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Bullying and Harassment of Black and Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) women within the Police Services in England: Race, Gender and Police Culture.

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PhD

2019

Bullying and Harassment of Black and Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) women within the Police Services in England: Race, Gender and Police Culture.

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the 'hidden' and under-researched area of bullying and harassment of Black and Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) women in Police Services in England. In so doing the thesis explores the intersectionality between race and gender within the context of police culture. The thesis explores the development of the legislative and policy framework of bullying harassment within the context of English Policing. In doing so, it adopts a chronological approach, which facilitates an understanding, whilst identifying main influences and events, which have shaped English Policing bullying and harassment policy since the Macpherson Inquiry (1999).

The research argues that the failure of successive governments to develop a robust legislative framework on bullying – on the grounds that it would create an unnecessary regulatory burden to industry (Adams, 1994) – has had a massive impact on workplace bullying and harassment issues. This has led to the default position of the development of the creation of 'dignity at work' policies through which cases of bullying are channeled. The thesis argues that this policy framework when implemented within a command and control organisation such as the police makes it 'fair game' for undermining (EHRC, 2016).

The research identifies the impact of this historic policy failure to acknowledge the importance of intersectionality in matters of diversity and the continuing 'struggle' between race and gender within English policing. This factor then contributes to the 'invisibility' of BAME women in policing. In doing so it makes BAME women susceptible to 'unique tactics' of bullying and harassment, which contribute to their impeded progression as compared to their white counterparts. These 'unique tactics' are underpinned/enhanced by the police 'organisation' and enforced by police 'culture'.

The thesis argues, that the failure to 'grasp' the issue of bullying and harassment of BAME women within British Policing is due, in part, to a lack of effective leadership; which is driven by a 'crisis management' culture around issues of race and gender (CRE, 2004; Ghaffur, 2004; Rollock, 2010). Furthermore, the research argues, that this situation is compounded by a paucity of evidence-based research in this area, which contributes to intensifying the perceived and actual 'invisibility' of BAME women within contemporary English policing.

The thesis concludes, that; the bullying and harassment of BAME women in Police Services in England, is underpinned by issues of patriarchy and racism; which are difficult to challenge in bureaucratic and hierarchical organisations like the Police. It is argued in the research that Police Services in England have developed on 'face value' effective policies and procedures to deal with bullying and harassment however, it is the implementation of the bullying and harassment policies and procedures and the way in which certain sections of the organisation handle them (Department of Professional Standards (DPS) and Human Resources (HR)) where the tension lies. This is due to the viewpoint established by this research that those police departments responsible for handling cases of bullying and harassment of BAME women do not have many BAME people working within them (HASC, 2016). It is argued here that this makes implementation of bullying and harassment policies difficult, as these individuals do not truly understand the nature of racism which is essential to be able to tackle the bullying and harassment of BAME women. Furthermore, the forceful police culture, does its utmost to maintain and protect the organisation from those BAME women who would expose it both internally and externally for bullying and harassment. This triggers a range of acts; aimed at undermining, discrediting and isolating the victim through drawn out investigative processes. These acts are aimed at maintaining power and order and are enabled through the operation of police culture; which by its very nature facilitates 'corruption' of processes in the handling of bullying and harassment cases.

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Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the Faculty of Arts, Design & Social Sciences Ethics Committee on 23 July 2014.

I declare that the Word Count of this thesis is 79,261 Words

Marina Hasan

Signature

Date: 12/05/2019

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the 'hidden' and under-researched area of bullying and harassment of Black and Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) women in the. In so doing, the thesis explores issues of race and gender within the context of police culture. The thesis explores the development of the legislative and policy framework of bullying and harassment within the context of English policing. It adopts a chronological approach, which facilitates an understanding, of the genesis of the policy and legislative framework with regards to key developments; whilst identifying main influences and events, which have shaped English policing bullying and harassment policy. The thesis is contextualised with an understanding and exploration of police culture-canteen culture¹ and sub culture (Westmarland, 2008; Reiner, 2010; Cockroft, 2013) specifically as it relates to race and gender, (Smith and Gray, 1983, Stotnick 1994, Rowe, 2004) how and why it operates and its perceived and actual impact on BAME women in the police.

Existing research around race and policing has primarily focused on the generic experiences of racism felt by BAME police officers regardless of their gender (HMIC, 2000; CRE, 2004; Ghaffur, 2004). To date the experiences of BAME women are under-researched and furthermore, there has not been an examination of the experiences of civilian police staff, who assist officers and support the police force (Gittens, 2004), i.e. civilian members of staff working in the areas of administration, personnel, research, analytical and other supportive roles.

This research was undertaken because I was struck by an apparent gap of knowledge of the experiences of BAME women in the Police Services in England and was concerned that whilst official statistics highlight the encouraging rise of female advancement in the Police,

¹ Canteen culture is conceived as a kind of informal de-briefing which allows officers to wind down with their peers and relax after operations

this was not replicated by either BAME men or women (MOJ, 2015; HASC, 2016; Home Office, 2016;). This led me to want to examine how the intersectionality of race and gender manifests itself within an organisation like the police in the area of bullying and harassment.

This research comes at an interesting juncture in time for the Police Services in England. In February 2016, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), the organization, which independently assesses police forces and police activity. Identified what it felt was a lack of confidence of police officers and staff in challenging negative police culture and behaviours:

- for fear that to would impact adversely on their career;
- that it would not result in action;
- that they would not be listened to or believed and;
- that they would not be supported.

Whilst the HMIC identified issues facing women and BAME men and women within the Police it neglected to highlight the impact of intersectionality of race and gender and its effect on BAME women in Policing (ibid); hence the need for this research.

This thesis contributes to knowledge by identifying the impact of the historic failure to acknowledge the importance of intersectionality in matters of diversity and the 'struggle' between race and gender. This situation will be shown to contribute to the 'invisibility' of BAME women in policing, which results in them being susceptible to 'unique tactics' of bullying and harassment. This contributes to their perceived impeded progression when compared to their white counterparts. These 'unique tactics' are underpinned/enhanced by the police 'organisation' and enforced by police culture.

This research identifies that the resistance to the development of a UK and EU legislative framework on workplace bullying by both Conservative and Labour Administrations resulted in the development of a public policy framework to tackle bullying and harassment within organisations otherwise termed as 'Dignity at Work' policies. This thesis argues that this

concession to the development of a legislative framework on workplace bullying was adopted, as it would not be burdensome to employers; whilst the existing Equalities Legislative framework included provision for harassment.

The failure of the UK to adopt a legislative framework on bullying, has meant that within the Police Services in England, Dignity at Work policies have been shown to be unhelpful as they are able to be undermined as they operate within a police culture which is underpinned by a 'blue wall of silence' which colludes; to undermine internal investigations particularly into corruption or areas of discrimination (Silverman, 1999; Walker, 2001; Morris et al, 2004). This research argues that this has a detrimental impact on BAME women in the police as they suffer from both sexism and racism.

The thesis argues, that the failure to 'grasp' the issue of bullying and harassment of BAME women within the Police Services in England is due in part, to a lack of effective leadership; which is driven by a 'crisis management' culture around issues of race and gender (CRE, 2004, Ghaffur 2004; Rollock, 2010). Furthermore, the research argues that this situation is compounded by a paucity of research in this area, which contributes to intensifying the perceived and actual 'invisibility' of BAME women within English policing.

This is argued within the research to be reflective of a discourse; which perceives and represents Black women as 'subordinate and sexualised' (Hooks, 1982; Carby, 1997; Hill – Collins, 2000). This makes them 'prey' or 'targets' within organisational cultures, which value traditional notions of masculinity in which whiteness is valorised. The result of which, has led to the development of ineffective policies, which are vulnerable to undermining and backlash within diverse organisational policing structures.

This research recognises and outlines in the following chapters that the unique themes of police culture: sense of mission, pragmatism, a thirst for action, cynicism, pessimism, suspicion, isolation from the public and solidarity with the police, conservatism, machismo, authoritarianism and racial prejudice (Coleman and Gorman, 1982), which are products of an organisation founded on a military and bureaucratically based history (German et al,

1973). Has created the conditions, whereby those who are viewed as being a group which elicit suspicion because they are different from the norms associated with the Police Services in England (Women, BAME, Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender (LGBT) people are susceptible to bullying and harassment (Smith and Gray, 1985; Reiner, 2010). This thesis argues that the combination of police culture within a bureaucratic 'command and control' organisation such as the Police, results in a resistance to policies and procedures aimed at tackling issues such as discrimination, bullying and harassment (HMIC, 2016).

Through the adoption of case examples, face to face, telephone, in-depth interviews and an analysis of the literature, this thesis advocates that the historic failure to acknowledge the importance of intersectionality in matters of diversity and the 'struggle' between race and gender, contributes to the 'invisibility' of BAME women in policing. Making them susceptible to 'unique tactics' of bullying and harassment, which contribute to their perceived hindered progression as compared to their white counterparts. These 'unique tactics' are underpinned/enhanced by the police 'organisation' and enforced by police 'culture'.

The overarching aim of this research, is to make a difference in the professional and personal lives of BAME women who work in the Police Services in England. Their voices need to be acknowledged and heard in fostering their own empowerment within intersecting oppressions of race, gender and social standing. The research emphasises the importance of capturing and highlighting the experiences and stories of BAME women who claim to have been bullied, harassed and discriminated in the workplace in some form or other, in the notion of identifying historical patterns of social exclusion and marginalisation in line with institutional discrimination. Moreover, this research focuses on understanding the day to day struggles of BAME women within the Police Services in England as to how they deal with everyday unfair treatment, racism, sexism at work, to understand their coping mechanisms and survival strategies within the institutional setup.

1.2 Objectives

The overall objective of this thesis is to investigate whether BAME women who are employed by the Police Services in England experience disproportionate systematic bullying and what features of the organisational setting contribute to such conduct.

In pursuing this question, the research will

- 1.) seek to assess the extent, if any, of systematic bullying of BAME women within the Police Services in England,
- 2.) examine contributory factors which arise from organisational structures and police leadership,
- 3.) identify trends behind the bullying and harassment of BAME women within the Police Services in England in recent years, and seek to explain these,
- 4.) provide useful recommendations for positive change; which can serve as a model for police forces in drafting anti-bullying guidelines and procedures, in line with the organisational culture and practices of anti-bullying/dignity in action, equal opportunity, and diversity in the workplace policies and procedures that are already in place.

1.3 Research Questions

The thesis seeks to answer the following research questions:

- Does 'police culture' act as a facilitator of bullying and harassment?
- Are there underlying reasons why BAME women suffer bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England? What is the nature of the discourse surrounding such bullying and harassment and how has it impacted on the progression of BAME women in English Policing?

The thesis employs a mixed methods approach, employing qualitative and quantitative methods. The data collection methods employed within this thesis include: an analysis of secondary sources, such as legislation, parliamentary debates and bullying and harassment policies; a review of key literature on police organisational culture and bullying and harassment; case studies; semi-structured, face-to-face and telephone interviews for BAME women police officers and civilian staff; and experts particularly individuals with expertise in Discrimination Law, Human Resources, Psychology which were undertaken between November 2015 and April 2016. It also includes the analysis of data published by U.K Government agencies such as, Ministry of Justice and the Office for National Statistics.

1.4 Structure of the Research

Following this introductory chapter, the thesis is divided into a further eight chapters.

Chapter 2 provides a theoretical foundation of the pertinent theoretical approaches and debates in relation to the issues of bullying, harassment, race and organisational theory. The chapter is divided into three parts, bullying and harassment; race in policing and organisational theory. To highlight the reality and manifestations of bullying and harassment for BAME women in the Police Services in England, two case studies are also presented in Chapter 2: the case of the former Assistant Chief Constable of Merseyside, Alison Halford who suffered bullying and harassment in 1985 and the case of Carol Howard, a BAME firearms officer in the Metropolitan Police Diplomatic Protection Group who was a victim of bullying and harassment and who won her case of sex and race discrimination in July 2014. The case studies are presented to highlight the way in which bullying and harassment operates within the police at different time periods, whilst also illustrating the techniques used by the Police organization, to undermine victims through the operation of police culture through the 'thin wall of silence'. Chapter 2 also explores the issue of intersectionality and its resultant impact on a lack of research on the issues facing BAME women in the police (Waddington, 2009).

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the legislative and policy context of bullying and harassment in the UK. The aim of this chapter is to examine the development of the legislative and policy context of Bullying and Harassment in England. In doing so, it will utilise a historical chronological approach. This will provide an understanding of the underlying characteristics of the development of the legislative and policy framework. Chapter 3 focuses on the impact that a lack of a definition of Bullying in the UK has had, specifically in relation to a failure to develop a clear and detailed legal framework on workplace bullying and harassment, especially with regard to race and gender. Here, an appraisal is made of the struggle for the development of a legal framework of workplace bullying in the UK.

Chapter 4 focuses on an exploration of the concept of police culture in terms of both occupational and organisational aspects. The chapter moves on to examine race and gender within the context of police culture, where focus is placed on how police culture manifests itself and its subsequent impact on BAME women in the Police Services in England. The chapter is contextualised within the framework of the push for public service reform established by the New Labour government of 1997 where attention was placed on the push for race equality established by the Macpherson Inquiry (1999) into the death of Stephen Lawrence.

Chapter 5 provides a review of research methodologies in Criminology and Policing studies, this is followed by an overview of the research context, design, data collection and analysis methods. The chapter also provides an explanation of the ethical foundations of the research. The issue of access to interview participants is explained and discussed in this chapter as is the role of the 'Gatekeeper'. The aim of this chapter, is to build a bridge between the theory, policy chapters and the primary data analysis chapters.

Chapter 6 is a quantitative data analysis chapter which presents a statistical overview and analysis of data from the period 2007 -2017 derived from the most recent data sets within

the public domain, published by the following UK Government Departments; Ministry of Justice, Home Office and Office for National Statistics.

The chapter focuses on Police Services in England, workforce data as it pertains to gender and ethnicity. It includes both historic and current information on police diversity and ethnic representation; promotion and progression of BAME male and female police officers and staff; and key data and analysis pertaining to BAME staff turnover in the Police Services in England.

Chapter 7 is one of two findings chapters. It draws on interviews with 13 BAME female police officers and civilian staff from 5 English Police Forces who have been interviewed as part of this study. The information is gained through a series of semi-structured, telephone and face-to-face interviews with a diverse category of research participants; thirteen police officers and civilian staff from 5 English Police Forces, nine of whom were police officers, one of whom was a Police Community Safety Officer (PCSO), two of whom were Police Staff and one of which was a former Police Officer. The participants defined themselves in the following way; one who defined themselves as Chinese, one who defined themselves as Sikh, seven who defined themselves as Black English and four who defined themselves as Asian British. The main finding of this chapter is that the impact of bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Services in England results in the awarding of disciplinary sanctions and also restricts opportunities for promotion. This results in the obstructed progression of BAME Female Police Officers and Staff. This findings chapter reveals that BAME women Police Officers and Staff are viewed as invisible by their white counterparts and are not perceived as being capable of holding supervisory ranks. This results in the tactic of undermining, by their colleagues and peers and is reflective of a culture of police racism (Waddington, 2008). The chapter highlights that the impact of bullying and harassment, should not only be viewed in terms of the reputational damage to the Police Services in England, but that the financial cost to not only the Police Services in England (in terms of working days lost) but also to the UK Health Service due to the issuing of prescriptive medication, alternative therapies and consultations with medical

professionals and also to the victim in terms of health impairment and the need for medical treatment and support.

Chapter 8 is the second of the two findings chapters. The findings examined and analysed in this chapter pertain to five experts in the field; who, through their work, have collectively built up a level of expertise and knowledge around bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England. The data was gained through four semi-structured telephone interviews and one face-to-face interview with a diverse group of research participants. The 'experts' were chosen because of their levels of experience around distinctive areas, they were as follows; Discrimination Law; Human Resources, Psychology and representing BAME Police Officers and Staff in the Police Services in England. Through the diverse experiences and professional knowledge of the 'experts in the field' a unique and informed perspective within which to assess and view the impact of the legislative framework, Police Services in England organisational policy and procedures on bullying and harassment and the organizational mechanisms aimed at addressing them, was gained.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusions of the research. The chapter brings together and summarises the research findings and presents them within the framework of the research questions. The chapter also presents and raises issue of policy and practice pertaining to the issue of BAME women in the Police Services in England with regard to bullying and harassment whilst also setting out recommendations for further action. This includes the importance of recognizing and challenging issues of racism and patriarchy, and an acknowledgment of the impact of intersectionality on the lived experiences of BAME women in the Police Services in England as a mechanism to bringing positive change to Police culture.

Chapter 2: Theoretical issues on bullying, race and organisational theory

In this chapter I will explore the theoretical and policy issues within the UK, which underpin this research, which seeks to examine the bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Services in England. The theoretical issues are, bullying; harassment; race and organisational culture. As the subject matter of the research is BAME women in the Police Services in England, this chapter will examine race and gender within the context of organisational culture, focusing in particular on debates within criminology, psychology and sociology on how police culture operates and manifests and how it impacts on the treatment of BAME women in the Police Services in England over the last ten years.

The impact of two significant political/policy drivers introduced by the 1997 Labour Government and their subsequent impact on public services such as the Police Service will be explained and discussed. The public policy changes were the push towards greater managerialism within public services as a mechanism to improve public services and raise standards (Newman, 2001).

Historically, the 1960s were marked by social and political unrest, urban riots, new social problems, the emergence of radical protest movements, political violence. The police was the state institution which stood at the frontline of these transformations. Official reports of the time concluded that policing this 'restless society', characterized as it was by escalating crime, disorder and fear of crime, would require new methods of recruitment and training, organizational reform and rethinking of operational philosophies and practice (McLaughlin, 2006:49).

Additionally, the push for race equality as a result of the Macpherson Inquiry (1999) into the death of Stephen Lawrence, was both a significant political/policy driver and a catalyst for change, which resulted in policy shifts in the area of the recruitment and retention of BAME Police officers and staff in the Police Services in England (Home Office;1999; MacPherson 1999). This provides an invaluable insight into critical features of police culture such as

resistance and hostility to change, as evidenced through occupational and organisational aspects of police culture (Reiner, 2010).

This approach has been adopted, as it will address the research questions, which are to establish whether 'police culture' acts as a facilitator of bullying and harassment of BAME women and to explore whether there is an underlying discourse as to why BAME women suffer bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England. The nature of the discourse and how it has impacted on the progression of BAME women in English Policing.

The chapter starts with an overview of the genesis of the definitions of the concept of bullying in the discipline of organisational behaviour. Types of behavior, classed as bullying and harassment will then be presented and examined. Through the identification and examination of the work of Leymann (1990), there will be an exploration of the debate around the psychological trauma caused by workplace bullying and harassment. The link between bullying and harassment with depression, anxiety and stress will be established, in addition to the link between bullying and harassment and poor mental health. This chapter will also examine the economic and health costs of workplace bullying and harassment. The concept of 'techniques of neutralisation' which have been used to explain the process of workplace bullying, and why people bully is also explored. This research argues, that individuals who bully within the workplace, prioritise their loyalties to smaller social groups (cliques) rather than placing their loyalties to the larger social group (Sykes and Matza, 1957). Finally, the chapter will follow the study undertaken by Waddington, 2009 to explore the issue of intersectionality and its resultant impact on a lack of research on the issues facing BAME women in the Police Services in England. The chapter concludes by arguing that the invisibility of BAME women in the Police Services in England, is compounded by the fact that gender is still viewed as a White female issue whilst race is seen as a Black male issue.

2.1 Forms of Bullying in an Organisational Context

Whilst the abuse of positions of power within organisations in a detrimental and harmful manner to other members of staff has been a fact of life within many institutions, for a prolonged period of time. It has only been in the latter part of the last century, that the issue has become the focus of academic study, under the title of “harassment of workers”.

Through her book, ‘The Harassed Worker’, Brodsky, (1976) analysed abusive workplace behaviour in the United States of America (USA) at corporate level. Following Brodsky’s (1976) work, Leymann (1984;1990) was the first to conduct academic research into the subject. Leymann (1984) identified the concept of ‘mobbing’ to describe group victimization of a single target. Leymann (1984;1990) research was focused on trying to understand human behavior with regards to workplace bullying in Sweden. He subsequently brought the issue to public awareness in Germany. Leymann (1990) investigated the extent of psychological trauma that could be inflicted on a victim as a result of workplace bullying. Furthermore, he established that victims of workplace bullying were at an increased risk of experiencing symptoms such as depression, anxiety and extreme levels of stress.

The issue of workplace bullying, entered into the social mainstream in 1992, with the publication of a self-help book by the BBC journalist, Andrea Adams (Adams, 1992). She coined the term “workplace bullying” to describe ongoing harassing workplace behaviour between employees (ibid). Adams’ work, resulted in significant media attention and was the subject of a number of media documentaries and news bulletins (Einarsen et al, 2011).

To understand the concept of bullying, it is first important to establish what does not constitute as bullying.

