preparing for the next round of cuts so we will have to continue to be smart am prepared to do things as well as we can and work as hard as we can it's as simple as that really
		privitisation of public sector functions(K4/4)		S3: I think the first agenda is to get us as cheap as possible we cost too much money for pensions despite paying into it as much as we do we are seen as being too expensive we retire to early 60 years old they want to get the most out of us whether they dress it up as austerity or whatever I think we cost too much money undoubtedly I think if you look at the Olympic Games group 4 security took that on made a bit of a balls up of it but what they will say is they took that as a learning experience and they will move on from it I think we will have to become a bit more specialised and what we do but ultimately it will be private security
		Government Agenda - Short term contracts(C3/3)		S2: yes but this is down to the Government this is what the Government have done by increasing the pension the pensionable age by changing the pension regulations so

				<p>you get a smaller pension by making by putting bigger pension contributions in they don't want people to get to that pensionable age and if they do they not going to be paying it for a very long time CG: you think they want people out of the pension scheme? S2: exactly say they want people to come take the pension offer them then they can put on their CV look what I've done so that they can do that</p>
	Hegemony	Gramsci - Hegemony(C1/1)	Cox(1983)	<p>S2: no I think the culture has been largely driven by the attitude in the country the attitudes in the country are largely driven by what's put in the papers it's changed over the years that we now we can't speak out against or you can't say anything about anything that you perceive not to be right because if you do you rather branded a racist sexist and homophobic whatever</p>
		Marxist view(K1/1)		<p>S2: yeah and the same in the modern era now which still got a slave economy now we've got this minimum wage and living wage we've basically got corporate structures and taxation structures designed to keep the majority of the population on a lower wage and you're effectively slaves by a different name you can't accumulate you can't get land because is owned by bigger landowners</p>

				corporations so you can't work for yourself except in their industrial combine you've got to work their
		bad media coverage(K2/5)		Hillsborough disaster pleb gate all of that lot at the moment all we are getting is negative publicity and them we have a reaction to that in the police in that right okay as soon as something happens in the press you know for a fact that there will be something coming out internally to up our standards or to up our practices or to make is better in this department or whatever and you can I think it was after plebgate you got lots of emails came out about standards of talking to different people the code of ethics has just come out the code of ethics has come out from the centre of policing with just been presented that by the chief inspector
		corporate agents - government tool(C1/1)		there was none of these other specialist niche groups that have carved themselves a massive empire who are supported by the Home Office just say look how great we are CG: for example? S2: I'm thinking of the black police Association
		only sees further growth of corporate agencies if centrally funded(C1/1)		S2: I think that if I get funding from within the government from the centre they will continue but I can't see that happening the likes of your black police



				Association have largely slipped back into nothing because there's just people aren't interested in that as a police Federation representative we haven't got young officers interested in becoming Federation reps yeah because it's they don't view it as a long-term career
		corporate agencies will grow due to a reduction in police efficiency and effectiveness(C2/2)		S6: it's going to increase is going to have to because is the police decrease something's got to help or you know we had an issue overcast an area where the graffiti and fly tipping and all that sort of stuff well to a certain degree our PC SOEs are not being increased again Slester Police they are losing think about 100 PC SOEs well that's not going to go away somebody's got to look at it and summaries got to have that excuse my French somebody's got to have the balls to say we can't do it you have to handle that
		discourse between police and government is needed(K1/1)		but the key thing is the police service having that discourse with with governments and Home Office etc and getting an understanding of what is expected to be delivered and I don't think that's happened yet
	<b>Political Interference</b>			
		unnecessary political interference(K1/1)	Liberty Policing(2010),Chakrabrti(2008),Marx et al(2001),	but every time they do that and they're talking about now

				<p>introducing a new category of crime it comes the pressure is for us to do it so we get phone calls from people I'm worried my ex is written this on so just block it so it's its am its unnecessary</p>
		<p>political interference - negative(C1/1)</p>		<p>S2: yeah I I don't like the way policing is going don't like the way that we are run I don't like the way that is becoming politicised over the last 28 years I don't like the way that we feel that we have to do beg to do things from the government I don't like the way that the police and crime Commissioners have come in I don't like the way that we recruit people because they match a certain criteria</p>
		<p>political system broken(K1/3)</p>		<p>1: I think again it's probably now a bit of a foregone conclusion Um the system is broken as is the various component parts of it are broken up enough now that you can do whoever's there can do it um if you're gonna reinvest how do you reinvest um and that's not saying um that you know we've done it for a long time there are parts of the system that probably are broken and there are parts of the system that do need some some form of modernisation um but I think the question is what what are the right steps to modernising are they fit for purpose</p>

		national police force(C2/2)		I think potentially we've got to sort of look at ourselves and think to ourselves are we the local bobbies or are we police UK and am when I look at that I think to myself there's its it's not a bad thing to have stronger purchasing power by buying in bulk I particularly for one wouldn't have a problem with being in a national police force
		national police force(K1/1)		I can see regionalisation on a much greater scale and I can eventually see a move towards a national police service there will be many many inhibitors to that on that journey but unless you are a chief officer or about to become one it's difficult to see why we need 43 lots of chief constables and chief officer teams across a relatively small country like the UK or like England and Wales
	Police Crime Commissioners	PCC - Viewed negatively(C2/5)	<b>Some literature around the intro of PCC's eg Wells(2012) but none looking at the viewpoint of</b>	S2: but he's is just completely pointless the policing and crime Commissioner rather than holding the chief Constable to account he's quite happy to mumble along in his own little world receiving his money getting is nice brand-new Porsche with personalised number plates on it

		<p>PCC not supportive of the force(K1/1)</p>	<p><b>frontline officers</b></p>	<p>S3: here you go we've got a buffoon running us as a PCC we don't really understand why we've got a PCC for one thing  XXXXXXXXXXXX is a lovely woman speak to her very compassionate very nice woman but as far as being media savvy goes absolutely daft and the thing that gets me there is we were be an up about a year ago or so about our crime recording being appalling but actually what we are saying what's our audit team and experts but that is saying actually were not that bad compared to everyone else were actually fairly good it's just we opened the doors to them first of all they came in and slated us and a lot of crime recording is subjective so why can't our PCC be a) briefed on that before she speaks to the media and b) when she speaks to the media actually I know it's saying 90% accurate but that's because it subjective that's because it's never going to be 100% and actually we are better than anyone else in the country at this time but no we actually get a PCC stand-up in front of the TV and say that's because we're not quite corrupt but she used words insinuating that we were bloody stupid</p>
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		creation of PCC role is morally wrong(K1/1)		<p>S9: I don't think any one individual should have sway over a chief officer of police when you look at the previous set up you had selected members of the local community who had a vested interest in policing and as a Corum without any political sway they could honestly make decisions and give direction to the chief Constable as to what they felt should be done I think that is the most democratic process you could possibly have to govern a police force  XXXXXXXXXXXX political puppet any other PCC political puppet</p>
		political steering of policing through the PCC(K1/1)		<p>S3: yeah so what concerns me I think the real danger to the police is what if the IPCC goes for election and a UKIP member wins the IPCC see not the IPCC the PCC's role and that here is a very real possibility remember the PCC was voted in after getting about 17% of the vote and only X amount of people voted and so it was a very very low representation now what if UKIP start targeting those particular sites well we could find ourselves being driven in all sorts of directions away from towards a political landscape but as far as policing goes I think there's going to be a massive massive emphasis in the next 10 years of private security on police community support officers on of only</p>

				coming to us if it's of a significant nature and that's concerning
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