Bullying, is different from harmless incivility, rudeness, boorishness, teasing and other well-known forms of interpersonal torment. Whilst bullying is a form of violence, it rarely involves fighting, battery or murder. Bullying, mostly takes the form of sub-lethal, non-physical violence. The concept of bullying, encompasses the following forms of behaviour: ‘Mobbing

(bullying of an individual by a group), harassment, employee abuse, emotional abuse, mistreatment, incivility, aggression, hostile behaviour, unacceptable behaviour, aversive behaviours' (Beswick (2006:14).

There has been contention amongst researchers from various countries which has prevented the identification of a perfect cross-cultural definition of the concept of bullying. The broad academic consensus on a definition is best encapsulated in the following:

'Bullying at work is about repeated actions and practices that are directed against one or more workers, that are unwanted by the victim, that may be carried out deliberately or unconsciously, but clearly cause humiliation, offence and distress, and that may interfere with job performance and/or cause an unpleasant working environment' (Einarson and Raknes, 1997;249).

Hence, the concept of bullying at work, relates to the persistent exposure to negative and aggressive behaviours of a primarily psychological nature (Einarson, 1996; Leymann, 1996). Bullying at work describes those situations where hostile behaviours are created systematically and are directed at one or more colleagues or subordinates which leads to the stigmatisation and victimisation of certain co-workers (Einarson et al, 2003). It must be noted that this definition has not gained universal acceptance due to the extent to which it occurs; a weekly or six monthly and beyond basis.

In an extensive survey of the literature on bullying in the UK which utilized data and information from a diverse range of sources (including academia, Trade Unions, Health and Safety organisations and UK bullying support /lobby groups) Beswick et al (2006:13) identified a typology of behaviours deemed to constitute bullying behaviour in the workplace. What is of interest, is that Beswick et al (2006) identified and highlighted specific personal behaviours and tactics employed by workplace bullies.

- Ignoring/excluding/silent treatment/isolating

- Malicious rumours or gossip
- Belittling remarks/undermining integrity/ lies told about you/ sense of judgment questioned/ opinions marginalised
- Public humiliation / eg making someone look stupid
- Ridiculing/insulting/teasing/jokes/ 'funny surprises'/sarcasm
- Shouted or yelled at / 'Bawling out'
- Threats of violence (or threats in general)
- Insulting comments made about your private life
- Physical attacks
- Attacking person's beliefs, attitudes, lifestyle/appearance / devaluing with ref to gender / accusations of being mentally disturbed
- Persistent criticism (often in front of others)
- Using obscene/offensive language/gestures/material
- Ganging up Colleagues/clients encouraged to criticise you or spy on you / witch hunt/dirty tricks campaign / Singled out
- Intimidation / acting in a condescending or superior manner
- Intruding on privacy e.g., spying, stalking, harassed by calls etc when on leave/weekends
- Sexual approaches/offers (unwanted) or unwanted physical contact
- Verbal abuse
- Inaccurate accusation
- Insinuating glances/gestures/dirty looks
- Tampering with personal effects / Theft/destruction of property
- Encouraged to feel guilty

Beswick et al (2006) also identified various work-related bullying behaviours. These included:

- Giving unachievable tasks/impossible deadlines/overloading/demands/'setting up to fail' / unmanageable workloads /meaningless tasks / unpleasant jobs / Belittling person's ability / Undermined
- Withholding information deliberately / info goes missing / concealing information / failing to return calls / failing to pass on messages
- Undervaluing contribution / No credit where due / Taking credit for work that is not their own
- Constant criticism
- Under work / working below competence / removing responsibility / Demotion
- Unreasonable/inappropriate monitoring
- Offensive administrative penal sanctions e.g., denying leave
- Exclude/isolate/views ignore
- Changing goalposts/targets
- Not providing enough training/resources
- Reducing opportunities for expression / interrupting when speaking
- Negative attacks on person for no reason/sabotage
- Supplying incorrect / unclear information
- Making threats/hints about job security
- No support from manager
- Abuse/threats
- Denial of opportunity
- Judging wrongly
- Forced/unjustified disciplinary hearings
- Lack of clarity re. Role
- Not trusting
- Scapegoating

Whilst working in Australia, Boddy (2005) identified various sources of bullying and manipulation in the workplace. In addition, he also established that there was a connection between corporate bullying and psychopathy. In leadership studies, Boddy (2005) identified that in addition to and often in a reinforcing relationship with the psychological effects of bullying, there are negative effects on the ethical and moral climate of the workplace. Using a psychopathy measure in a management survey in Australia, (Ibid) found that psychopaths accounted for 26 percent of all 326 bullying in his sample. In modern day business, large multinationals such as ENRON, (American energy, commodities and service company); was identified of having a bullying culture, the bullying nature of the organizational culture, was viewed as enabling the organisation to mask and perpetuate fraud for a long time, (Tran, 2016) Research by Jenson (2012) identified the existence of bullying behaviour within large financial institutions prior to the financial crisis of 2008..

2.2 Psychosomatic, Emotional and Economic Effects of workplace bullying

In their comprehensive literature review, Beswick *et al* (2006) identified the link between bullying, stress and poor mental health. Their research identified that this resulted in the UK having 500,000 cases of work-related stress a year, mainly in the areas of public administration, education and health services and was estimated to having an economic cost of £3.7 million a year. Furthermore, Beswick *et al* (2006) identified that depending on the criteria and measurement methodology adopted, workplace bullying accounted for 10 – 20 percent of these cases.

In understanding and approaching the issue of workplace bullying, it is important to utilise interdisciplinary areas of study, such as concept of the psychological contract.

A useful definition of the concept of the psychological concept comes from Robinson and Rousseau (1994:246):

‘An individual’s belief regarding the terms and conditions of a reciprocal exchange agreement between that focal person and another party ... a

belief that some form of a promise has been made and that the terms and conditions of the contract have been accepted by both parties’.

In extending this definition to the context of workplace bullying and interactions between victims and bullies, it is assumed that most individuals in the workplace would not be in agreement with their colleagues about the acceptability of the practice of bullying in the workplace. A psychological contract, arguably, exists in the mind of the victim. In line with the intuitive result, Herriot and Pemberton (1995) have identified that the changes to a psychological contract are associated with negative outcomes in the context of the shift from the traditional employee-employer relationship to one characterised by short-term contracts, which includes fear, anger and anxiety.

Goffman (1990) in his classic sociological theory identified and explained the concept as ‘Stigma’ and explained that the ‘dwarf, the disfigured, the blind man, the homosexual, the ex-mental patient and the member of a racial or religious minority all shared one characteristic’ which was that they were perceived to be allegedly socially "abnormal", and therefore in danger of being considered less than human. Goffman (1990) articulated that ordinary people would react to an ‘individuals stigma’ by rejection, acceptance or embarrassment. However, he articulated that their main concern, was focused on an individual’s apparent deviance and not with the whole of their personality. "Stigma" is a study of situations where ‘perceived alleged’ normal and abnormal people meet, and of the ways in which an alleged stigmatised person can develop a more positive social and personal identity.

There have been some criticisms leveled against the usefulness of psychological contracts as a construct for analysis. Conway and Briner (2009) have articulated that they may not be a valid approach to study, when the phenomena is no longer functioning. They suggest that understanding bullying may be best be understood from the study of healthy psychological contracts. Clinton and Guest (2005) identified through an examination of the underlying social forces within the psychological contract, that the concept of “exchange” is

central. Furthermore, they identified that the values of fairness and mutual trust are expected to be present by both parties to the exchange. Looked at in this way, we can conceive the bully in terms of an individual who betrays or breaches trust with another.

Using the concept of organizational justice, a number of researchers have attempted to understand bullying and its psychological and social effects. Colquitt *et al.* (2001) identified a sense of 'interpersonal justice' as being a key component of a full conception of justice within organisations. Through their meta-study of 183 empirical organisations between the periods of 1875 and 2001 in the USA Colquitt *et al.* (2001) defined interpersonal justice, 'as 'the degree to which people are treated with politeness, dignity and respect by authorities of third parties involved in executing procedures or determining outcomes' (Colquitt *et al.* 2001:427).

Interpersonal justice relates to an additional form of justice identified by Bies and Moag (1986) as informational justice which they define as; 'explanations provided that say why procedures implemented in a certain way and why outcomes are distributed' Bies and Moag (1986:427). The strong psychosomatic effects of bullying were identified by Elovainio *et al.* (2002), who investigated poor health effects within organisations in relation to organisational justice. Elvino *et al.* (2002) used questionnaires filled out by attendants and doctors in Finnish hospitals to measure the extent to which they experienced relational and procedural justice. A sense of injustice was associated with poor health outcomes. There is a strong case for the importation of organisational justice concepts into the study of workplace bullying and its effects.

2.3 Techniques of Neutralisation

The process of workplace bullying can be best described by using the theory of techniques of neutralisation. The seminal research on techniques of neutralisation was developed by the sociologists Sykes and Matza (1957) through their study into patterns of juvenile delinquent behaviour in the USA. Their research was underpinned by the prevalent academic presumption of the time: that juvenile misbehaviour is not a psychosomatic or

physical ailment but a learned form of social behaviour. This was based upon Sutherland's (1955) study into differential association theory, which identified that criminal behaviour derived from an individual socially learning how to commit crimes and also the various motivations which drive delinquents to break the law.

What exactly is learned, was the subject of considerable debate and speculation at the time of Sykes and Matza's research. Cohen (1955) argued that the existence of a sub-culture of anti-establishment principles, created the environment for the learning of a code for behaviour which exists by opposition.

Sykes and Matza (1957) contested the relative simplicity of Cohen's position, by identifying both empirical and theoretical problems. First, they identified that, if the subculture were genuinely subscribed to as the 'correct' moral code by delinquents, one would expect them not to feel remorse or guilt and instead, to exhibit a sense of martyrdom. Which did not appear to be the case in their 1957 study of juvenile participants. Secondly, they identified delinquents who exhibited a respect for those who abided the law, whilst also being slightly critical of the hypocrisy they detected in the conformity of the law-abiding citizen. Furthermore, they identified that delinquents tended to distinguish between those who may legitimately be victimised and those whose victimisation would be unacceptable.

From their study and other observations Sykes and Matza (1957) suggested that the delinquents broke laws in which they do not profess belief. Sykes and Matza (1957) also contended that, 'much delinquency is based on what is essentially an unrecognised extension of defences to crimes, in the form of justifications for deviance which are seen as valid by the delinquent but not by the legal system or society at large' (Sykes and Matza, 1957:665). As a result of their development of the theory of neutralization, Sykes and Matza (1957) developed a typology of 'techniques of neutralisation' as a result of their observations (see box 2.1). The techniques illustrate the ways in which offenders shifted the blame from themselves or neutralize it. The typology is useful for this research as it provides an important means by which to understand the manner in which bullies attempt to neutralize

and shift the blame of their behavior from themselves, when they are caught out. Looked at in this way, there is an apparent internal reluctance to acknowledge problems which require attention which rationalizes and precedes deviant behaviour. These justifications are termed techniques of neutralisation and it is argued that these are techniques, which must be learned (to use Sutherland's 1955 terminology) in order to stand, through action, against the dominant moral structure to which the delinquent is simultaneously committed.

One of the objectives of this research is to examine whether the police as an organisation acts as a facilitator for the bullying behavior of its employees. The techniques of neutralisation can be applied when we examine what have been deemed institutionally racist organisations (CRE, 2005) such as the police.

Wellman (1993) defines Institutional Racism as, "culturally sanctioned beliefs, which regardless of intentions involved, defend the advantages whites have because of the subordinated position of racial minorities". Wellman (1993) further articulates that Institutional Racism blocks access to opportunities for people of colour. Rose (2003) identified five social institutions, which she articulated operated and embedded racial inequality either intentionally or unintentionally. They were as follows, housing, education, criminal justice system, media and finance.

Box 2.1 - Sykes and Matza's Typology of Neutralisation Techniques (1957)

Denial of Responsibility: The individual sees himself as a 'billiard ball' whose capacity to make decisions isolated from overwhelming external influences is severely hindered. He or she is 'helplessly propelled into new situations' (Sykes et al 1957). The delinquent learns to rationalise his or her acts as driven not by free will but by external factors over which little influence is possible.

Denial of Injury: This technique involves the delinquent sensing, 'in a hazy fashion', that the counter-establishment actions he or she undertakes are not causing any great harm, thus neutralising any internal sense of guilt ex ante.

Denial of the Victim: Here, the pain or injury suffered by the victim is seen as deserved, turning the delinquent into an avenger. The delinquent may view him or herself as analogous to a Robin Hood personality, operating outside the confines of the established moral order in favour of some form of natural justice.

Condemnation of the Condemners: Employing this technique, the delinquent undermines the legitimacy of the established order by noting its hypocrisies. "[The] rewards of conformity...become a matter of pull or luck, thus decreasing still further the stature of those who stand on the side of the law-abiding" (ibid)

Appeal to Higher Loyalties: In this technique, established norms are not explicitly rejected for their own sake, but for the sake of other norms that are prioritised instead. For instance, there may be a tension between the demands of the behaviour of a good friend and those of the behaviour of a good citizen under the law. The delinquent sees his actions for the smaller social group as being of greater importance than his duties to the larger social group. We have here a prioritisation of certain loyalties over others, thus justifying delinquency ex ante.

Sykes and Matza (1957)

2.4 The Bullying of Women by Women

A survey conducted by the Workplace Bullying Institute of the USA (2009), identified the frequency of workplace-bullying phenomenon. This was seized upon by the media who also focused on the frequency with which women bully women. The most interesting finding was that whilst men bully men and women on an equal basis, women bully women 70 percent

of the time (Klaus, 2009). There are a variety of factors, which may explain this state of affairs. The stereotypical conception of women being the fairer, less assertive gender potentially encourages bullies to perceive and target women as vulnerable victims (WBI, 2009). Another explanation, underpinned by stereotypical considerations; is that women, are perceived as being more sensitive to criticism and as such more likely to harbour negative emotions towards their criticisers over longer periods. This may subsequently manifest into incidents of bullying.

Meece, (2009) identified that as of yet, women in the corporate environment, women are not, as adapted as men, to positions of authority. As such, there is a tendency for women to overcompensate, by adopting masculine behaviours such as bullying in order to compete with men. The study by Catalyst (2007) established that no matter how women behaved in the workplace, they were perceived as not possessing the correct attitude. The research concluded that there was a tendency for women business leaders to be perceived to act consistently within gender stereotypes. Whereby, they are either considered too soft, or if they go against gender stereotypes, they are considered too tough. The explanation proposed by the USA Workplace Bullying Institute (2009), takes account of the possibility that since most bullies are bosses and many women are in charge of other women, the higher rates of women bullying women may simply be attributed to work structures.

A more psychologically oriented explanation comes from Fast and Chen (2009) who articulate that the reasons for a bosses bullying behavior, may be rooted in the fact that they feel that may be 'found out' that they are not qualified for their job. This leads them to relate to their subordinates as bullies. This explanation can also be applied in the context of female bullies. Who may perhaps feel insecure in their position within male-dominated corporate hierarchies and who perceive that they are being observed with greater scrutiny, which could then lead to their bullying behavior. In their study, Fast and Chen (2009) observed that:

- a) Power holders feel that they need to be superior and competent, however, when they don't feel that they can demonstrate this legitimately, they will assert their power by 'taking people down a notch or two;'
- b) Individuals in more fast paced and high powered positions tended to be more aggressive.

The next stage of the study involved asking volunteers to briefly describe situations in which they remembered feeling empowered or powerless and competent or incompetent. Fast and Chen (2009) found that those who recalled feeling empowered and competent, felt briefly elated whilst those who felt incompetent had a decreased sense of their own self-perception.

Fast and Chen (2009) then went on to ask participants about the intensity of a punishment they would give to university students who submitted wrong answers in a hypothetical test. The result was that those who responded in the upper extremes of empowerment and competence recommended higher intensity punishments, whilst those who felt, incompetent or powerless recommended lower intensity punishments.

Fast and Chen (2009) also sought also to examine the idea that aggression amongst powerful people is often the result of a threatened ego. Their four studies (2009) were an attempt to demonstrate that individuals with power become aggressive when they feel incompetent in the domain of power. This was regardless of whether power was measured in the workplace (Studies 1 and 4), manipulated via role recall (Study 2), or assigned in the laboratory (Study 3). They established that there was an association of heightened aggression when paired with a lack of self-perceived competence. They hypothesised, that the aggression appeared to be driven by an ego threat: Aggressiveness was eliminated amongst those participants whose sense of self-worth was boosted (Studies 3 and 4). The study also found that aggressive tendencies were greatly reduced when the bullies were flattered by their victims.

In her research into bullying of young girls Starr (2005) contends that the behaviour by women in the workplace is known as relational aggression, which manifests in girls and boys as early as four years of age. In relational aggression, young girls, instead of being physically aggressive in response to a challenge, tend to engage in manipulative behaviour encouraging others to shun the victim (ibid). This tends to be covert behavior, whereas boys tended to display more overt behavior by hitting or verbally abusing their victim. This makes it very difficult to provide strong evidence that bullying has occurred in an organisational context because it might be very subtle in its form.

2.5 Manifestation of bullying on women in the Police

A watershed case, which highlighted the plight of the bullying and harassment of female police officers in the UK was that of the former Assistant Chief Constable Alison Halford of Merseyside Police in 1992 (Halford v the United Kingdom 1997). At that time, Halford was the highest-ranking female police officer in the Police Services in England. However, she consistently failed to gain promotion nine times between the periods 1987 and 1990. In 1990, she made a complaint to the Equal Opportunities Commission. Following her complaint, she along with a number of her colleagues attended a function at the home of a businessman. At that function she and her colleagues, drank heavily and undertook a life saving demonstration in the swimming pool, which she undertook in her underwear. Whilst the incident was investigated internally, she and her colleagues were reprimanded (Halford v the United Kingdom 1997).

However, the incident was leaked to the national press, she faced disciplinary proceedings, (which her colleagues were not subjected to) she was later suspended from work, her phone was bugged and her character was smeared in the national press. The case, exposed the nature of the techniques used to bully and harass women who complained about their discriminatory treatment.

The issue of bullying and the intersectionality of race and gender come into public prominence as a result of the outcome of a recent high profile case involving the

Metropolitan Police (*Ms C Howard v The Commissioner of the Metropolis* (2014)). PC Carol Howard was a firearms officer in the Metropolitan Police, Diplomatic Protection Group in Special Operations Directorate. She brought a case of race and sex discrimination to the Employment Tribunal as she was singled out and targeted for a nearly a year by her line manager who subjected her to a course of conduct which was detrimental to her. In addition, an internal report designed to investigate the allegations had been deliberately re-written prior to the Employment Tribunal, she was also the victimised as her employer sought to deflect negative press by releasing information about her.

Ms. Howard won her case for race, sex discrimination and victimisation. The case was widely reported in the British media, however it is the outcome of the case that is of interest for this research. First, Ms Howard's victory resulted in a number of negative stories about her in the press (Lusher, 2014). These stories, were viewed by the Employment Tribunal as an attempt to deflect attention and critics away from the case, and to portray her in a negative light (ET, 2014). The tribunal found that she had been subjected to 'vindictive...spiteful, insulting, malicious and oppressive treatment' by the Metropolitan Police EHRC (2016). Secondly, the Tribunal found that the Metropolitan Police had a policy of removing findings of discrimination from internal grievance proceedings. The tribunal recommended that the Metropolitan Police should undertake an independent review of its internal grievance procedure, known as 'fairness at work', and re-examine the handling of all complaints since 2009.

As a result of the case, the Equality and Human Rights Commission announced on the 22nd September under Section 20 of the Equality Act (2006), that it would conduct an investigation into unlawful discrimination, harassment and victimisation of employees by the Metropolitan Police Service. The focus of the investigation was outlined as the Met's 'Fairness at Work' and misconduct procedures.

Waddington (2009) has identified that there is very little comparative research on Black and White and male and female police officers in the Police Services in England. Mirza (2003)

contends that gender is viewed as a white woman's issue, whilst it is taken for granted that 'race' is a Black male issue. BAME women appear to 'fall into the cracks between the two'. They are often invisible, occupying a 'blind spot' in mainstream policy and research studies which talk about 'women on one hand and ethnic minorities on the other'. There is an apparent gap between policy and legislation spheres, and experience and practice. At the heart of the gap is the lived experience of BAME women.

Gittens (2004) research into the experiences of BAME female Police officers and staff in England and Wales, highlighted that policing is no different to any other public service, in that it is resistant to change. She argues that the continued failure of the Police Services in England to support BAME women is indicative of an organisation that mismanages its resources through failing to recognise the importance of its staff. This has the resultant effect of limiting the organisations capacity and success as a service provider and employer of choice. She advocates that change must be brought by BAME women themselves.

Mirza (2003) argues that Cabinet Office and Department of Trade and Industry policy; the Race Relations Act (2000); the Human Rights Act (1998) and EU Employment and Race Directives serve to entrench diverse modes of talking about and characterising BAME women which are 'un-meaningful, disaggregated and dichotomised', which she contends is most evident in the application of legislation which aimed BAME women. She goes on to explain her contention that official terminology refuses to acknowledge, the interaction between different elements of social identity. By way of highlighting that BAME women suffer double discrimination as members of a minority group and as women. "[They] are classified in terms of being either women, or hence 'gendered', or ethnic minorities, and hence 'raced' Mirza, 2003:81). Similarly, contends that official equalities terminology divides and cuts across women's natural multiple identities in terms of the intersection of their age, sexuality, disability, religious, class and cultural differences" (Mirza, 2003:81).

Mirza's work (2003) has led Yuval-Davis (2004) to call for a need for an analysis which takes into account the various 'levels' on which divisions between people are set up and tied into perceptions of history.

Whilst BAME women in the Police Services in England, may be located on the inside of the Police Services in England, they are at the same time outsiders who occupy a tenuous position. Issues of invisibility and visibility mark their experiences.

Amongst BAME women there is an overwhelming sense of being over looked. They are not sufficiently encouraged to excel and to develop in their careers by the organization and they are also judged as being less capable than other staff. (Puwar, 2004:2), contends that for BAME women, "you have to work twice as hard to keep up, to be seen...Because they don't see it. You have to prove yourself all the time". Furthermore, as it is not standard practice to see their full range of skills and abilities, they are less likely to be selected for high profile portfolios. As such, the "condescending manner" in which they are treated, means that they are more likely to be trusted with "tedious work" than with more challenging roles. Assumed to be lacking or not quite up to the fit of positions that carry weight; their competencies are sidelined. Interestingly, even if they are in senior or managerial roles they can still be told they don't quite belong by for instance "being left out of decision making" and by "conversations" that exclusively circulate between men (Puwar, 2004).

Mirza (2003) notes in her submission to "Seeing Double", (a collection of essays on the problems of the intersection of gender and race-based discrimination), that "ethnic minority women are caught up in a collision of invisibility and visibility which means that they slip through the cracks of everyday policy and politics". Mirza (2003) questions why this is the case. Taking her inspiration from the words of an African American women's chant from the 1970s, "all the women are white, all the Blacks are men, but some of us are brave." Mirza (2003) criticises research and policy discussions where issues of gender and ethnicity are kept separate. Whilst Mirza's study (2003) helpfully underlines the question of what the

problems of minority women are, and Carol Howard's case provides an example of their manifestation, what other forms do the experiences of BAME women take?

The concept of intersectionality is an important concept within the scope of this research, it enables us to look at the issues of race, gender and power to effectively understand the experiences of BAME women in the Police Services in England in relation to bullying and harassment. The experience of BAME is not the same as their white counterparts, as will be shown in Chapter (6) they have reached senior positions within the police and wider society. The concept, coined by Crenshaw, (1989) describes

A lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects. It's not simply that there's a race problem here, a gender problem here and a class or LGBTQ problem there. Many times that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things". (Crenshaw, 2017:1).

In 2006, the then, UK Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), published a study on the position of BAME women in the workplace. The EOC established that success in education was not necessarily a guarantee of wider job opportunities or higher earnings for second and third generation Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean young women. The EOC found that young BAME women aged 16-24 were more than twice as likely to be unemployed as white women, with Pakistani female graduates under 24 over four times more likely than white female graduates to be unemployed. Over one in five young Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Black Caribbean women had to take a job below the level of their qualifications because no one would employ them at the level they were qualified for, compared to only one in 20 young white women employees.

The EOC established that over all, despite their high educational achievements and positive aspirations, BAME women faced lower pay and fewer prospects for promotion and were more likely to be found in a narrow range of jobs and segmented in certain sectors of the

economy such as health, social care and retail. Despite this disappointing state of affairs Mirza (2008) noted that, the difference in treatment of BAME women in the labour market did not seem to be addressed in the political debates on gender equality. This led Mirza, (2008) to contend that racial equality is not gender neutral. Furthermore, she argued that the tools of the race equality 'industry' such as audit and evaluation, which are the key mechanisms of organisational change, were not gender neutral. She argued that audit and evaluation complement a masculine approach to social change in a still largely male working environment.

Is this disparity in treatment by the labour market the result of cultural norms dictating when BAME women have children and how many children they are expected to have? Racial equality plans rarely acknowledge the fact that there are cross-cultural variations in child-care obligations. In the everyday working lives of BAME women, racism and sexism are a normal state of affairs. Mirza (2008) argued that one in six BAME women in Britain experiences racist or sexist comments at work, whilst one in five Pakistani and Bangladeshi women experiences negative attitudes towards because of religious dress. This is within the context of a labour market in which BAME women appear more committed to work than their white counterparts. Puwar's (2004) pilot research project on the barriers facing BAME Female Police Personnel, identified several key issues including the techniques of discrimination faced by BAME female police officers and staff can be blatantly overt but many are subtle and latent.

Bhavni (2005) observes that BAME women have 'to fly in the face of the work-shy, family-rooted stereotype that has been developed about them'. Bhavni (2008) shares striking statistics about BAME women in society and the workplace: Only 12 percent of Pakistani and 10 per cent of Bangladeshi girls, (a small minority) said that their parents expect them to get married and have children rather than follow a career; all ethnic minority girls aim high, compared to white girls, particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls. Pakistani (56

percent) and Bangladeshi (53 percent) girls aspire to jobs at skill level 4 (usually requiring a degree and long periods of training/studying). 46 percent Black Caribbean and 32 percent white girls aspire to jobs at this level.

Table 2.5- Equalities in the UK in line with world events: a timeline since 1918²

1918	On 6 February royal assent is given to the Representation of the People Act: women may now vote in general elections providing they are over the age of 30 who are householders or the wives of householders, or occupiers of property with an annual rent of £5, or graduates of British universities.
1928	Equal Franchise Act is given royal assent on 2 July: women now have the vote on the same terms as men. They use it for the first time on 30 May 1929.
1948	SS Windrush docks at Tilbury on 22 June: symbolic birthday of multi-ethnic Britain
1948	the Universal Declaration of Human Rights sets the global framework for equalities legislation in the decades to follow
1949	La Deuxième Sexe by Simone de Beauvoir, translated three years later into English: foundational text on gender equality, and on concepts of self and other
1955	Brown v. Board of Education, landmark case in the United States, rules that concept of 'separate but equal' is unlawful
1957	The Wolfenden Report published on 7 September: turning point in official attitudes towards countering homophobia in western countries
1963	Civil Rights March on Washington and Dr Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech
1967	Sexual Offences Act receives royal assent, partially decriminalising sex between men and men
1969	Colour and Citizenship: a report on British race relations by E.J.B Rose and co-authors, foreword signed off in February: critical review of government policies
1969	On 28 June the Stonewall Riots in New York are the symbolic start of campaigns for full sexuality equality throughout western countries
1975	Sex Discrimination Act, introducing the concept of indirect discrimination into UK law and setting up a powerful enforcement agency, the Equal Opportunities Commission
1976	Race Relations Act, building on two Acts of the previous decade: stress on avoiding indirect discrimination and setting up of a powerful enforcement agency, the Commission for Racial Equality
1978	The Warnock Report: foundational text on special educational needs
1985	The Swann Report (Education for All), published in March: 'report of the committee of inquiry into the education of children of ethnic minority groups'

² INSTED Consultancy <http://www.insted.co.uk/equalities-timeline.pdf>

1995	Disability Discrimination Act addresses the discrimination that many disabled people face. Different parts of the legislation take effect at different times, and the original Act has been subject to several amendments. Key concepts include reasonable adjustment and, more recently, the social model.
1995	Beijing Women's Conference, boost to gender equality issues throughout the world
1996	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 4 December: unlawful for the state to discriminate on grounds of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.
1998	Human Rights Act 1998 and Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights state that the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in the Convention shall be secured 'without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status'.
1998	Fair Employment and Treatment (Northern Ireland) Order making it unlawful to discriminate on grounds of religious belief and/or political opinion (later amended to include other dimensions of equality too)
1999	Report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (The Macpherson Report): the concept of institutional racism introduced into public consciousness and debate
1999	Disability Rights Commission Act sets up a powerful enforcement body
2000	Race Relations (Amendment) Act: places a positive duty on public authorities to promote race equality, and requires each to produce a race equality scheme (RES) and regular race equality impact assessments (REIAs).
2000	Equality: a new framework by Bob Hepple, Mary Coussey and Tufyal Choudhury prepares the way for a holistic approach to equalities legislation
2000	European directives on race and employment set the international context in which UK equalities legislation will develop through the coming decade.
2000	The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (The Parekh Report) stresses three essential values: equality; recognition and respect for difference; and cohesion and a sense of shared belonging.
2003	On 10 July 2003 the House of Lords votes overwhelmingly to repeal Section 28 of the Local Government Act in England and Wales.
2003	Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations come into force on 2 December: unlawful to discriminate in employment on grounds of religious affiliation
2003	Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations come into force on 1 December: unlawful to discriminate in employment on grounds of sexuality
2004	Civil Partnership Act receives royal assent on 18 November, giving same-sex couples the same rights and responsibilities as married heterosexual couples. It comes into operation on 5 December 2005.
2005	Disability Discrimination Act places a positive duty on public authorities to promote disability equality, and requires each to produce a disability equality scheme (DES) and regular disability equality impact assessments (DEIAs).

2005	Employment Equality (Age) Regulations come into force on 1 October
2006	Equality Act receives royal assent on 16 February: extends religion or belief and sexual orientation regulations to cover service delivery as well as employment; places a positive duty on public authorities to promote gender equality; and requires each to produce a gender equality scheme (GES) and conduct regular gender equality impact assessments (GEIAs)
2006	The Racial and Religious Hatred Act receives royal assent on 16 April, amending the Public Order Act 1986, creating offences involving stirring up hatred against persons on religious grounds
2007	Public authorities increasingly combine their RES, DES and GES into a single equality scheme (SES), and their REIAs, DEIAs and GEIAs into single equality impact assessments (EQUIAs)
2007	Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007 become law on 30 April, making discrimination against lesbians and gay men unlawful in the provision of goods and services.
2007	The CRE, EOC and DRC cease to exist and from 1 October are brought together into the Equality and Human Rights and Commission (EHRC).
2008	In the Queen's Speech on 3 December it is confirmed a new Equality Bill will be published in 2009 and that a single equality duty will require public bodies 'to consider the diverse needs and requirements of their workforce, and the communities they serve'.
2009	On 17 January President Obama announces wide-ranging developments and improvements in equalities legislation in the United States.
2009	The Equality Bill is published on 27 April and in the following weeks several consultation exercises are initiated in connection with it.
2010	The Equality Bill receives royal assent on 8 April and becomes the Equality Act. Implementation of most of it starts in October.
2011	The general duty in the Public Sector Equality Duty (PSED – article 149 of the Act) comes into effect in April and the two specific duties come into effect in September.
2012	By 31 January all local authorities must publish equality information and equality objectives, and by 6 April all schools and academies must publish them.
2015	In June there are celebrations throughout the English-speaking world to celebrate the 800th anniversary of a document that has become an iconic landmark in the history of equal rights, justice and the rule of law, Magna Carta.

Table 2.5 developed by Instead (2015) presents a useful, illustrative chronological timeline of Equality in the UK in line with also includes significant international events rooted in Equalities and Justice. The timeline presents significant milestones and the progression of

equality over the years and illustrates how different types of discriminations and their impact have been recognized and legal framework has been developed to protect the rights of individuals, starting from women's voting rights in 1918, the development of multi ethnic Britain in 1948 as a result of the arrival of SS Windrush at Tilbury Docks, followed by the development of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the gradual progression towards sex, race, disability and age discrimination acts. The introduction of the Equality Act 2010 which brought together 116 separate pieces of legislation into one single act. The main purpose of the legislative reforms was to value diversity and promote equal opportunities for everyone. In response to the government's Green Paper consultation (March, 2011) on the Single Equality Act which proposed to combat discrimination. A purpose clause was suggested to allow judicial interpretation to treat statute as aimed towards a set of aims. This would prevent or deter discrimination ex ante and allow for the problem of discrimination of ethnic minority women to be taken as a whole and not be seen as race or gender specific only. This research focuses on the intersectionality of race and gender discriminations in addition to exploring the positions of BAME women in the Police Services in England who have been the victims of workplace bullying and harassment. As such it is important to be mindful of the genesis of equalities legislation as a way in which to assess how far the UK has come to combating discrimination.

2.6 Legal Doctrine and Institutional Racism in the UK

Another source of official discourse on the question of institutional racism is the courts. What has the UK judiciary, bound as it is by strict rules of process and the words of statute and precedent, said about the problem?

In a Court of Appeal judgment (*King v GB China Centre 1991*), it was accepted that the courts were permitted to infer discrimination even if there happened to be inadequate information before them. In an exercise of shifting the burden of evidence, the court found that concurrent finding of discrimination and a finding of difference in race would open up

the potential for the act of discrimination being racially motivated. In employment cases, this means that, if the employer is unable to provide satisfactory evidence and explanations of why discrimination occurred, there will be an inference that discrimination was on racial grounds, in such cases. Similar reasoning was adopted again in *Chattopadhyay v Headmaster of Holloway School (1981)*. However, *Qureshi v London Borough of Newham (1991)*, did make a useful distinction noting that incompetence by itself, did not, without more, become a wilful act of discrimination.

The approach taken by the judiciary in race cases has been adopted by investigations conducted by think tanks, public inquiries and academics. Whilst a strict test has been established which shifts the burden of proof onto the discriminating employer; akin to the moral blame leveled by the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) on police institutions. A subtle distinction has been made on the grounds that there is perhaps more to the story than intentional and policy-driven racism; in other words, it could be a function of a lack of awareness.

The Macpherson Inquiry (1999) into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, was a 'watershed' moment in British Race Relations history (Grieve, 2009). The resultant discourse which ensued, appeared to constitute a return to the position advocated by the IRR decades earlier. This report was in response to the mishandling of the investigation into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, a black youth, who was killed in what appeared to be a racially motivated assault. The investigation came under scathing critique as it embodied 'institutional racism' within the Police Services in England. The report defined institutional racism as:

The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people (Macpherson 1999, 6.34:28)

The report concluded that incompetence, in and of itself, failed to account for the failings of the police in their handling of the investigation into the death of Stephen Lawrence. The fact that the victim came from a BAME group, it held, resulted in a greater level of aloofness in the investigation. This manifested itself in many ways: at the scene of the crime, in the manner in which the Metropolitan police interacted with the family of the deceased, in the treatment of Stephen's friend and key witness, Dwayne Brookes, and in their use of inappropriate and insensitive language (The Guardian, Jan 2012).

2.7 Minorities in the English Police Force

This section of the chapter, explores the discourse on the subject of discriminatory practice within the Police Services in England, specifically through the interactions between the police and BAME communities in the UK. There are three sub-sections, which are as follows; the development of the official discourse and legal doctrine on the issue of discrimination; an overview and examination of empirical studies in this area and, a critical assessment of the reforms to address discriminatory practice within the Police Services in England which have been leveled by academics and politicians.

2.7.1 Race in police forces within England and Wales

In 1953, and again in 1955 and 1957, the Home Office called for information from the Police Services in England on the degree to which Black assimilation in Britain was taking place. Police reports were unequivocal in their assertion that it was Black and Asian people who were to blame for their failure to integrate. Reports spoke of immigrants 'below-par mentality and underlying suspicion of the white race', as well as their 'lack of education, social

intercourse and cultural knowledge (Rowe, 2013:5) '. At the same time, they glossed over the fact that white people in the areas surveyed operated a; 'social colour bar,' and that 'white inhabitants by a vast majority would not tolerate the coloured people' (Rowe, 2013:5). At a more general level police reports consistently depicted Black men as having a fondness for white prostitutes, of lacking a sense of social responsibility, and of being overly sensitive to racial prejudice (Whitfield, 2004:41). Such stereotypical images, in which Black men were associated with 'sordid sexuality', prompted Gilroy (1987) to note the way in which during this period sexual relations between Black men and White women 'emerged ahead of crime as a theme in the popular politics of immigration control'.

Racial disturbances in Nottingham's St. Ann's district and London's Notting Hill in 1958, were followed a year later with the murder of Kelso Cochrane (1959) an Antiguan carpenter living in West London. His murder by a gang of white youths outraged the local community. His murder prompted leading figures in London's West Indian community to suggest that suitable people from all ethnic groups should enrol as special constables in order to assist the Police. The Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Joseph Simpson, rejected their offer. Other attempts by the Commissioner of the West Indies Federation, Mr Garnet Gordon, to provide cultural awareness training for police officers in London were also declined.

In the early 1960s questions began to be asked as to why it was that, with a minority ethnic population approaching one million, there were no Black police officers. The Metropolitan Police made no secret of its opposition to their appointment. Indeed, at a meeting of chief constables at the Home Office in April 1965 the prevailing view was that, while minority ethnic recruitment was acceptable in principle, the British public were not yet ready to accept the idea. Sir Robert Mark was a lone dissenting voice in pointing out that the real reason why so few minority ethnic applicants applied to join the police was because they knew that they would be unwelcome (Whitfield: 2007:3).

The questions surrounding the relationship between the police force and minority ethnic groups in the United Kingdom goes back, at least in official discourse, to a report published

by the think-tank, the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) entitled, "Police against Black People" (1979). The IRR, argued, that there was a prevalent stereotypical conception of Black people within the Police Services in England. The IRR contended that Black people were viewed as 'wild' and 'emanating from the jungles of Africa' and that this image needed to change if there was going to be a sense of confidence and a relationship of trust between BAME groups and the Police Services in England. The assessment of the IRR when compared to assertions made in judicial reports (Aspden, 2007; Scarman, 1981) made the allegations particularly strong.

In an investigation into police behaviour during the Brixton riots (1981), Lord Scarman drew a distinction between two conceptions of institutional racism. For Scarman, the phrase had two potential explanations with radically different implications for the reform agenda that would stem from the Inquiry.

The first explanation was the claim that, racist thought and behavior was deeply embedded within the Police Services in England. This interpretation of institutional racism was concordant with the perspective outlined in the IRR publication, "Police against Black People". The title itself purported that the Police Services in England in its entirety was in opposition to BAME people.

The second explanation was that there were a few instances within the Police Services in England were police officers who held racist views and which on occasion, subsequently manifested in the delivery of service and also lead to perverting the course of justice. This in turn impacted on the way in which the police were perceived by minority ethnic communities.

This second meaning, in his words, implied that 'racial prejudice does manifest itself occasionally in the behavior of a few officers on the streets [...] Racially prejudiced behaviour by officers below the level of senior direction of the force is not common; but it does occur, and every instance of it has an immense impact on the community's attitudes and beliefs' (Scarman 1981:4.62). Scarman did not adopt any subtlety in this position. 'It

was alleged by some of those who made representations to me that Britain is an institutionally racist society. If by that it is meant that it is a society that knowingly, as a matter of policy, discriminates against black people, I reject the allegation' (Scarman,1981:2:22).

Scarman's position was later termed the 'rotten apple' hypothesis. The impression that Scarman had of police behaviour is thus strong and clearly stands in direct opposition to the assertions of the Institute for Race Relations. Scarman's view, was that racism was not deeply embedded in the UK or within the Police Services in England.

Oakley (1998) addressed the concept of institutional racism in a more subtle manner than either the Institute for Race Relations or Scarman. This viewed institutional racism as a problem which could be solved by appropriate mechanisms for inculcating a sense of sensitivity among the officers working as part of the UK's police forces.

Police work, unlike most other professional activities, has the capacity to bring officers into contact with a skewed cross-section of society with well recognised potential for producing negative stereotypes of particular groups. Such stereotypes become the common currency of the police occupational culture [...] failure to address them [negative stereotypes] is liable to result in a generalized tendency, particularly where any element of discretion is involved, whereby minorities may receive different and less favourable treatment than the majority. Such differential treatment need be neither conscious nor intentional and it may be practised routinely by officers whose professionalism is exemplary in all other respects (Oakley 1999:289)

Oakley's (1998) observations, were very different from those of Scarman (1981). Oakley (1998) contended that Institutional Racism was neither 'knowing, and a matter of policy' nor 'rotten apple' racism. She articulated that it may pervade the police institutions, from senior officers all the way down to recent recruits. However, she articulated that it is neither an intentional, oppositional racism or conscious and intentional'. For Oakley, Institutional Racism may apply to the entire police profession.

Institutional racism became a potent mobilising concept in police reform in the UK following the publication of the Macpherson Inquiry in 1999. Yet while it continues to be used to highlight problematic police/community relationships, little attention has been paid to whether it actually works as a conceptual instrument for change. The explanatory value of the concept has long been contested due to its inherent ambiguities. The empirical exploration by Souhami (2012) within the UK revealed that the conceptual limitations of the term have important operational implications.

Whilst the concept of Institutional Racism provoked an urgent reaction, its central ambiguities confronted the Police Services in England with profound difficulties in their response to it. At the same time, it inadvertently focused attention on internal police culture. Consequently, despite the Inquiry's intention that the term would divert attention away from a preoccupation with overt racism amongst police staff, this is precisely where reform activity was directed. Moreover, the concept not only failed to direct attention to the dynamics of institutional discrimination but, through the activity it elicited, it in fact sustained them. However, despite these limitations, the mobilising power of the concept may have instigated a more subtle and pervasive series of shifts in organisational norms. Souhami, (2012) contends that a new approach grounded in practice and giving primacy to conceptual accuracy is required.

2.7.2 Empirical Studies on BAME and Policing in the UK Police Service

In March 2011, Greater Manchester Police (GMP), West Midlands Police (WMP), British Transport Police (BTP), Greater Manchester Police Authority (GMPA), West Mercia Police, the Home Office, Association of Chief Police Officers, National Policing Improvement Agency and Independent Police Complaints Commission, commissioned Manchester University to undertake research into levels of race disproportionality in police professional standards and investigate internally raised misconduct proceedings (Smith et al,2012). The research asked two main questions:

- 1) Was there a disproportionate representation of different ethnic groups in internally raised misconduct proceedings?
- 2) Were members of different ethnic groups subjected to disproportional treatment in internally raised misconduct proceedings?

The researchers established that within Greater Manchester Police (GMP), disproportionality on the grounds of ethnicity was noted as insignificant. However, they found that there was overrepresentation in the GMP counter-corruption intelligence data, whereby Asian and BAME officers were between 2.79 and 3.59 times more likely to be subject to counter-corruption intelligence proceedings. Similarly, there was significant overrepresentation in West Midlands Police, in internally raised misconduct investigations, whereby Asians were 2 times more likely to be subject to such proceedings.

The research identified that in addition to numerical disproportionality, there was also procedural disproportionality in the treatment of those who were subject to proceedings. This was in addition to what was described as the existence of a 'two-tier' system. Remarkably, senior officers in the English Police Forces which participated in the research identified that they adopted more formal procedures when dealing with cases involving BAME individuals. This was on the grounds that they feared they would be accused of racism if they did not follow the rules. Ironically, BAME officers observed that these very practices which embodied a safe recourse to formality, constituted a subtle form of racism. Furthermore, commanding personnel pointed to aspects of Asian culture that they felt were not in accordance with the code of police conduct.

Morris (2004) led a review into the levels of disproportionality in the way BAME police officers were treated by internal disciplinary procedures within Metropolitan Police, to establish as to whether they corresponded with a positive outcome. What is interesting to note, is that misconduct investigation processes are often very lengthy, draining and very degrading and damaging for the individual's reputation and health. The procedures can result in the loss of employment by either resignation or termination, which can lead to

severe financial consequences for the individual. Therefore, the misconduct investigation process can become quite a bullying and harassing exercise in the name of an investigation.

Morris (2004) also reported that investigated BAME officers and staff association representatives were of the view that the Police Services in England does not understand difference and that to be different is wrong. As such Morris (2004) articulated that misconduct proceedings often served as a means of dealing with difference. In contrast, Command and Professional Standards personnel pointed to the vulnerability of Asian personnel to cultural pressures and the need for GMP to safeguard against risks to the integrity of the service. As part of their research, Smith et al (2012) interviewed police personnel staff to explore the concept of institutional racism. The impression they gathered from their research was of 'dealing with difference' process of top down messages colliding, and mixing, with bottom up cultural norms which the principal subjects, colleagues of different cultural backgrounds, felt excluded from at every level. If this impression is an accurate reflection of reality it suggests a haphazard process that impedes rather than facilitates progress.

Smith et al (2012) articulated that the former Greater Manchester Police (GMP) Chief Constable, David Wilmot's 1998 statement that GMP was institutionally racist was broadly welcomed by many within the Police Services in England as a courageous step. However, thirteen years later, through the research study led by Smith et al (2012) several interviewees remarked that Wilmot's comments were the root cause of GMP's ongoing problems.

The report concluded, amongst other things, that:

Concern with disproportionality and unresolved conflicts dating, back at least to 2003, the year the BBC broadcast its 'Secret Policeman' documentary and three signal misconduct cases commenced which involved BAME officers often referred to by interviewees, have contaminated professional standards practice in GMP. The small number of substantiations of internally raised misconduct proceedings, 27.77 percent of all investigations of officers and staff between 2007/08 and 2010/11 (resulting in the issue of a total of 37 sanctions) suggests GMP's

internal misconduct system is suffering from paralysis as a consequence of failure to address these longstanding problems.

Thus it appears as though the reformist changes to the police forces that have been instituted since the Macpherson report and the broadcast of the damning documentary have not yet taken full effect. The disproportionality report attributes these failures to a 'flawed approach to dealing with difference (Smith et al 2012:20).

The researchers recommended further research into covert investigations and into misconduct and covert investigative procedures and practice. However, the report conducted no analysis of the treatment of women, much less of BAME women, in the police forces (Greater Manchester Police (GMP), West Midlands Police (WMP), British Transport Police (BTP), Greater Manchester Police Authority (GMPA), West Mercia Police) under study. Nevertheless, this does not prevent the cross-application of the same analytical frame of 'dealing with difference' to the study of the position of women, such as Carol Howard, working in specialist directorates within the Police Services in England.

These findings from the research, echo those of Foster et al (2005) who established a "strong sense among minority officers that changes in the general climate of policing were largely cosmetic". Mason (2003) has identified that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, despite 35 years of race relations legislation, discrimination continues to play a significant part in the labour market placement of minority ethnic groups.

It must be acknowledged that successive UK Governments have taken steps to encourage members of BAME communities to consider a career within the Police Services in England. However, Wilson et al (1984) established that those campaigns to recruit from minorities are hindered by the fact that individual potential applicants often hold pre-conceived notions of what working in an organization which is primarily white and male is like. As such, recruitment drives, aimed at incorporating a greater proportion of women in the Police Services in England are restricted by this obstacle. It is asserted within this research, that these are arguably not unfounded notions, as there continues to exist, a 'predominantly white working environment and macho culture',

Citing research from the late 1990s, Narduzzo (2014) highlights that officers from BAME communities in the UK, felt that their racial status could never quite allow them to fully integrate into their professional status, as they were seen first as Black, or Asian, and then as police officers. In a similar vein, a Cabinet Office report entitled Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market (2003) focuses on the improvement of employment opportunities for BAME individuals and justifies this focus in the following terms:

‘The task of promoting the *economic integration* of ethnic minority groups through labour market inclusion is intimately linked with the long term aim of promoting social, cultural, civil and political integration. The limited economic integration of some ethnic minority groups can be linked with, and lead to, greater signs of isolation and alienation from the norms of society as a whole. This lack of “bridging capital”, between ethnic minority communities and Whites, has stimulated the creation of “bonding capital” amongst certain ethnic minority communities, who have then developed even stronger relationships between themselves, rather than Whites. The vast majority of employment opportunities in Britain are in the hands of White employers and in workplaces that are dominated by White employees” (Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market 2003: 45).

The Cabinet’s economic reductionism appears to eschew any mention of the complexity of the interaction between gender and race. The issue of race, is cast in gender-less terms and this informs the manner in which it is addressed in policy. Whilst the use of the concept of bridging and bonding capital is indeed useful in understanding the way communities behave as a whole, it disregards the question of difference and diversity within these communities, if they can sensibly be called ‘communities’ at all. The Cabinet Office report assumes that what it sets out to prove is its assumption that such communities exist in the lived realities of their members. But as Ignatieff (2005) points out, we must ask the question of whether it is even sensible to begin thinking in terms of ‘white’ and ‘black’ communities as though the only things that tie communities together is ethnicity.

2.8 Reforms

Following the Macpherson report, the then Home Secretary Jack Straw stated that ‘I want this report to serve as a watershed in our attitudes to racism. I want it to act as a catalyst

for permanent and irrevocable change, not just across our public services but across the whole of our society' (Hansard, 24th February 1999, Cols 392-394).

Whilst many reforms were implemented after the Macpherson Inquiry, there still exists mistrust between BAME individuals and the Police. As Doreen Lawrence, now Baroness Lawrence, the mother of Stephen, stated 'Black people are still dying on the streets and in the back of police vans. For me, institutional racism is ingrained and it's hard to think of how it will be eradicated from the police force' (Guardian 1999:1). In this context, Grieve, (2009) describes what he describes as a paradigm shift of changes since the Inquiry. He articulates that the paradigm shifts were cultural, governance and legislative.

2.8.1 Cultural Change

Since the MacPherson Inquiry (1999), there has been a change in approach to hate crimes. With investigations now focusing on the experience and perspective of the nature of the crime from the perspective of the the victim.

This position has been criticised, as a 'philosophical and legal nightmare' (Skidelsky 2000). As in reality it means that the only opinion taken into consideration in determining whether or not a crime is racially motivated, is that of the victim. This is also evident in workplace bullying as the Criminal Justice System, which is one of the five social institutions (Housing, Education, Media and Finance) which intentionally or unintentionally sustains racial inequalities (Rose, 2015).

Perhaps less contentiously, there has also been a move to recruit individuals who, on receipt of specialist training, are better placed to manage the sensitive task of liaising with the family members of minorities. This was a direct response to the insensitive handling of Doreen and Neville Lawrence, the parents of Stephen Lawrence by Metropolitan Police officers who conducted the investigation. Recommendation 18 of the Macpherson Inquiry highlighted the importance in the way in which the police managed their relationships with

BAME families, victims and communities. Recommendation 18 was viewed as critical to building trust and confidence of BAME communities in the police.

There is some evidence of an improvement in the handling of racially motivated crime since the death of Stephen Lawrence. This can be observed from the police handling of the investigation into the death of Anthony Walker. BBC reports (2016) reported that Anthony's mother, Mrs Gee Walker, said that "The police's determination and efficiency in their investigation was there to see". Furthermore, the National Black Police Association was also quoted as saying that the Police Services in England had "moved a long way" since Macpherson. A further example of the improvement in the handling of the case is the fact that the Police and the Crown Prosecution Service showed no reluctance in concluding that Anthony's death was a case of racially motivated murder. Grieve (2009) highlighted that implementing key recommendations from the Macpherson Inquiry began as early as 2001 (Fitzgerald, 2001). The Police Services in England started to recruit and train family liaison officers and units, which specialised in understanding and dealing with hate crimes in a more sensitive manner.

There has been a significant amount of research into the area of academic study concerned with 'cop culture'. Ashworth (2000) asserts that unless there is an end to racial discrimination it is likely to appear as often in the Police Services in England as it does anywhere else in English society. Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969) noted as far back as 1968 that racial prejudice in the police, are reflective of similar prejudicial tendencies in broader society. In other words, academics contend that there is nothing especially racist about cop culture.

The wide range of national and local initiatives in the aftermath of the Macpherson Inquiry aimed at understanding, identifying and addressing institutional racism, could be argued to have contributed to an apparent 'problematic dynamic' which has increased the annoyance of many police officers and police staff at what they regard as pro-discriminatory policies which are aimed at increasing representation of minorities in the Police Services in England.

Holdaway (1991) has noticed that attempts to increase, Police Services in England diversity has led to 'resentment from the majority of white officers'. Contrary to the conclusions of the Scarman Inquiry, cop culture appears within Holdaway's (1991) research and from research conducted by Kinsey and Young (1982). This highlighted the prevalence of racial prejudice amongst a majority of police officers and staff and not, as Lord Scarman suspected, by a few bad apples.

2.8.2 Governance Reforms

In the aftermath of the Macpherson Inquiry (1999) the police complaints system has undergone a formal restructure. This is evidenced by the creation of the Independent Police Complaints Commission which was established in 2004. Its function is to receive and investigate complaints made against the police. The role of local government has also been enhanced in London as the Mayor holds new responsibilities in relation to the police, in which theoretically, they are politically accountable. Despite these significant changes there still appears to be in operation a problematic governance regime. This has been acutely evidenced by the case of the former Metropolitan Police firearms officer, Carol Howard, through her mistreatment by her line manager Deputy Inspector Kelly.

In Ms Howards case, the complaints system was open to 'corruption' in that the Metropolitan Police has falsified the records of discrimination complaints. (Ms C Howard -v- Metropolitan Police Service, 2014). Whilst complaints, being made by citizens may be directed to the recently created Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC). It is unclear whether an effective complaints mechanism exists for police staff who take the route of going through internal professional standards or Human Resources. In addition, it is also unclear as to the extent to which cases of alleged discrimination by senior police officers are handled in a manner which does not downplay institutional racism or sexism (Wunsch et al, 2016; Breen, 2019).

Issues of governance are most problematic at higher levels of the Police Services in England Macpherson (1999), this runs counter to the evidence presented and findings of

the Scarman Inquiry (1981). For Scarman (1981) the senior eschelons of policing did not appear to be immune to racist and sexist practice, whether unwitting or as a matter of policy.

2.8.3 Legislative Reforms

In 1976, the UK Government introduced the Race Relations Act (1976) it was subsequently amended in 2002 (Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000) (See Table 2.5) The regulatory scope of the 2000 Act was extended to cover police officers who had an exemption under the act up until this amendment. It is now held to be unlawful for the police authorities to “provide inferior treatment to certain groups on the basis of their ethnic origin”. However, it is remarkable that this was not already the case as it was in apparent contradiction to the existing Human Rights Act of 1998. In response, every force set up positions of Diversity Champions, whose role was to encourage good practice on race issues. The Commission for Racial Equality (2004) welcomed the change which they had consistently lobbied for.

There were broader impacts on the operation of the criminal law. In the ‘Justice for All’ White Command Paper (2002), the double jeopardy rule was defined as a person cannot be tried more than once for the same offence. This was an important safeguard to acquitted defendants. However, there was also an important general public interest in ensuring that those who have committed serious crimes are convicted of them. The Macpherson Inquiry (1999) recognised that the ‘double jeopardy rule’ was capable of presenting grave injustices to victims and communities in certain cases where compelling fresh evidence came to light after an acquittal. The call for a consideration of a change to the law was subsequently given in 2003. This brought the UK in line with the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 4(2) of Protocol 7) which explicitly recognised the importance of being able to re-open cases where new evidence comes to light.

Other changes included a new Code of Practice on the Reporting and Recording of Racist incidents, issued by the Home Office in 2000. The Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) issued a report on Identifying and Combating Hate Crimes. The White Paper, ‘Building Communities, Beating Crime’ (2004) is another was another element of the

broader reform agenda. Making use of powers under Section 36A of the Police Act 1996, the Home Secretary was able to set objectives and timelines for the police to achieve. One of the primary objectives under this action can be found in the National Policing plan 2005 – 2008:

Provide a citizen focused police service which responds to the needs of individuals, especially victims and witnesses, and inspires public confidence in the police, particularly among minority ethnic communities (Sixth Annual Progress Report: (National Policing Plan 2005: 21).

Reiner (2011) highlights that the report had a transformative effect on the position of race in the political debate.

It has transformed the terms of the political debate about black people and criminal justice which had not [previously] featured in public awareness and political debate was the disproportionate rate at which black people suffered as victims of crime. ... This 'transformation' has, as set out above, had apparent effects on culture, governance and law. (Reiner,2011:129)

Further, recent statistics also paint a picture of improving circumstances for BAME police officers. These are set out in summary below:

- For all staff, both civilian and sworn officers, the police has exceeded the Home Office target for ethnic minorities to make up at least 7% of the service in England and Wales by 2009. The target was achieved as In 2007 the total was 8 percent.
- The proportion of ethnic minority officers has risen from 2% in 1999 to 3.9 percent (5,511 officers) in April 2007. However, the target of 7 percent will almost certainly not be met.
- The proportion of ethnic minorities who were successful police recruits increased from 6.3 percent to 10.7 percent of the total number of candidates during the first half of 2007-08.
- Nearly 12 percent of police community support officers are from ethnic minority groups.
- Targets on progression through the ranks have been met, in all but the very top levels.

- Ethnic minority officers do, however, have a higher resignation rate than white officers, particularly in the first six months of service.

What is clear from the statistics is that progress has been at a poor rate and slow. There are a number of factors which impact on the levels of recruitment, there are still concerns around the vetting criteria of the police and concerns that this disproportionately impacts on BAME communities than their white counterparts. In addition, in areas like London, changes to the residency criteria for police officers has had a positive impact on the numbers of BAME recruits into the Police Services in England. There have been criticisms of the superficial nature of the reforms and questions, Bowling (1996) highlights that there is a disturbing link between racism and the modern history of Britain, doubts also expressed by the Home Office. Foster (2005) explored whether the structural reforms made to the Police Services in England resulted in an excision of racist language, from the day to day operation of police institutions and whether that was indicative of changes in the culture and practice of police service more broadly. Foster (2005) asserts the reforms were concentrated on areas where explicit and structural changes might be made”, as was the case with the creation of Diversity Champions. Whilst Grieve (2009) has identified ‘cultural’ changes in the Police Services in England since the Macpherson Inquiry (1999). A close examination reveals that whilst there has been a shift in approach to the definition and interpretation of hate crime. This is merely a formal shift in guidance, which takes us no closer to a less ‘institutionally racist’ body.

Bourne (2001) and Bridges (2001) have accused the government of ‘eradicating with one hand and entrenching with the other’ the problem of racism. They argue that legislation such as the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 and the Criminal Justice Bill 2002 disproportionately affect ethnic minorities because of strongly engrained institutional racism (Bourne 2002; Bridges 2001). The Anti-Terrorism Act 2001 is similarly argued to be discriminatory and undermining of many basic rights on the grounds of national security (McLaughlin and Murji 1999: 382).

Narduzzo (2014) examination of evidence following the Macpherson Inquiry (1999) highlights that much of the literature (Bayley and Mendelsohn: 1968; Kinsey and Young: 1982; Holdaway: 1996; Reiner: 2000) suggests that racist attitudes are carried into the occupational culture of rank and file police officers through the employment of primarily the white working class men. Despite this evidence (Fitzgerald, 2001) articulates that the police are making considerable efforts to eradicate racial bias and that racial prejudice is still entrenched in British society. Therefore its eradication within the Police Services in England, will be highly unlikely.

In this regard, The Equality and Human Rights Commission (2014) made a number of recommendations for future reform:

- The Commission sees scope for improvements in the programmes currently in place that hope to encourage more BAME men and women to join the Police. This may be done by shortening the probationary period that BAME police community support officers must undergo to become officially sworn-in officers in consideration of the experience they already have as community support officers.
- Specialist units, such as the Diplomatic Protection Unit, are sometimes seen as 'closed off' to BAME people. Although this may be a perception problem, high profile Employment Tribunal cases such as that of Carol Howard do not serve to improve the perception.
- The report recommends research into the treatment of BAME officers undergoing disciplinary procedures.

2.9 Conclusion

This literature review has identified the links between workplace bullying, hate crime, stress, and poor mental health (Beswick et al 2006) across a range of sectors of the economy and in different jurisdictions. The paucity of research into the experiences of BAME women in the police in England and Wales (Waddington 2009) has created a situation where there is an apparent invisibility of the unique experiences within organisational policy development

(Mirza 2003). This is further compounded by the fact that mechanisms used to tackle race equality such as audit and evaluation have had a negative impact as they are not gender neutral. This has contributed to the development of a masculine approach to social change, which is slow (ibid). Set within the context of the Macpherson Inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence, the lack of acknowledgement of issues of intersectionality of race and gender for BAME police officers in the area of bullying can be seen to have pushed the issue to the political long grass. As will be shown in the Methodology Chapter (n) and in the data analysis chapters (6 and 7), this has had a significant and long term impact.

Chapter 3: Bullying and Harassment: the Legislative and Policy Context

The aim of this chapter is to examine the legislative and policy context of bullying and harassment in the workplace within the UK. In doing so it will utilise a historical chronological approach, which will provide an understanding of the underlying characteristics of the development of the legislative and policy framework focusing on the second research objective and examine contributory factors which arise from organisational structures and police leadership.

This chapter builds on the foundations established in Chapter 2 (Theoretical issues of bullying and harassment) by way of the provision of political insight into why the legislative and policy framework has developed in the way that it has. In particular a clear distinction will be made as to the differences between bullying and harassment, the most fundamental of which is that whereas bullying is not illegal, harassment is and constitutes unwanted conduct under the Equality Act (2010) when it is related to a protected characteristic such as Gender and or Race.

This chapter will focus on the impact that the lack of definition of bullying in the UK has had on the failure of legislators to develop a clear and detailed legal framework on workplace bullying and harassment, particularly to the categories of race and gender. It will appraise the struggle for the development of a legal framework of workplace bullying in the UK, which was initially developed through proposals for legislation by the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union (MSF) in 1996 through the development of the 'Dignity at Work Bill' (1996) and steered through the House of Lords, by Lord Monkswell in December 1996 and January 1997 and by Baroness Ann Gibson in 2001.

This research will demonstrate that the reluctance of the UK to adopt a legislative framework on bullying is a response to concerns by successive Conservative and Labour governments that the introduction of legislation on bullying would create an unnecessary regulatory burden to industry (Adams 1994). The chapter will argue that this issue; has created tensions between employers in the public and private sectors and trade unions as well as

in the voluntary sector. This issue will be explored in further detail in Chapter 8 where the concerns of both representatives of the Police Federation and Human Relations professionals and from participating police forces will be explored.

3.1 The Genesis of the Harassment Legislative Framework in the Great Britain Since Health and Safety Act (1974)

This section, will highlight that the starting point to the focus on workplace bullying was through the pioneering work of Andrea Adams (1992) in the UK. In which she created the term of "workplace bullying". Her work, led to a shift in focus from an association with the bullying of children at school to adults in the workplace (Adams and Crawford 1992). The chapter, argue that the failure to develop of an effective legislative framework on bullying in the UK through the lack of a 'Dignity at work Bill' has led to the adoption of 'dignity at work' policies, which were developed and implemented during Labour Government post 2000 (Unite, 2007). The chapter will then, explore the development of the legislative and policy framework around harassment, which has taken a somewhat revised trajectory via the development of the Health and Safety at Work Act (1974) and the Protection of Harassment Act (1997).

Under the Health and Safety at Work Act 1974 employers were held responsible for the health, safety and welfare at work of all employees. The Health and Safety Act (1974) was seen as a route through which a victim of harassment could use to pursue a claim of harassment. The development of the legislative framework on harassment in the UK has led Lewis et al (2011) to highlight the links between bullying, harassment and discrimination on the basis that organisations are reflections of society and as such, social, political and historical issues which impact on intergroup relations such as discrimination also extend into the workplace. Workplace environments are therefore due to their very nature, locations for social interaction which makes them conduits for bullying and harassment (Estlund 2003).

Legal protection for people suffering from workplace harassment in the UK has developed

as a result of the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) and the Race Discrimination Act (1976). This legislative framework has been the only mechanism which workers have had to pursue cases of workplace harassment. This was on the basis that cases of sexual and racial harassment have been dealt with by UK employment tribunals on the basis that sexual or racial harassment is sexual or racial discrimination (Sinclair, 1998). From a legal perspective, the issue is not harassment, instead it is the fact that the harassment is either racially or sexually motivated. This has resulted in making workplace harassment one of the most publicised areas of UK harassment law (Sinclair, 1998).

Harassment occurs when, it is linked to a protected characteristic (for the purposes of this research this is related to race and gender) when an employer - or their agent such as another employee or a manager - engages in unwanted conduct which has the purpose or effect of violating an individual's dignity or creating an interrogating, degrading, hostile offensive or humiliating environment for the employee in question (Archer, 1999). Whilst this is a diverse spectrum, the legislative framework is such that it covers all types of harassment, which can take different forms:

- Physical conduct
- Verbal conduct
- Non-verbal conduct

As such, harassment is defined under the Equality Act (2010) as; 'unwanted conduct related to a relevant protected characteristic, which has the purpose or effect of violating an individual's dignity or creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for that individual'.

In addition, a complainant does not need to be from a group with a protected characteristic they can be a victim of harassment because of their association with a person who has a protected characteristic, or because they are wrongly perceived to have one, or are treated as if they do (Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) 2014). Under the Equality Act (2010) harassment applies to all protected characteristics except for pregnancy

and maternity where any unfavourable treatment may be considered discrimination, including marriage and civil partnership where there is no significant evidence that it is needed (ACAS, 2014).

As a result of a rise in awareness of the issues involved in harassment, recent trends have revealed a significant increase in the number of people making claims of harassment at Employment Tribunals (MOJ, 2014). If complaints are upheld, significant damages may be awarded against the employer. Therefore, it is important that employers take the issue seriously and deal with allegations of harassment at an early stage, whilst also taking steps to resolve them. In addition, whilst the conduct must be unwanted by the recipient, it does not necessarily mean that the harasser has a motive or intention to harass. Therefore it is still classed as harassment even if the harasser does not recognize that their actions are causing harm.

An employer is liable, as is the case for many other acts, for the actions of their employees during the course of their employment. Whilst it would be relatively easy to prove that a manager or supervisor (of the recipient) could be guilty of harassing "during the course of their employment". More proof may be required if the harasser is in a subordinate position. Employers can avoid liability for discriminatory harassment if they can prove that they took such steps that were reasonably practical to prevent harassment from occurring (Protection from Harassment Act, 1997).

Employers also have a 'duty of care' for all their employees. If the mutual trust and confidence between employer and employee is broken – for example, through bullying and harassment at work – then an employee can resign and claim 'constructive dismissal', at an Employment Tribunal on the grounds of breach of contract (ACAS, 2014). Employers are usually responsible in law for the acts of their workers.

Table 3.1 - The Genesis of the Harassment Legislative Framework in the Great Britain

1974	The Health and Safety at Work Act
1975	Sex Discrimination Act, introducing the concept of indirect discrimination into UK law and setting up a powerful enforcement agency, the Equal Opportunities Commission
1976	Race Relations Act, building on two Acts of the previous decade: stress on avoiding indirect discrimination and setting up of a powerful enforcement agency, the Commission for Racial Equality
1997	The Protection of Harassment Act
1998	Human Rights Act 1998 and Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights state that the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in the Convention shall be secured 'without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status'.
1998	Fair Employment and Treatment (Northern Ireland) Order making it unlawful to discriminate on grounds of religious belief and/or political opinion (later amended to include other dimensions of equality too)
1999	Report of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (The Macpherson Report): the concept of institutional racism introduced into public consciousness and debate
2000	Race Relations (Amendment) Act: places a positive duty on public authorities to promote race equality, and requires each to produce a race equality scheme (RES) and regular race equality impact assessments (REIAs).
2000	European directives on race and employment set the international context in which UK equalities legislation will develop through the coming decade.
2000	The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (The Parekh Report) stresses three essential values: equality; recognition and respect for difference; and cohesion and a sense of shared belonging.
2003	On 10 July 2003 the House of Lords votes overwhelmingly to repeal Section 28 of the Local Government Act in England and Wales.
2003	Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations come into force on 2 December: unlawful to discriminate in employment on grounds of religious affiliation
2003	Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations come into force on 1 December: unlawful to discriminate in employment on grounds of sexuality
2005	Employment Equality (Age) Regulations come into force on 1 October
2006	Equality Act receives royal assent on 16 February: extends religion or belief and sexual orientation regulations to cover service delivery as well as employment; places a positive duty on public authorities to promote gender equality; and requires each to produce a gender equality scheme (GES) and conduct regular gender equality impact assessments (GEIAs)
2006	The Racial and Religious Hatred Act receives royal assent on 16 April, amending the Public Order Act 1986, creating offences involving stirring up hatred against persons on religious grounds
2007	Public authorities increasingly combine their RES, DES and GES into a single equality scheme (SES), and their REIAs, DEIAs and GEIAs into single equality impact assessments (EQUIAs)
2007	Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007 become law on 30 April, making discrimination against lesbians and gay men unlawful in the provision of goods and services.

2007	The CRE, EOC and DRC cease to exist and from 1 October are brought together into the Equality and Human Rights and Commission (EHRC).
2008	In the Queen's Speech on 3 December it is confirmed a new Equality Bill will be published in 2009 and that a single equality duty will require public bodies 'to consider the diverse needs and requirements of their workforce, and the communities they serve'.
2009	The Equality Bill is published on 27 April and in the following weeks several consultation exercises are initiated in connection with it.
2010	The Equality Bill receives royal assent on 8 April and becomes the Equality Act. Implementation of most of it starts in October.
2011	The general duty in the Public Sector Equality Duty (PSED – article 149 of the Act) comes into effect in April and the two specific duties come into effect in September.

Source: <http://www.equineteurope.org/Great-Britain-Equality-and-Human> (Date accessed: July 2017)

3.2 Protection from Harassment Act (1997)

The Protection from Harassment Act (1997) created a new means by which victims of harassment in the work place could obtain compensation. Most discussions regarding the Protection from Harassment Act have tended to concentrate on criminal offences and the use of Injunctions. It is however important to recognise that section 3(2) of the Act allows civil courts to award damages to victims of harassment for a range of related issues, including; anxiety caused by the harassment and any financial loss resulting from the harassment. If an individual is harassed at their place of work they can choose to sue their employer for damages using the Protection from Harassment Act (1997) rather than going to an Employment Tribunal.

Under the Protection from Harassment Act 1997, "A person must not pursue a course of conduct (a) which amounts to harassment of another, and (b) which he knows or ought to know amounts to harassment of the other."

In some circumstances this route could be simpler particularly if there could be technical arguments as to whether they were an employee or a self-employed contractor. Such employment law technicalities would not be relevant in any legal claim under the Act. Within such cases all that would be relevant is the fact that the harassment occurred, the damage

it caused and whether the employer was vicariously liable for permitting, or not preventing that harassment from occurring.

The Law relating to Vicarious Liability was clarified and extended by the House of Lords in the case of *Lister v Hesley Hall Ltd* (2001) UKHL 22, and more recently the case of *Majrowski v Guy's and St. Thomas' NHS Trust* (2006) UKHL 34. In this case, the House of Lords held that an Employer would be vicariously liable under the Protection from Harassment Act (1997) for damages arising from Harassment of an employee by other employees.

The time limit for bringing a claim for damages under section 3 of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 is 6 years which is far longer than the 3 month time limit for bringing claims for Racial or Sexual Discrimination.

Prior to 2010 when discrimination became unlawful under section 13 of the Equality Act 2010, some cases of discrimination were carried to the European Court of Justice. For example, in *Coleman v Attridge Law* (2008) the European Court of Justice ruled that a person may claim discrimination when they suffer unfavourable treatment because of someone they associate with (CURIA 2008).

3.3 A failed Legislative framework for bullying in the UK: The Dignity at Work Bill

3.3.1 Bullying

The concept of 'work-based bullying' first came into public discourse in the United Kingdom through the work of Andrea Adams a broadcaster and journalist in 1989 through the transmission of two Radio 4 documentaries on the issue; 'An Abuse of Power' and 'Whose fault is it anyway' (Adams and Crawford 1992). And latterly through the publication of the book, *Bullying at work: How to confront and overcome* (Adams and Crawford 1992).

Einarsen et al (2011) assert that the work of Adams (1992) brought the issue of workplace bullying into the mainstream in the UK. As the mediums through which the issue was presented, were accessible to a wider audience than that of the restricted territories of

academia and public policy. As such, this enabled a wider range of individuals to relate to how the issue had affected them. The mainstreaming /popularization of the issue is what brought it to the political and latterly academic mainstream. Furthermore, Adams (1992) brought a shift to the focus on workplace bullying, as bullying was previously only associated with school children (Adams and Crawford 1992). The significance of Adam's work is that it stimulated a national debate in the UK about bullying which subsequently led to a raft of interventions, not all of which were successful to address the issue.

One of the issues, that has made, the development of a legislative framework on bullying in the UK challenging is that the concept of bullying is contested (Beswick et al, 2006; Einarsen et al, 2011). Liefoghe et al (2001) argue that this is as a result of the diversity of theoretical approaches adopted by researchers in different cultures and countries. Beswick et al (2006:4) assert that the contention around the definition of the concept is focused on three aspects. They are as follows,

- Subjective vs objective bullying
- Intentionality and
- Interpersonal vs organisational bullying

Through their work on bullying, Einarson et al (2011) through their study of European tradition developed a definition of the concept of bullying based upon the work of Einarsen and Skogstad 1996; Leymann 1996; Olweus 1987, 1991, 1994 and Zapf 1996). The definition is as follows;

Bullying at work means harassing, offending, or socially excluding someone or negatively affecting someone's work. In order for the label bullying (or mobbing) to be applied to a particular activity, interaction, or process, the bullying behaviour has to occur repeatedly and regularly (e.g. weekly) and over a period of time (e.g., about six months). Bullying is an escalating process in the course of which the person confronted ends up in an inferior position and becomes the target of systematic

negative social acts. A conflict cannot be called bullying if the incident is an isolated event or if two parties of approximately equal strength are in conflict (Einarsen et al 2011:22).

The mainstream nature of Adams' (1992) work on workplace bullying and its accessibility needs to be understood with reference to the political, economic and social context of the time. The UK in the 1980s and 1990s (up to 1997) was under the control of the Conservative administrations of Margaret Thatcher and John Major.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the Conservative Party replaced the Keynesian economic policy of the 1950s and 1960s with neo-liberal approaches (Cooper, 2008). Economic policy based upon the principles of neo-liberalism and the free market resulted in spending cuts, and wage freezes (Cooper, 2008). Ultimately, such a policy change caused high levels of unemployment. Furthermore, the neoliberal policies, brought unions against employers as illustrated through the Miners' strike in 1984 and the strike of Fleet Street printers at Wapping in 1986.

The outcome of the Miners and Print workers strikes was that the state's allegiance was revealed to be with the employers and not the workers. This period, was marked by hostility between employers and unions, to which the Governments of both Margaret Thatcher and John Major associated themselves, with employers. This environment, created the conditions it is argued here, for a climate within which 'workplace bullying' was allowed to flourish. Furthermore, the way in which the issue was brought into the mainstream, did not make it an academic issue, but instead a real life issue which could be experienced by people sat on the opposing side of the rapidly developing neo-liberal rhetoric and mantra. Those who opposed this ideological right-turn were viewed as 'the enemy within'. This therefore impacted on how the issue was subsequently tackled by the Government and employers.

Against this background, in 1996 the Manufacturing Science and Finance Union (MSF) developed the Dignity at Work Bill. Its passage through the House of Lords was through

Lord Monkswell in December 1996 and January 1997 (Unite 2007). The main feature of the Bill was that it sought to define bullying and brought into public parlance with, the concept of 'dignity at work'.

3.3.2 Right to dignity at work

The Dignity at Work Bill of 1996 by the Conservative government began with the following statement. The object of the Bill was to enshrine good practice in law. The aim was to try to prevent bullying at work.

(1) Every employee shall have a right to dignity at work and if the terms of the contract under which a person is employed do not include that right they shall be deemed to include it.

(2) Subject to section 5 of this Act, an employer commits a breach of the right to dignity at work of an employee if that employee suffers during his employment with the employer harassment or bullying or any act, omission or conduct which causes him to be alarmed or distressed including but not limited to any of the following-

(a) behaviour on more than one occasion which is offensive, abusive, malicious, insulting or intimidating;

(b) unjustified criticism on more than one occasion;

(c) punishment imposed without reasonable justification, or

(d) changes in the duties or responsibilities of the employee to the employee's detriment without reasonable justification. (Dignity at Work Bill 1996)

However, the Bill had a very turbulent time during its passage through the House of Lords and as a consequence did not make it on to the statute books. It is the Lords debate led by

Lord Monkswell, which provides us with the nature and scale of the bullying problem at the time.

Lord Monkswell: what is the incidence of bullying at work? Anecdotal evidence suggests that it is fairly widespread and a growing problem. We also have the results of surveys. The University of Stafford surveyed more than 1,000 people, of whom 51 per cent had experience of bullying at work. My own union, MSF, surveyed 396 workplace representatives covering 140,000 people: 30 per cent said that bullying was a significant problem. Only last week the Institute of Personnel and Development published the results of a survey conducted by the Harris Research Centre of just over 1,000 workers in the United Kingdom. That reported that one in eight people have been bullied at work in the last five years. We also learned early on of the good work done by staff associations and unions, working with company management to develop policies and practices to combat bullying at work. Here I could again quote examples of good practice negotiated by my own union, MSF, with employers. However, to avoid any charge of vested interest I will quote the example of the Yorkshire Independent Staff Association which, having had to deal with a case of bullying at work and following consultation with its members and negotiation with management, now has a formal company policy on harassment and bullying at work. It also became apparent that these good practices needed statutory reinforcement and that parliamentary action is needed. I pay tribute to the union solicitors who have drafted this Dignity at Work Bill. It is born out of the twin experiences of the race and sex discrimination legislation and also out of the experience of lawyers and union officials in trying to get legal redress for employees who have suffered bullying at work. (Hansard HL Debate 04 December 1996 Vol 576 cc754- 74)

Lord Monkswell eloquently articulated, the issues facing workers and was supported by

Peers from the Labour and Liberal benches. However, Conservative peers whilst acknowledging, that bullying was an issue, articulated in a rational manner that the development of a legislative framework would not be helpful in the workplace as a raft of existing legislation was already in force.

The debate was led by Lord Lucas, (Minister for State with responsibility for Employment). Fundamentally, the debate provides a clear indication of the nature of the objections to the introduction of a legislative framework aimed at protecting the workforce around bullying. This was predicated on the basis that the introduction of legislation in the area of bullying would be burdensome to employers. Furthermore, it was not felt to be needed as there was a range of legislation in place, which could deal with the issue.

Lord Haskel: My Lords, I congratulate my noble friend Lord Monkswell on his initiative on this Bill, but I must confess that I approach the Bill with mixed feelings. That is because I am reluctant to impose more regulations on business and industry, and I am sure that is what the Minister will tell us. I am sure that he will also tell us that some of the rights in the Bill are already included in any reasonable contract of employment. For instance, most contracts of employment include a clause about fair treatment. They include a complaints procedure. They include a clause about changes in duties and responsibilities (Hansard HL Debate 04 December 1996 Vol 576 cc754- 74).

Lord Lucas: The Bill of the noble Lord, Lord Monkswell, is a brave attempt to incorporate a right to dignity into legislation. However, the basic concept of dignity at work is difficult to incorporate into law. It is both an imprecise and highly subjective concept and therefore liable to be construed in different ways. We feel that that cannot be good for employers, employees or those who have to apply the law. No one wants to see the law made more complex or confusing, yet that would be the effect of the Bill [...]We see this Bill as

going far too far in dealing with the minutiae of relationships between individuals (Hansard HL Debate 04 December 1996 Vol 576 cc754- 74).

The effect of Lucas's statement to the House, essentially meant that the legislation was blocked by the Conservative Government (Unite 2007). The shift in Government to a Labour administration in 1997 meant that Labour Peers would once again attempt to introduce a legislative framework on bullying. This was attempted in December 2001 through the Labour Peer Baroness Ann Gibson who was also the Chair of the Dignity at work partnership led by the Amicus Union of which she was chair. Unfortunately, the Bill was introduced as a private members Bill in the House of Lords, this made it difficult for it to reach the statute books. However, the tactic used by Baroness Gibson was to identify the deficiencies in the existing legislative framework which Conservative peers had previously relied on to demonstrate that additional legislation was not needed. This was done through stating that successive governments had focused on discrimination legislation; race and sex to the detriment of a legislative framework on bullying. Whilst acknowledging that it was difficult for bullying to be underpinned by race or sexual harassment.

Lord Lucas: The Bill attempts to be fair to both employees and employers. ... It is a very destructive force. It is difficult to put a concrete figure on the number of workers bullied, but an NOP poll conducted for a TUC conference on bullying at work suggested that a staggering 5 million working people in the UK had either been bullied in the past or were currently experiencing bullying. ... On top of that, it brings to the workplace low morale, poor working relationships and a general depression of spirit. That is hardly conducive to high productivity and quality standards. ... In the past the UK Parliament has not focused on providing statutory protection against bullying at work. Instead it has concentrated on discrimination. ... But the laws covering sex and race do not adequately cover bullying. ... But the great weakness here is that most

cases of bullying cannot be shown to amount to sexual or racial harassment and therefore this legislation is not effective in that case (Hansard 27th March 2002: Column 336).

It was left to the Labour Minister, Lord MacIntosh to set out that whilst the government would not oppose the Bill, it did not believe that additional legislation was necessary. This was on the basis that, the concept of bullying was difficult to define. That there was a range of existing legislation, which the Labour Government would build upon through the introduction of the Employment Bill (now Employment Act 2008) and that additional legislation would not really help workers as what was needed was a change in organisational culture. For ease of understanding the most pertinent points within the speech of Lord MacIntosh have been highlighted in bold.

Lord McIntosh of Haringey: ... in its election manifesto, the Labour Party made a commitment to tackling this problem. The manifesto states that "We are committed to working with managers and employees to reduce the problems of bullying and violence in the workplace. As a major employer"— by that, we mean as a public sector employer— ... It is my duty to say how seriously we take bullying at work, how strongly we condemn it and that we consider that a combination of legislative action and of an approach to the culture of bullying and harassment at work must be the solution to the problem. Let me start with the legislative side and existing law. The laws already in place cover a wide range of definable and undesirable behaviour which all include provisions on harassment. Then there is the Protection from Harassment Act 1997, the Health and Safety at Work Act 1974 and the Employment Rights Act 1996, which includes constructive dismissal provisions. ... we are considering extending those measures and have been consulting on the provisions of the Article 13 directive, which would extend protection on the grounds of religion and other issues. ... The Dignity at Work Bill calls for employers to have procedures in place whereby employees can bring complaints to them about their treatment. ...

I do not claim that the legislative position as I describe it—at present and as proposed—covers the range of remedies which this Bill would provide. It is the case that the law only covers specific and definable areas of undesirable behaviour. Bullying is extremely hard to define. It relates to the culture of the workplace and how the individual reacts to this treatment. As the debate has made clear, this is a very subjective and complex issue. I believe that a large proportion of cases will be covered by the law as it is and as it will be; but that does not mean to say that we should not act to prevent other cases from slipping through the net of legislation. What I am saying is that further legislation would not necessarily help to clarify people's feelings or reactions to situations. It would not necessarily help the individual to find a remedy. So we are taking action specifically on the issue of bullying, intended to tackle the root cause of bullying in the first place—that is, the culture in the workplace. I do not claim that this is legislative action. I am saying that this is complementary to legislative action (Hansard 27th March 2002: Column 345).

Unfortunately, the Private Members' Bill introduced by a Labour Peer under a Labour administration was unsuccessful. What is important to note here is that two diverse political administrations whilst they acknowledged the issue of bullying; were reluctant to develop a legislative framework to support workers. The commonality between the approach of the two parties, was that this would be burdensome to employers. It is this, which pushed forward what is argued here to be a consolation prize, to victims of bullying and the architects of the doomed legislation. The creation of a public policy framework through the introduction of a range of policies and procedures of both public and private sector organisations termed 'dignity at work' (Hansard 27th March 2002: Column 345).

3.4 Public Policy Framework on Bullying: The Introduction of Dignity at Work policies

The failure of successive Conservative and Labour governments to introduce a legislative bullying framework to deal with bullying has resulted in what is argued here to be a consolation prize of the introduction and adoption of dignity at work policies within the public,

private sector and voluntary sectors. The language of those subsequent policies was established through the Dignity at Work Bill and many features of the Bill are contained within the policies of public, private and voluntary sector organisations (Raynor and Lewis, 2011).

The main purpose of the policies has been the development of a statement of intent, and guidance, policies, procedures and practices for both employers and employees on to better understand, identify and address bullying in the workplace (Richards and Daly, 2003). Ferris, (2004), contends that organisations can have wonderful policies, however, those policies can be rendered meaningless, if they do not have an impact on peoples lives. This issue will be explored in detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

One of the main criticisms of organisational policies on bullying and harassment, is that there are significant challenges in respect of their implementation and application in the workplace (Lewis et al 2011). Lewis et al (2011) argue that this is, as a result of a lack of understanding as to what constitutes bullying. As such Lewis et al (2011) advocate that it is important for organisations to continually undertake work to educate both managers and staff as to what constitutes bullying and how it can be tackled in the workplace. This approach has been advocated by ACAS (the UK non-governmental body with responsibility for dealing with arbitration and conciliation in the UK workplace), as evidenced in their recent guidance of bullying and harassment in the workplace directed at both employers and employees.

One of the central weaknesses of dignity at work policies is that they are not reinforced by anti-bullying legislation (Lewis et al 2011). This makes it difficult to eradicate bullying in the workplace, unlike harassment, which is covered in the equalities legislative framework, and benefits from the oversight of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) who have powers of investigation and enforcement (Lewis et al 2011).

3.5 Conclusion This chapter has highlighted that the contested nature of the concept of bullying, has been a contributory factor in the lack of the development of a legislative framework in the UK. Furthermore, it has been shown through the identification of analysis of parliamentary records that both successive Conservative and Labour governments have been reluctant to develop a legislative framework on bullying. This obstacle has occurred on the basis that it would be an unnecessary regulatory burden on employers. This approach has been underpinned by neo-liberal viewpoint of employment markets, which shifts from a focus on workers 'rights' to that of a vague and fluid notion of employees 'responsibilities' and a more contemporaneous notion of an employer's 'duty of care' for its employees. This was in part due to the belief that there was existing protection through anti-discrimination legislation, including the Race Discrimination Act (1976), Sex Discrimination Act (1975) Equality Act (2010) and the Protection of Harassment Act (1997) and through legislation concerned with constructive dismissal. This has led to the development of 'dignity at work policies'. Dignity at work policies are argued in this research to be a which is argued in this consolation prize for a lack of a legislative framework on bullying in the workplace. This has led Lewis et al (2011) to argue that tackling bullying within the workplace is far more problematic without a legislative framework as there are no enforcement agencies with a regulatory function as is the case with harassment (Lewis et al. 2011).

Chapter 4: Police Culture

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will define and explore the concept of police culture within the UK in terms of occupational and organizational cultural aspects in the Police Services in England. As the subject matter of the research is BAME women in the Police Services in England, this chapter will examine race and gender within the context of police culture. This chapter will place a particular focus on how police culture manifests itself and the subsequent impact on BAME women in Police Services in England.

This chapter will provide an overview of the impact of two significant political drivers introduced by the Labour government of 1997. It will outline their impact on public services such as the Police Services in England. Those political drivers are as follows; the push towards greater managerialism within public services as a mechanism to improve public services and raise standards (Newman 2001) and the push for race equality as a result of the Macpherson Inquiry into the death in 1993 of Stephen Lawrence. It will be argued that these political drivers (which are also catalysts for change) and the resultant policy shifts provide an invaluable insight into critical features of police culture which are, resistance and hostility to change, as evidenced through occupational and organisational aspects of police culture.

This approach has been adopted as it will address the research questions which are to establish the extent to which police culture is a facilitator in the bullying and harassment of BAME women and explore whether there is an underlying discourse as to why BAME women suffer bullying and harassment within English policing with a view to understanding the nature of the discourse and to what extent it has affected the progression of BAME women in English policing. This chapter will present the conceptual background for the analysis; such as culture, organisational culture, occupational culture and police culture. This chapter will also explore various types of policing and the manifestations of police culture. Issues of race and gender will also be discussed.

4.2 Context

In order to understand the concept of police culture, this chapter will commence with an overview of the *political* context. This is undertaken, as it provides support to the research findings, presented in Chapters 6 and 7, which explore the reality of bullying and harassment for BAME women in the Police Services in England and the role that police culture plays. Crucially the political contextualisation illustrates the continual acknowledgement of the link between police culture, race, bullying and harassment.

As outlined in Chapter One there was widespread recognition of the existence of '*overt and covert racism*' (HMIC, 1999) within the Police Services in England coupled with bullying post Macpherson (1999) "There's lots [sic] of bullying here. It really shakes your confidence" (HMIC, 2000:7) However, the reforms advocated in the Macpherson Inquiry have not yielded the transformation anticipated within the Police Services in England (Rollock 2009).

In its survey of 14,000 serving police officers up to the rank of Superintendent, the Independent Police Commission (IPC) (Hales et al, 2012) described the nature of bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England. The IPC highlighted that bullying was part of a leadership culture which was described as being 'silverback'.

What has been valued is 'silverback' leaders who are charismatic, have big eyes and drive performance, over those who are more thoughtful and who deliver in a wider sense...(the force) is defined by a macho, arrogant, bullying culture and it tends to recruit a particular kind of candidate in that mould...Being a large force it is possible to share people around, move them into other roles, and this is used as a threat to force a particular approach, particularly around performance management. (Hales et al 2015)

Even today, senior figures within the Police Services in England have continued to cite issues of police culture and racism as inhibitors of change. In particular, the Chief Executive of the College of Policing, former Chief Constable Alex Marshall whilst giving evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee (HASC) on Police Diversity, 'agreed that the overall

culture of policing had to be healthy and welcoming to people from all backgrounds' (HC27 2016:9.21).

Similarly, the President of the National Black Police Association (NBPA), Det Sgt. Janet Hills informed the HASC that there was, *'institutional racism within the police service and that some of the policies and practices had hidden biases which made it difficult for people to challenge decisions when they felt they had been subject to unfair discrimination'* (HC27 2016:7.14). In their written submission to the HASC, the NBPA, highlighted that they felt that little had changed since the push for race equality in the aftermath of the 1999 Macpherson Report. In doing so they highlighted that the culture of the police service still required BAME staff to 'conform' to the culture of the organisation to survive. As such they referred the HASC to oral evidence they submitted to the Macpherson Inquiry in 1998 about the experiences of BAME people in the police.

Unfortunately, what we see, at this moment in time is black people are invited into the organisation as sure. Our recruitment schemes, initiatives are second to nil, second to nil. However, once the black person becomes a member of the organisation then it becomes all too apparent to that individual that they must conform, conform to that, the norms which predominantly, are white in these organisations. So, the black person is expected to become, if you like, a clone. I would say it is as severe as that. You are not asking a black person to come in to experience that persons views, cultures, etcetera, the different manner that he may do things or might perceive things, you are asking them to come into this organisation and to conform to the norm of the majority of the organisation. If you do not do so then you will feel, personally, very uncomfortable. (NBPA written submission to the Home Affairs Select Committee, Police Diversity 2016 pg 17)

4.3 Culture

According to Schein (2010), culture guides and constrains the behaviour of members of a group. In this sense, culture refers to "observable events and underlying forces that operate at three levels within organisations: the visible surface level artefacts such as physical environment, order of dress, language, stories told, and observable rituals and ceremonies;

the publicly espoused beliefs and values; and the basic underlying assumptions” (Workman-Stark 2017:19).

These assumptions are the underlying reasons to identify what things mean, how to react emotionally and what actions to take in various kinds of situations (Schein, 2010).

For Reiner (2010:116) the concept of culture is complex and involves a diverse range of features; values, symbols, practices and attitudes, which develop as a result of people’s responses to the situations which they are faced with and informed by their previous experiences. Different aspects of the culture are observed in laws backed by official punishment for deviation and social norms backed by social disapproval (Wilson, 2001:26).

Culture is seen as fulfilling the need to construct collective meanings in order to manage uncertainty and anxiety. These meanings may, and indeed do, change over time and space but they act as the guiding principles for members of a community. As such they can also have implications for non-members. For example, in a service such as policing the way officers treat each other is seen as an important indicator as to the way they will interact with the public: *“If officers treat each other in a fair and non- discriminatory way, this will manifest itself in an improved service to the public”* (HMIC, 1999:20).

4.3.1 Organisational Culture

Initially, scholars used the concept of organisational culture in general as a metaphor to study organisations as forums for social interactions through which meanings are constructed. Gradually, the concept of organisational culture has evolved as an internal organisational variable (Harrison, 1972) and a mechanism to achieve managerial effectiveness and control (Barley et al, 1988, Peters and Waterman, 1982).

There are several definitions of organisational culture; for example, according to Schneider within a European context, “culture refers to: (a) the values that lie beneath what the organisation rewards, supports and expects; (b) the norms that surround and/or underpin the policies, practices and procedures of organisations (c) the meaning incumbents share about what the norms and values of the organisation are” (Schneider, 1988:353). On the

other hand, Kotter and Heskett, (1992) refer to “values that are shared by the people in a group and that tend to persist over time even when group membership changes.” In this view culture represents “the behaviour patterns or style of an organisation that new employees are automatically encouraged to follow by their fellow employees. Each level of culture has a tendency to influence the other” (ibid 4).

These definitions point out some key elements of organisational culture:

- (1) Organisational culture is a shared phenomenon
- (2) It has visible³ and invisible⁴ aspects,
- (3) It involves a process of cultural socialisation and
- (4) Organisational culture tends to change slowly over time (Wilson 2001).

Johnson et al (2009) contend that organisational culture is concerned with the collective values of a workforce, which are apparent through the occupational processes of an organisation. Organisational cultures can be influenced by the internal factors such as its function, structure, and by external factors, such as the nature of the sector, societal cultures (Cockroft 2013). Schein (2004) argues that the concept of culture has evolved to encompass a range of meanings, which have resulted in it being viewed by Cockroft (2013) as a complex concept, ‘despite being an abstract and non-tangible concept it has real and perceivable impacts across a range of organisational and occupational life’ (Cockroft 2013:5). Pertinently, for Cockroft (ibid) culture plays an accepted and crucial part in encouraging certain types of conduct and assumptions.

The main challenges with studies of organisational culture, with the view of organisational culture as homogeneous, monolithic and organisation-wide. Within academia, the existence of subcultures or divisions is viewed as an indication of a weak culture. To understand the

³ The visible aspects are behaviour patterns, the physical and social environment and the written and spoken language used by the group.

⁴ The deeper, less visible level of culture includes the group's values and norms

complexity of organisational culture, Martin and Meyerson (1988) identified three major perspectives in organisational culture research:

(1) The integration perspective draws a strong culture where values are consistent with formal practices to promote a shared sense of loyalty (Schein, 1991; Barley, 1983).

(2) The differentiation perspective emphasises that at the organisational level, different subcultures may co-exist (Van Maanen, 1991; Wilson 1997).

(3) Rather than the clear unity of the integration perspective, the fragmentation perspective views ambiguity as the norm, whereby there is a continuous pattern of consensus and dissension influenced by events and specific areas of decision-making (Kreiner and Schultz, 1993, Feldman, 1991).

As a conduit to understanding organisations and occupations, Schein (2004) argues that 'culture' is concerned with shared values and beliefs. As such, Schein (2004) articulates that culture should be perceived through a range of headings: 'formal philosophy', 'rules of the game', 'embedded skills', 'observed behavioural regularities when people interact', 'group norms', 'espoused values', 'climate', 'habits of thinking', 'mental models, and linguistic paradigms', 'shared meanings', 'root metaphors or integrated symbols', and 'formal rituals and celebrations'. Schein (2004) also argues that in the context of organisations, his classification system is entwined with the ideas shared by the workforce. He stresses that this is a flexible term and not bound by the rigidity of the classification system. He goes on to argue that the concept of culture via his classification system is best understood through compartmentalising it into the following areas: structural, stability, depth, breadth and planning or integration.

Schein (2004) contends that structural stability concerns itself with the inbuilt level of buoyant and cultural vigour, he argues that whilst this does not mean that cultures are static, rather their appeal lies in their ability to be constant, despite fluctuations in the workforce. Depth, was seen as a core component of culture as it is not visible and has no physical

presence. The pervasive nature of culture is described as breadth. As culture impacts on the structures of an organisation in terms of its environment, relationships and tasks. Crucially, this relates to how culture can impact on diverse elements of an organisation. Patterning or integration describes the way in which cultures converge their various parts into something which is both pervasive and meaningful to a workforce. Through his study, Schein (2014:17) has defined culture as,

A pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adoption and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members on the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to these problems.

Schein (2004) identifies three levels of culture, artefacts, underlying assumptions and espoused beliefs and values. Artefacts are attributes associated with groups such as ceremonies, language, modes of dress. These are described as physical and visible attributes of the culture. Espoused beliefs and values are related to those belief systems, which have relevance to the group and which importantly provide an explanation for their experiences. Underlying assumptions are related to values and beliefs, which have evolved to gain a lasting status. This refers to those values and beliefs, which have proved to have a level of validity through their repeated success. Once the values and beliefs have been assured of their status, their authority is assured and agreement is made as to its merit. Assumptions made, are done so unconsciously and are internalised, this makes it difficult for discussion regarding their appropriateness.

Culture can also be thought of as a set of cognitions shared by members of a social unit that are acquired through social learning and socialisation processes (Cooke and Rousseau, 1988). Over time, past experiences are used as a basis for determining action and these interactions become shared knowledge. Shared knowledge; is used by organisational members to interpret past experiences and current situations and to guide present and future actions (Bloor and Dawson, 1994). This evolution of events forms the

basis of organisational culture. Organisational members, however, may simultaneously hold membership within a number of cultures (e.g. professional or other affiliations and distinct work and social groups in an organisation).

4.3.2 Occupational Culture

In addition to organisational culture, occupational culture is also considered as an important source for understanding police culture, which is a broader construct, comprising people from similar occupational backgrounds and experiences. In particular, occupational culture (or subculture) develops through social interaction, shared experience, common training and affiliation, mutual support, associated values and norms, and similar personal characteristics of members of a particular occupational group (Hansen 1995). Like organisational culture, occupational culture develops distinct jargon and shapes perceptions of reality by developing classification systems to describe experiences and concepts (Hansen, 1995). More generally, all cultures operate from cognitive models to filter expectations – a kind of meaning-making (Hansen and Kahnweiler, 1997).

Schein (1996) identified three occupational cultures in organisations: (1) the operators' occupational culture that involves line managers and workers, (2) the engineers' occupational culture that involves technocrats e.g., accountants, software programmers, market researchers, and (3) the executives' culture that involves top managers and executives.

Different occupational cultures are expected to both interact and conflict (Malmi, 1997; Von Meier 1999). Organisational culture and occupational culture can also influence each other through the processes of selection and socialisation. For example, lawyers who are comfortable with a particular organisational culture may self-select into that organisation. This process of selection (i.e. recruitment and self-selection) therefore brings about a partial merging of occupational/professional and organisational cultures. Socialisation refers to the process by which the culture values of organisational members are brought into line with

the organisational culture (e.g., through common values and goals, rituals and procedures, training, evaluation and reward systems, etc. (Hofstede et al., 1990). However, occupational/professional culture is still expected to persist in organisations because of occupational/professional affiliations. Occupational culture may have greater influence over work styles and perspectives than an organisation's procedures and policies (part of organisational culture – Dellana and Hauser (1999). It also crosses organisational boundaries and is often imported (Hansen, 1995).

Even though a police organisation consists of police officers, civilians, caretakers, cooks, consultants, lawyers and researchers, and other short-term employees as well as intra-organisational relations, the occupational culture of uniformed police dominates other occupational groups within the organisation. As Sklansky notes (2007), lawyers, scholars, and police reformers in the US have wrongly assumed that police officers share a monolithic occupational mindset: a paranoid, insular, intolerant, and inflexible mindset. By obscuring differences between officers, and new complexities of police identity, the idea of a monolithic, reactionary police culture blurs the idea of the police (Skalansky, 2007). In general terms, the occupational culture of police consists of five structural features of police organisations:

- (1) the inspectorial strategy of policing, involving low-ranking officers
- (2) the common-level entry and apprenticeship training pattern of police,
- (3) over emphasis of secrecy and deception as means of achieving organisational ends,
- (4) the high levels of risk and uncertainty associated with policing and
- (5) the complexity of task-role.

These features differentiate the occupational culture of the police. For Skolnick, (1966) what makes police occupational culture different from other occupational cultures is the uncertainty and unpredictability of tasks, as they work with little direct guidance. The nature

of the work is assumed as risky and exciting in spite of the rigid rank structure and bureaucratic, rule-oriented, hierarchical structure of command and control.⁵

4.3.3 The Police as an Organisation

In his role as Home Secretary of the United Kingdom, the architect of modern policing, Sir Robert Peel, underpinned the establishment of the Metropolitan Police (through the Metropolitan Police Act 1829) through the development of the Peelian Principles, which underpin the Police Services in England. The first principle of which, is that, *'the Police must be stable, efficient, and organised along military lines'* (German et al, 1973). The adoption of a military policing model, was a reflection of Peel's military background and the lack of organisational management models at the turn of the 19th century due to the fact that the Police force was male. The Women's Police Service, founded in 1914 by Nina Boyle and Margaret Damer Dawson, was staffed by volunteers. In August 1915, Edith Smith was appointed the first woman police constable in England with full power of arrest (Jackson, 2006).

The adoption of a military bureaucratic policing model provided organisational stability, administrative control and personal discipline (Germann et al, 1973; Murphy et al, 2007). Germann et al, (1973) argue that the adoption of the military model of policing was appropriate at the time, as there was much suspicion regarding the role of the police and, it provided a level of organisational efficiency and legitimacy, which was deemed to be necessary. The growing advancement of industrialisation and the emergence of bureaucratic forms of management and organisation resulted in a strengthening of the military model (Germann et al, 1973; Murphy et al 2007).

The adoption of bureaucratic styles of management and organisation, which focused on procedures, authority, and rules, provided a level of administrative professionalism to

⁵ There is a rich literature on police autonomy. Among all, Brogden 1982, McCartney and Parent (2015) and Maguire (2003)

policing. This contributed to steadily justifying greater autonomy and less political interference (Germann et al, 1973; Murphy et al, 2007). The features of the evolution of policing with a heavy focus on bureaucracy, limited focus on law enforcement and the growing reliance on science and technology created the conditions for the argument for the reduction in political and community involvement through a reliance on professionalism. It was argued that this shift stemmed from the adoption of bureaucratic styles of management. This resulted in the creation of a typology of characteristics of organisational policing including what can be described as a typology of police organizational characteristics.

Table 4.3 Typology of Police organisational characteristics,

Organisational Feature	Characteristics
Rank-based authority structure	authority resides solely in rank assigned; position power
Highly centralized administration and authority structure	— all important decisions are made at the top;
command and control management philosophy	reliance on rank based authority, use of formal orders, reward rule following, punishment rule violation;
hierarchical decision-making structure that controls and directs police operations from the top	pyramid-shaped organizational structure; top down management;
Formalised	with a heavy reliance on formal, written communication: rules, procedures, policies, etc.
Specialisation	of many police administrative and operational functions;
Emphasis on technology and technique	generally rigid and inflexible organizational structure; resistant to change

Insular and closed	organization resistant to outside political or community influence.
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Source: Murphy et al 2007:9

Modern day police organisations are a product of their history; military and bureaucratic The challenges around managing police work, have resulted in the development of organisations which are formal, specialised and centralised, this provides a necessary vehicle for autonomy, political noninterference and stability. The adoption of militaristic/bureaucratic features of hierarchy and a stratification which lauds power and authority provides a level of consistency and traditional approaches to both the police role and management. This creates the conditions for the police as an organisation to be suspicious of change and protective of its long established autonomy from interference.

The police as an organization, is a complex and dynamic entity thanks to its constant interactions with the society (Milosavljević, 1997). As an organisation, the police is a professional organisation which consists of several bodies and institutions performing policing tasks. At the same time the police consists of individuals performing police functions as a profession. As a public service, the function of the police is the preservation of public law and order. The police as an organisation has the authority given by the law, and it is entitled to use means of coercion to perform the assigned duties (Milosavljević, 1997). The organisational and functional features of police organisation results in a distinguished police culture, which determines the conduct of police officers in performing their duties.

4.4 Police Culture in the UK

The importance of police culture stems from the part it plays in the, ‘everyday functions of police officers’ (Paoline, 2003:200). Paoline, (2003) contends that public perceptions of police culture is that it is negative. In respect of police reform an area of political importance currently within the United Kingdom, police culture is seen to be an inhibitor (Goldsmith

1990; Greene, 2000, Skogan and Hartnett, 1997; Sparrow et al 1990). In the area of citizen rights, a major feature of the Pitchford and Hillsborough Inquiries in the United Kingdom, it can be argued that police culture, has served to legitimise the violation of the rights of the public and the sanctioned misuse of police authority (Brown, 1988; Kappeler et al, 1998; Skolnick and Fyfe, 1993, Hillsborough Independent Panel, 2012).

In the literature, two broad conceptualisations of police culture can be found: the traditional view of police culture as a homogenous entity and police culture as divided into typologies. The traditional view, characterises police culture as a single culture, consisting of particular norms, values, attitudes, and behaviours. This monolithic view of police culture, was developed by Westley (1970). In his research, Westley (1970) explained how police officers placed a strong value on in-group loyalty and secrecy amongst officers. Many other scholars in addition to Westley (1970) also viewed police culture from the traditional perspective discussed loyalty among officers as a dominant value within the force (Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Brown, 1988; Frewin and Tuffin, 1998; Terrill et al 2003). Paoline, 2004; In addition to in-group loyalty, “us” against “them” mentality and backing up one another are noted as other main ‘traditional’ values of police culture (Westley, 1970; Van Maanen, 1975, Brown, 1988; Paoline, 2004).

The traditional police culture views law enforcement and crime fighting as the primary duties of the police officers. Within this context, these duties require aggressive tactics and selective enforcement of the law. Other duties are regarded as inferior or unimportant (Paoline, 2004, Terrill, Paoline and Manning, 2003). The traditional view of police culture contains most of the mainstream ideas about policing. However, the traditional view cannot explain the changes in the institution of policing such as increasing numbers of female and BAME officers, and the implementation of community policing (Frewin and Tuffin, 1998, Paoline, 2003, Paoline, 2004).

There have been many attempts to categorise police culture, (Table 4.4). The studies outlined at Table 4.4, all argue that the variation in police culture is the result of several

factors including professionalisation, education, sex, race, rank, individual styles of officers, demographics, psychological attributes and socialisation. Police cultures may also be affected by variables such as the dominant culture of the society, socialisation, media and public perceptions. In the academic literature, scholars have established several categories/types of policing affected by those variables. In their study on policing in America, Gaines and Keppeler, (2015) reviewed several classifications of policing types in police studies literature.

Table 4.4 - Types of Policing

Author	Types	Where the Study Conducted
White (1972)	Problem Solvers Tough Cops Crime Fighters Rule Appliers.	US
Muir (1977)	Professionals Non-Professionals including Enforcers with passion without perspective, Reciprocators with perspective without passion, Avoiders who lacks both passion and perspective	US
Walsh (1977)	Street Cops who are avoiding trouble, solving problems, interacting with the community; Action Seekers who value the law enforcement role; Middle-Class Mobiles, who view policing as a means to advance their social status	US
Reuss-Ianni (1983)	Street Cops Management Cops	US

Author	Types	Where the Study Conducted
Brown (1988)	Old-Style Crime Fighters Clean Beat Crime Fighters Professionals Service Officers	US

In her study on the Project on Policing Neighbourhoods in Indianapolis, Paolini (2004) identified a classification system which included the following types of policing: Traditionalists, Law Enforcers, Old-Pros, Peace-Keepers, Lay-Lows, Anti-Organizational Street Cops, and Dirty Harry Enforcers. In a theoretical study on police behavior, Worden (1989) observed that officers' behaviours and attitudes correlate when situational pressures are consistent with attitudes. Worden's, (1989) findings suggest that despite the fact that police officers adhere to a belief system, the typology categorization, may not be observed in officers' behaviours. Terrill and Mastrofski (2002), underlined the importance of demographics rather than the typologies and argued that inexperienced and less-educated officers tend to use extensive levels of force.

In her graduate thesis on police culture and ethics in American police forces, Mason (2010) argued that police culture typologies are considered as ideal types. Mason's (2010) findings confirm both Worden (1989) and Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) studies, which assert that there is some variability amongst individual-level data. It is established that individual officers may not conform to the typology to which they are assigned, although ideal type characterisations allow for some variability amongst individual officers.

Kingshott et al, (2004) assert that in the USA police culture, training experiences and working environments promotes over-entitlement. Conti, 2009 and Kingshott et al 20014, assert that as the training of police officers is underpinned by a militaristic format which is based upon humiliation and psychological pressures, their sense of over-entitlement is established at the beginning of their careers. As such, Kingshott et al, (2004) contend that

police officers seek power relations in every social context they are involved in. Which may cause increasing levels of stress, anger, cynicism, mental and physical health issues.

A number of academics have argued that the issue of accountability within the police results in '*cultural resistance*' (Paoline, 2003:200). It is argued that this is symptomatic of a culture, which is marked by a 'blue wall of silence,' which colludes to undermine internal investigations particularly into corruption or areas of discrimination (Silverman, 1999; Walker, 2001; Morris et al, 2004). Westmarland & Rowe, (2016) established that certain types of misdemeanors were more likely to be reported and that there were potential impacts of the newly introduced Police Services in England Code of Ethics. The differences between police ranks and roles, and varying responses from diverse services, suggests that the way in which police culture operates is significant and requires addressing.

Police culture can also have positive features. Being part of a culture, enables police officers and staff to cope more effectively with the strains of the challenges of their roles (Brown, 1988; Chan, 1996, Waddington 1999). Reiner (2010) contends that police culture is not 'monolithic' and is embedded in individuals who enjoy creativity and autonomy. Reiner's (2010) recognition that police culture is not monolithic is useful, as Westmarland (2008) has identified that police culture takes a number of forms, police sub-culture, patrol culture, canteen culture and street culture. It is therefore not surprising that the non-monolithic nature of police culture, has led O'Neil and Singh (2007) to restrict their definition of police culture to,

the way things are done around here' for the officers, not always 'by the book', but not always without it either. Police, both public and private sector, have socially constructed ways of viewing the world, their place in it, and the appropriate action to take their jobs (O'Neil and Singh 2007:2).

Cockroft (2013) contends that there has been a real shift in academia to a focus on 'police cultures'. His argument being that the concept has evolved and diversified. It is to

Waddington (2008) that we can gain a particularly relevant and useful definition of police culture,

Police culture or sub-culture refers to the mix of informal prejudices, values attitudes and working practices commonly found among the lower ranks of the police that influences the exercise of discretion. It also refers to the police's solidarity, which may tolerate corruption and resist reform (Waddington 2008:203).

This definition, is particularly pertinent to this research, as it identifies two issues which could have an impact on the bullying and harassment of BAME women in the police; toleration of corruption and resistance to reform, issues which will be explored in Chapters 7 and 8.

Westmarland (2008) developed a useful way in which to understand the development of research into police culture, by identifying three distinctive phases of work. Cockroft (2013) describes this as 'early/classic period work', middle and late. The key features of the early/classic period work by Cain (1973) Westley (1970) and Skolnick (1966) was the recognition of the issue of discretion and similarities in the work of the police (Cockroft 2013).

It is Westley's (1953) work on 'violence and the police, which is acknowledged as the first foray into research in this area. His subsequent book, *Violence and the Police: A sociological study of law, custom, and morality* (1970) outlined the impact of an individual's occupational role and relationships. He established that as police interaction with the public was invariably hostile. It resulted in the development of a natural coping mechanism of negativity in their interaction with the public. This was in addition to an approach, which identified that coercion was a better tool than consent in policing, which resulted in positive outcomes being pursued at any cost. Holdaway (1989) criticises Westley's work on the grounds that it is simplistic in how it describes police public relations, as it does not include positive public interactions with the police. O'Neill and Singh (2007) also argue that Westley (1953) presents a monolithic view of police occupational culture.

Skolnick's (1966) work is concerned with how police officers perceive their working environment, and how they interact within and out of their working environment. He advocated that a police officers' view of their role; is underpinned by features of their role, which he described as *danger, authority, and efficiency*. Interestingly he argued that differences would be apparent within forces and between officers and departments. Despite this, he maintained that it would still result in what he described as the '*distinctive cognitive and behavioural responses in police*' (Skolnick 1994:41).

The features of a police officers role: danger, authority and efficiency were to Skolnick (1966) a mechanism for police officers to interact within their policing culture, in which the push for efficiency was set against features which provided the police with their distinctive identity; which was authority and danger. Skolnick (1994) contends that danger, real or otherwise is an integral feature of the police officer's life, and as such this required police officers to develop a natural defence mechanism of suspicion, in which they would 'stereotype' different groups as '*symbolic assailants*' (1994:44). It is through their authority role that Skolnick identified that the police separate themselves from the public. Isolationism and suspicion were to Skolnick's essential criteria of the '*working personality*' of a police officer. He argues that these characteristics are a contributory factor in illicit behaviour. Through authority, the police create a gulf between those they police, this results in their not being perceived as being part of the community and as such this causes them to have a strong common interest, which unifies them and alienates them from the public they serve.

O'Neill and Singh, (2007) contend that the uniqueness of Skolnick's work is his identification of the need for the police to appear efficient. This stems from internal and external forces. It is argued that this pressure, results in a deliberate push to make arrests, which can mean that both the law and procedures can be circumvented to achieve the desired result. It is argued here that this, particular feature of police culture has had a particularly negative impact on BAME communities especially in the areas of stop and search where high levels of disproportionality are still present (Rollock 2010; MOJ 2015). Reiner (2000:87-88)

contends that Skolnick's work is the 'locus classicus' for police culture. However, he argues that it does not take into account variations within and between police forces in England and Wales and neither does it acknowledge the interface between social and political structures. Furthermore, Reiner (2000) argues that Skolnick, fails to recognise the influence, which the police have within society. In areas of race and the wider issues of diversity this is extremely important.

Of particular, relevance to this research, is the work of Smith and Gray (1985), in their groundbreaking work, *Police and People in London*. The research is important as in the view of O'Neill and Singh (2007) it brought into the public sphere the manifestations of police culture, which it often criticised. Of particular note within the research are the experiences of BAME police officers and racialism within the police.

Racialism within the force causes considerable embarrassment, distress and difficulty to black and brown officers. A relief that DJS worked with contained both a black and an Asian officer. There was a group of three experienced officers on the relief who engaged in quite extreme racist talk when they were in the threesome or with members of the relief other than the black and Asian officer. When these two officers were present, the racist talk and jokes continued, but were considerably moderated. The white members of the relief thought that the Asian and black officers didn't mind the racist talk too much. One of them even said that 'he (the black officer) thinks of himself as a white person really'. (Smith and Gray 1985:424)

Smith and Gray (1985) argued that whilst they observed racist language used by police officers that the same officers did not act in a racially disproportionate manner when they undertook their role. This viewpoint, is the same as that of Waddington (1999) that 'canteen talk' isn't necessarily implemented in the day to day life of police officers. The arguments pushed by Smith and Gray and Waddington (1999) are at odds with that of Holdaway (1996, 1997; 2009) who contends that the 'racialisation of policing has led to both everyday police work and relationships being 'racially framed'. He argues that this should not be the case.

As it creates the conditions whereby race is either prioritised or ignored and as a result this can mean that police officers can act in a racist manner without realising it, especially if this has been a feature of culture and practice.

Chan, (1997) advocated a new approach to police culture, rooted in the adoption of new conceptual frameworks. Chan (1997) is critical of research she argues is deterministic and inflexible. On the basis that police culture needs to be understood by looking at the wider social context, and the motivations of individual officers (1997). Chan articulated that work on police culture should focus on the role played by individuals within a police force. That it is crucial to recognise that a range of cultures may operate within an organisation and that culture needs to be viewed within the cultural and social context within which police work is located.

Waddington (1999) articulates a supportive view on police culture; he identifies that officers contribute to and are part of two distinctive cultures. Clear distinctions are made between operational and canteen culture. On the basis that much existing research on police culture is based on oral culture (narrative) than physical culture (behaviour) Cockroft (2013) argues is a potential distinction between what officers say in the course of their role and how they later recall their behaviour. Waddington (1999) feels that the 'police canteen' is a forum for officers to impart and make sense of their working lives amongst their peers. Cockroft (2013) reinforces this notion on the grounds that the police is a delicate organisation despite its strong and authoritative public persona. As such officers use oral culture to reinforce their status.

Paoline (2003) indicates that it is crucial to understand the context within which the police undertake their role and he advocates that officers are in need of cultural instructions as to how to approach the challenge of interacting with the public. He comments that this combined with the broad nature of their work, in conjunction with inconsistency around management tools such as supervision and discipline creates the conditions for stress and insecurity for officers. This necessitates that officers resort to a range of cultural responses

which he identifies as suspicious and crime fighter orientation. These cultural responses result in the identification of two distinction outcomes, social isolation and police loyalty (See Chapter 9).

Chan (2007) identified a link between police stress and occupational culture in Australia. She advocated that a combination of management and organisational pressures are more likely causes of stress than traumatic experiences encountered through danger filled police work. Chan's research into police recruits in Australasia has usefully identified that the changing nature of police work with increased accountability and competitive promotion processes may have contributed to entrenching negative features of police culture like cynicism whilst pushing away negative areas such as the 'code of silence'.

Brown (2007) argues that gender has been overshadowed by the prioritisation of race. Brown (2007) argues that the political imperative to tackle racist language has not been matched by a similar approach towards the prioritisation against sexism or homophobia. She argues that whilst there may have been changes to operational policing and management styles the masculine ethos of police officers and police culture has not changed. She argues that the emergence of collaborative styles of policing and a greater focus on community involvement has been as a result of the recognition of the positive impact of styles of working which are more feminine (Brown and Heidensohn, 2000; Rabe-Kemp, 2008), she articulates that this shift in approach has been partly as a result of the introduction of equality legislation and managerialism (Levitas 1998; Newman, 2001). The identification of an apparent reduction in focus on gender issues within policing has led Brown (2007:205) to argue that the entrenched nature of masculinity within policing has resulted in male officers orchestrating a backlash against managerial and operation reforms, through what she identifies as the 'ritual arguments, and self-efficiency'. In her most recent study on police culture, Westmarland (2016) has established the existence of different issues around governance. Her case studies have illustrated, "the governance of policing, especially at a local level, is not easily achieved. The English police have always

had a culture of individual responsibility – as ‘blue coated workers’ to the population they serve, and as local organisations to locally elected elites and not always included an explicit mandate to act ethically” (Westmarland 2016:12). She concludes that at national level, policy-makers have struggled to gain control of policing, while at a local level, police managers have struggled to implement high-level directives (Westmarland 2016).

4.5 Manifestations of police culture

Crank (2004), Reiner (2010) and Cockroft (2013) each articulate that police culture results in the manifestation of specific behaviours by police officers which enable them to cope with their way of life and how they undertake their role. These themes are described as mission, cynicism, suspicion and isolation.

4.5.1 Mission, cynicism, suspicion and isolation

The unique traits of police culture in Britain are identified by Reiner (2010) as a, sense of mission, pragmatism, a thirst for action, cynicism pessimism, suspicion, isolation from the public and solidarity with other police, conservatism, machismo, authoritarianism and racial prejudice. In relation to this research, the issue of stereotyping; how the police classify the public and racial prejudice are particularly pertinent. Reiner (2010) and Cockroft (2013) both articulate that the main feature of police culture is that those who go into policing as a career, view it as a mission, which sets it apart from other professional groups. This is attributed to the uniqueness of the role with its features of danger, authority and efficiency (Skolnick 1994). Reiner (2010) and Cockroft (2013) argue that policing is seen as a ‘mission’ as deemed to be an essential job, which contains the stark function of good triumphing over bad. It is this, Fielding (1998) argues which results in police officers having a sense of moral superiority and secret knowledge.

Reiner (2010) argues that a significant manifestation of police culture is a level of cynicism which is created by a stark reality of the dissonance between the reality of the job and the idealistic and aspirational sense of the role of that ‘mission’. The impact of police cynicism is that it creates a level of negativity on the public, minority groups and management

/policing styles and the wider criminal justice system (Skolnick 1994; Chan 2003; McAlister 2004). Furthermore, it results in an erosion of a mandate adopted by the police through a belief in a role with a clear mission, this has a negative side effect which results in the adoption of values which is underpinned by lip service (Skolnick and Fyfe 1993). And this was a factor previously acknowledged by Lord Scarman in the aftermath of the Brixton riots (1981:4.50).

Concerns about the role of suspicion and stereotyping by the police and the impact on police race relations especially within diverse communities has been a significant feature of literature around race and policing, (Banton, 1964; Manning 1977; Smith and Gray 1983; Skolnick, 1994 Crank, 1998, Reiner, 2010;). The impact of suspicion by the police was acknowledged by Lord Scarman in his report into the Brixton disturbances (Scarman 1981:4.48). Suspicion, as a part of the working personality of the Police (Skolnick 1994), is as a coping/defence mechanism which stems from the inherent danger presented in being a police officer. Suspicion is linked to the concept of 'incongruity' (Mooney and Young 2006) which is related to how people may either act strangely or be perceived to be out of place in a situation which conflicts with a police officers view of order (Skolnick 1994). The manifestation of police culture via suspicion can be seen to be in some respects underpinned by the UK legislative framework, especially in the area of race, in the previous operation of the SUS laws (Scarman 1981) and the recently passed Immigration Act 2016 all contain provision for police officers to detain and arrest individuals they believe to be acting suspiciously.

Police solidarity and isolation are for Skolnick (1994) and Reiner (2010) key features of the police working personality (in a very masculine space). Whitaker (1964) explains that perceptions of decreases of police authority results in an increase in solidarity, specifically at times when the police feel that their role is being threatened/undermined. This can be through a range of events, changes to legislation such as the proposed Policing and Crime Bill (2016), which has identified wide-scale changes to the disciplinary proceedings against

police officers (House of Commons 07499:2016), public hostility such as the outcome of the Hillsborough Inquiry). A key characteristic of the working personality of police officers is social isolation and solidarity. (Skolnick 1994; Reiner 2010; Cockroft 2013). The identification of the challenges police officers face in making and sustaining social relationships with those not involved in policing (Skolnick 1994) is examined in detail in Chapter 8. Social isolation and solidarity are important features of police culture in terms of how they operate in the area of racism, sexism, bullying and harassment. Whittaker (1964) argues that police solidarity increases at times when there are perceived or actual reductions in police authority, as such in certain circumstances these can be either internally or externally driven. The importance of the unity of police officers contributes to towards insulating themselves from criticisms and challenges, and this results in a greater reliance on what Cain (1973:190) describes as a 'need for mutual secrecy and trust' among police officers. This is particularly evident in employment tribunal cases and experiences of bullying and harassment faced by BAME women, this integral aspect of this thesis is explored in detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

4.5.2 Police Culture and Race

This part of the research, will focus on the issue of race discrimination in police culture in relation to working environment. Smith and Gray (1983), Skolnick (1994) and Crank (2004) all identify discrimination against BAME officers as a consistent feature of police culture. Race discrimination in policing impacts in the areas of service delivery (stop and search) (MOJ, 2015) and employment (discipline and complaints) (Smith et al, 2013). The introduction of the first BAME police officers (Norwell Roberts in 1966) was seen as an important feature of improving relations between the police and minority communities (House of Commons 471-I 1972).

The 1971-72 Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration – Police Immigrant Relations (1972) report highlighted evidence they received from contributors one of which

was quite startling; *'a coloured recruit in the Metropolitan Police would have a very tough time from the police themselves'* (471-I 1972:58).

Banton, (1964); Rowe, (2004); and Crank (1998) assert that within the UK and USA the literature on policing accepts the political tensions around the inclusion of BAME people in the police and the racial challenges which this can present within policing.

There can be no doubt that an organisation's culture plays a significant part in how women are integrated into, or excluded from the work force and at what level. Simpson's (2000) research suggests that although there is little inequality at lower levels thus limiting their ability to achieve the next level within such a culture. Simpson (2000) implies that the oppressive nature of such cultures contributes to the minority status of women within such organisations.

Rowe (2012) argues that following the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the MacPherson Inquiry (1999) reform aimed at diversifying the Police Services in England through the inclusion of minority ethnic officers was deemed necessary. However, Rowe, (2012) stresses, that the recruitment of minority ethnic officers has appeared to be the result of pragmatic factors. Whereby the integration of those BAME police officers into the Police Services in England has never been fully realised. Whilst acknowledging the operational advantages of recruiting minority ethnic officers, the Metropolitan Police Authority rarely took measures to eliminate race discrimination within the police and diversity policies did not help mend the relations between the police and minority communities (Rowe, 2012). Outside the police, "accusations that minority officers are 'coconuts' (black on the outside, white on the inside) might, in part, be testament of to the sorry state of police relations with minority communities" (Rowe, 2012:38).

Cockroft (2013) contends that the benefits of employing BAME officers in the Police Services in England has resulted in them being the victims of race discrimination within the organisation. Banton (1964) identified that in the USA Black police officers were stereotyped as lazy. The reality for BAME officers in the UK is that they have received perceived and

actual disproportionate treatment, which has led to a number of official Inquiries, (CRE, 2004; Morris, 2004). Furthermore, internal research by the Metropolitan Police in 2004 by Ghaffur highlights the barriers BAME officers faced in trying to progress within the organization. Ghaffur (2004) later identified this as a combination of discrimination, biased appraisals, informal appraisals etc. The features of which it can be argued utilised elements of police culture such as solidarity, isolation, suspicion (Reiner 2010; Cockroft 2013) to restrict the progress of BAME officers. This is identified in table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5 - Barriers to Police Progression (Ghaffur 2004)

Barriers to Police progression	Examples
Discrimination	Failing to provide the same training or development opportunities to BAME employees
Biased appraisals	Awarding a poor performance marking to a BAME employee who hasn't been provided with the same opportunities as their white counterparts
Informal appraisals	Whilst BAME staff receive favourable appraisals formally, on applying for promotion they are subject to 'whispering campaigns'
Selective exclusion	Opportunities to work in specialist areas are limited for BAME staff, this creates a climate of a 'de-skilled workforce which suffers from a lack of BAME role models
Lack of peer and managerial support	Little interest is shown in the career advancement of BAME officers as opposed to their white counterparts
Selecting in the image of the dominant group	Rather than selection decision making based on rational judgement, decisions are based on the beliefs and values of the dominant group of who they feel will be effective in the job.

Source: Reiner 2010; Cockroft 2013

Cockroft (2013) argues that it is difficult to make clear conclusions from links between police culture and racism on the basis that racism is multi faceted. This has led Graef (1989) and Skolnick (1994) to contend that the multi faceted nature of racism means that it is harder for police officers to explain racism, an account of the fact that they often deny 'allegations' of racial bias by claiming that they are merely telling the truth about race issues (Cockroft 2013:75). Furthermore, police racism is argued as not being the preserve of individual police officers, but of the wider society, where police officers share the values of the social classes they are from (Reiner, 2010).

What is interesting to note is that from the Scarman Inquiry 1981 to the present day there has been a palpable shift in official accounts of racism in the Police, for Lord Scarman he found that the police were not deliberately biased or racially prejudiced,

I totally and unequivocally reject the attack made on the integrity and impartiality of the senior direction of the force. The criticism lies elsewhere –in errors of judgement, in a lack of imagination and flexibility, but not in deliberate bias or prejudice. (Scarman 1981:4.62)

They allege that officers pick on black people, especially young black people, disproportionately when exercising, for example their powers to stop and search, and that they do not behave to them with the respect which is their due. Some suggest that this behaviour is the result of a tendency on the part of the police to stereotype all of the black community, or at least important sections of it, such as the Rastafarians as criminals. (Scarman 1981:4.48)

The significance of the definition and recognition of institutional racism, especially in policing is important, as it changed the previous publicly held view established by Lord Scarman, that racism in policing was not institutional but what has since been described by Bowling (1999); Bowling and Phillips (2002) as the 'bad apple' thesis. In this respect the organisation, its policies and procedures witting and unwitting were now seen as conduits for discrimination. Reiner (2010) advocates that the source of racism in policing stems from society where BAME groups are disproportionately contained in the most disadvantaged

and least powerful positions in society, where interaction with the police is frequent, due to their street lifestyles' which is where the police focus their attentions. As such, a number of writers including Jefferson (1993), Reiner (1993) and Fitzgerald (2009) have argued that external factors of BAME police relations is reinforced by existing racial prejudices which officers may have.

Reiner (2010) identifies that BAME people are viewed as 'police property' this is seen as in terms of being a social group with little societal status, who are viewed by the dominant societal groups as problematic. Reiner (2010) articulates rather controversially that the police contend that a large proportion of the public give them the 'mandate' to deal in a certain way with BAME groups as they do with other problematic groups such as prostitutes, deviant youth and homeless people. Therefore, when members of BAME communities require assistance from the police they are viewed negatively.

However, it is the issue of stereotyping of minority ethnic groups, which is most associated with what is described as 'canteen culture' within the police. In their seminal work Smith and Gray (1983) identified that, 'racial prejudice and racist talk [...] pervasive [...] excepted, accepted and even fashionable'. (Smith and Gray 1983 cited in Bowling and Philips 2002: 158). Smith and Gray's work was validated by that of Holdaway where he observed the use of discriminatory terms of 'nig-nog, spade, monkey and nigger' (Holdaway 1997: 78) to describe those from BAME backgrounds, he articulated that the use of these terms was commonplace. Cain (1973) established that diverse stereotypes were made for different racial groups with Asians viewed as liars and illegal immigrants, whereas Black people were viewed as violent and suspicious (Reiner 2010).

In his examination of race within the Police, Holdaway (2009) focussed on the National Black Police Association (NBPA). He established that in organising themselves as a group, the NBPA were asserting their own cultural identity through which they challenged policies and practices, this was most evident in their submission to the Macpherson Inquiry where they identified the impact of police culture on BAME staff (see later on in this chapter). In

particular, Holdaway and O'Neil (2004) identified that social events organised by the NBPA took into consideration the religious and cultural needs of their members and one major aspect of this was in relation to the fact that the non-consumption of alcohol was accepted. As such NBPA organised events did not mirror mainstream police events and their associated 'rowdiness', which was identified by Waddington (1999), the NBPA created a safe space, free from racist banter and an expectation to drink alcohol. The consumption of alcohol and the associated peer pressure is particularly problematic for Muslim officers who chose to observe the tenant of their Islamic faith which prohibits the consumption of alcohol

4.5.3 Police Culture and Gender

How an organisation interprets gender can have a significant influence upon its culture. Rutherford (2001) suggests that organizations are either gender aware, or gender unaware. Where organisations are gender aware they recognise the unique contributions from both genders and the language and actions of people within such organisations differ to those organisations that are gender unaware.

Rutherford (2001) argues that gender unaware organisations are those which are paternalistic and male dominant and these organisations tend to *"mask gender inequality and (is) exclusionary to women"* (p:376). This links to the style and language adopted by managers and Rutherford continues that in order for women to be successful, organisations need to adopt a culture that *"nurtures women in their careers"* (p:376) a view shared by Cortis and Cassar (2005). She further suggests that language can be divided into three exclusionary categories of military language, sports language and sexual language, none of which are female orientated. As a result social exchanges prior to and during business meetings may well exclude females, particularly if they are in the minority by focusing upon these three areas thus marginalising women.

It is only relatively recently that gender issues in policing have become the subject of academic research in policing studies. The definition of the structure of the police as an organisation with authority to use means of coercion has created a masculine and macho police culture. The issue of the use of force and the centuries old male domination in the profession created obstacles for women who wish to join the police forces (Martin 1996). Particularly uniformed ranks of police services were traditionally open only to men where women's roles, abilities and values are undermined. Stereotypical beliefs about gender characteristics have also influenced the gender inequality within the police force, such as men are rational while women are emotional; men are more capable of performing difficult or risky tasks; the supremacy of men deserves respect, women are incapable of giving orders. Such gender specific stereotypes have paved the way to the patriarchal culture, which cause women refraining from performing certain professions including the police (Barak et al. 2010).

If we briefly look into the history of police forces, the first time recruitment of women for the police service is dated back in late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the US the first woman was recruited into the police service in 1845. Her duty was the supervision of women's penitentiary. Similarly, in Canada the first women joined into the police to supervise detention institutions and to take care of the prevention of juvenile crime in 1900. They were assigned to take care of abandoned children, female youth and prostitutes. In Europe, England was the first country recruiting women police in 1905. Sweden, Norway and Denmark followed England by 1914. Women often were recruited to fight prostitution and crime by juveniles and women. By 1927, twenty countries in the world had women in their police services (Spasic 2011). During the 1950s women were recruited into the police in greater numbers within the UK. Significant progress was made in the US and the UK during the 1970's regarding the recruitment of women into the police thanks to social movements that asked for greater rights and equality for women and for ethnic minorities. The adoption of laws on equality, non-discrimination on the basis of race and gender were forced authorities to make the police forces more inclusive organisations. In the West, the feminist

movement has contributed to raising awareness of discriminatory conduct. Thus, implementing equal opportunity policies has helped women to secure greater power for women in the West.

As the brief history shows that women have managed to enter into the police services, they are still facing numerous challenges regarding their promotion or retention in the police since traditional male police culture encourages the dominance of men. It is argued that the introduction of equal opportunity legislation may trigger a resistance to women police officers among male police officers. Thus, women police officers were excluded by their male counterparts from several tasks and issues relevant to compensations (Spasic 2011).

Police culture has been traditionally seen as a bastion of male attitudes and behaviours (Reiner 1992; Maguire and Norris 1994; Skolnick 1994) whilst it is acknowledged, that there is little academic work on gender in policing (Gittens, 2008; Cockroft 2013). Policing has historically been based on male values (Silvestri, 2003). The impact of this, for Westmarland (2008) is that limitations are placed on the police in providing equitable services to female members of the public and to female employees. A point raised by the then Home Secretary, Theresa May, in her speech to the National Association of Women Police Officers (Gender Agenda) in 2015.

As such masculinity plays a crucial role in the occupational culture of the police and it has a damaging effect on the treatment of female officers and members of the public. Whilst there are currently five female Chief Constables in the UK (Home Office, 2016). There are no male or female BAME Chief Constables. Cockroft (2013) contends that the current situation is as a result of the fact that there was a tradition of separating police roles along gender lines (Smith and Gray 1983; Brogdon et al 1988; Graef 1989, Young 1991). The introduction of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, led to an increase in applications for female police officers. However, it did not result in police forces recognising that they needed to better integrate women into the workforce (Silvestri 2003). Fielding (1994) argues that this situation has arisen as a result of what he terms 'hegemonic masculinity' (1994:47) which denotes the manner in which masculinity is seen as an integral feature of the 'canteen

culture'. Cockroft (2013:63) postulates that Fielding (1994:47) identification of hegemonic masculinity is as a result of:

cultural values of aggressive, physical action, competitiveness and preoccupation with the imagery of conflict exaggerated heterosexual orientation and rigid in group our group distinctions and that these combine to create a masculine cultural milieu that denigrates values and qualities associated with the female gender' (Fielding 1994:47).

Smith and Gray (1983) attest to a phenomena reflective of what they believe is an 'extreme display of heterosexism' by male police officers. This is discussed in detail in chapter 8, as described by a participant in this research. That of 'station –stamping' a process by which female officers are lifted over the shoulder by a male colleague and their bare bottom is exposed and they are stamped with the station stamp. For Smith and Gray (1983) this type of behaviour is symptomatic of the 'treatment of females as objects; the humiliation of females; and symbolic sexual assault'

Cockroft (2013) contends that sexism experienced by female police officers is based upon distorted viewpoints that women are physically incapable of undertaking the role of police officers. Bryant et al 1985 argue that on the occasion where female officers demonstrate their strength to their male peers which contradict entrenched views of acceptable female behaviour. This has led Young (1991) to conclude that the dominance of masculinity within policing culture results in women struggling to be accepted as 'real officers and that any subsequent success on the part of female police officers will be at the expense of family commitments. A major feature of the working life of female police officers is concerned with an 'exaggerated concern over sexuality by male officers'. This view is underpinned by Gaef (1989) whose research identified female police officers being described in a derogatory manner, '*Planks*' that those women who do not engage in sexual relations with male colleagues are labelled as 'lesbos' and that when they do engage in sexual relations with male colleagues they are classed as 'relief bicycles'. (Cockroft 2013:67).

One feature of research on gender in policing is the analysis of harassment, restrictions on promotion and role restrictions, which creates a feeling of marginalisation, increased

pressure around performance and a lack of encouragement as compared to their male counterparts (Crank 1994; Reiner Cockroft 2013). This situation has arisen as a result of a deeply rooted belief that domestic responsibilities of women as mothers, wives and carers gives rise to the belief that they will lack commitment to their career and the organisation (Oakley 2002). The impact of this is that it entrenches and confirmation male stereotype attitudes towards women. This point was reinforced by Holdaway and Parker (1998) who argued that a woman's career path would be broken by marriage and children and as such organisations see little investment in the employment and promotion of women.

This research adopts this approach to argue that organisational police culture replicates and reinforces existing forms of oppression on BAME women in the Police Services in England. However, the ingrained nature of the police culture is unable to be effectively dismantled or challenged by a Police leadership, which it is argued within this research to be inherently weak and 'knee jerk' when it comes to issues of equality. This stems from a history of 'crisis management mentality' (CRE, 2004, Ghaffur 2004; Rollock, 2010) around issues of race and gender. The research argued that the so-called crisis management mentality have become exacerbated in the aftermath of the Macpherson Inquiry into the death of Steven Lawrence (1999). The impact of the inquiry was to develop equality-proofed policies. Thus, BAME women within the organisation are vulnerable to being undermined and subjected to a backlash within diverse parts of the organisational policing structure.

4.6 Gender mainstreaming in the Police Forces

Gender mainstreaming was established as a major global strategy for the promotion of gender equality in the Beijing Platform for Action from the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The Economic and Social Council (1997/2) defines gender mainstreaming as:

...the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design,

implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (UN 2002).

In UN documents gender mainstreaming is differentiated from gender equality as being a strategy for gender equality, which is defined as:

.... the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration – recognising the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a ‘women’s issue’ but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable development (UN 2015).

By making both women’s and men’s concerns as an integral dimension of the policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, gender mainstreaming cause women and men benefit equally (UN 2015). Gender mainstreaming aims to bring the perceptions, experience, knowledge and interests of women on policy-making, planning and decision-making. Mainstreaming argues that to be able to situate gender equality at the centre of policy decisions, programme budgets, and institutional processes, in all areas of the work of the United Nations we require explicit, systematic attention to relevant gender perspectives. Mainstreaming is seen as essential for securing human rights and social justice for women as well as men. It is also recognised that “incorporating gender perspectives in different areas of development ensures the effective achievement of other social and economic goals” (UN 2002). Mainstreaming reveal a need for changes organisations, structures, procedures and cultures to create an environment conducive to the promotion of gender equality (UN 2002).

Gender mainstreaming of police organisations in the world has become a priority issue by the 2000s since women police officers make up about 15 per cent of the total police force all around the world. The growing numbers of women police officers have brought about the concerns about equal opportunities, discrimination and sexual harassment (Brown,

1997; Brown and Heidenshohn 2000; Martin 1996). Despite the changes in police systems and organisations regarding their structure, organisation and human resources, still academic studies on the experience of women in police systems is very rare (Metcalf and Dick 2002). According to Van Der Lippe et al. (2004) there is still a wide gap between men and women in the police force. Aiming to improve the situation of women in the police force in four European countries, Sweden, Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands, Van Der Lippe et al. discuss existing barriers to gender policies. The findings point out the fact that gender mainstreaming policies form an important key to the process of raising women's position in the police force. They recommend that there is a need for a change in organisational structures cultural issues can be addressed as "the most important existing barrier to gender equality proves to be the culture within the organization: in all four countries we studied, the police force is still male-dominated" (Van Der Lippe et al. 2004, 391).

It is documented by several reports⁶ and studies that women police officers are more prone to sexual harassment and threatening situations at work (Brown and Heidenshohn, 2000). In their study on Australian police force, Buchanan et al. (2001) explore the gender differences regarding newly recruited policewomen and policemen experience during their first year at work. They found out that out of the ten most traumatic experiences during the first year, men experience physical attacks, while women experience various forms of sexual harassment. Development of gender mainstreaming practices within police forces appears as the most viable strategy to eliminate inequalities and the cases of harassment that women police officers are facing. Furthermore, we need to keep in mind that the role of public service organisations such as police is vital in transforming the culture, structure and interests of both men and women in a given society.

The number of thematic investigations into issues of tolerance and diversity has increased in the wake of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (McPherson, 1999), which again raised awareness of issues of racism within the police service. These have highlighted the

⁶ One of the most recent reports, Gender Strategy of police 2012-2016, is published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) as part of the Gender Responsive Policing (GRP) Project in Pakistan in 2012.

difficulties encountered by black officers trying to integrate into a predominantly white police service, and on the ways in which this impacts on the interactions of the police with a multi-cultural public. For example in their report 'Winning the Race – Revisited' (HMIC, 1999:9) HMIC note that *“A minority of officers and some civilian staff still exhibit inappropriate racist language and behaviour with and towards colleagues. It stretches credibility to accept that the use of such language or behaviour does not surface in their dealings with the public.”*

HMIC in their report Diversity Matters (2003a: 3.46) concluded that some sections of *“the force/organisation did not seek to embrace or deliver change”* in respect to diversity amongst officers. If the acceptability of recruits or probationers is based on a favourable comparison with the existing prototypical service member then any person who does not conform to the 'white, working-class male' may be seen as unacceptable. Furthermore if acceptability to the current service members is confused with suitability to the police service then these same officers might be subjected to those informal practices designed to discourage 'unsuitable' or 'unreliable' probationers (Fielding, 1988). According to Fielding these activities are considered justified by experienced officers, who seek to maintain the coherence and integrity of the service. This can be explained through a tendency for the police to be a conservative organisation.

In an environment perceived as hostile and unpredictable the police culture offers its members reassurance that the other officers will pull their weight in police work that they will defend, back up and assist their colleagues when confronted with external threats and that they will maintain secrecy in the face of external investigations. In return for loyalty and solidarity members of the police culture enjoy considerable individual autonomy to get on with the job (Goldsmith, 1990: 93).

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the discussion revolves around the culture of an organisation serves to reduce employee uncertainties by providing acceptable and accepted ways of expressing

these ideologies (Trice & Beyer, 1993). The influence of organisational culture is seen as operating from the top down, i.e. from management to workers. It is argued that organisational culture does not necessarily reflect the formal stance of an organisation as represented by official documentation and policy: organisational culture is formulated through the actual behaviour of staff. This contrasts with occupational culture where the source of such influence is seen as emanating from the front-line workers themselves (Paoline, 2003). Both provide an explanation as to why individuals who deviate from cultural expectations can be seen as troublesome and may therefore become marginalised. The notion of solidarity with its associated code of silence would also help to explain the reluctance of victims and witnesses of bullying to report such incidents to senior officers. Individuals who report bullying are not only likely to be ostracised but their action is taken as justification for further bullying (Ireland, 2000). Next chapter will focus on research methodologies adopted to fit the purpose of this research and discussions about the different methods that have been adopted in criminology and policing studies.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Research Context and Research Design

This research will examine the bullying and harassment faced by BAME women within the Police Services in England with a particular focus on 'race', gender and police culture. To explore the development of the legislative and policy framework of bullying and harassment within the context of English policing, a chronological approach has been adopted. It is believed that the adoption of chronological approach has facilitated an understanding, of historical issues around race and gender within the Police Services in England. The thesis focuses on contextualising this with an understanding and exploration of police culture/canteen culture as a sub culture specifically as it relates to race and gender. To answer the questions of how and why it operates and its perceived and actual impact on BAME women in the police, the thesis explores the genesis of the policy and legislative framework with regards to bullying and harassment in the UK. The research places a specific focus on the impact of the legislative framework on the Police Services in England and the main influences and events which have shaped policy development in this area.

The research aims to identify the impact of the historic failure to acknowledge the importance of intersectionality in matters of diversity and the resultant 'struggle' between race and gender within English policing. The study will be show whether the situation has contributed to the perceived and actual 'invisibility' of BAME women in policing. Making them susceptible to perceived 'unique tactics' of bullying and harassment, which are enhanced by the police 'organisation' and enforced by police 'culture, contributed to their progression as compared to their white counterparts. Thus, the thesis argues that the failure to 'grasp' the issue of bullying and harassment of BAME women within English Policing is due in part, to a lack of effective leadership; which is driven by a 'crisis management' culture round issues of race and gender (CRE, 2004, Ghaffur 2004; Rollock, 2010). Furthermore, the research argues that this situation is compounded by a paucity of research in this area, which contributes to intensifying the perceived and actual 'invisibility' of BAME women

within English policing. This research analysis will aim to argue whether the discourse represents black women as 'subordinate and sexualised'. The thesis analyses the effects of police culture on bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England with a particular emphasis on the discourse as to why BAME women suffer bullying and harassment.

Discourse analysis provides a mechanism to understand the nature of the discourse and the extent to which it has affected the progression of BAME women in English Policing. Within the context of the above, the research has adopted a qualitative case study approach which has been deemed as suitable for the nature of the research.

Research design, is defined as the strategy that a researcher chooses to integrate the different components of their study into a coherent and logical manner. In other words, a research design is the blueprint for all steps of a research process. As Yin (2014:29) asserts, research design deals with a logical problem and not a logistical problem". It is problematic to confuse research design with either quantitative or qualitative methods. According to Yin (2014), the researcher may design his/her case study either as qualitative or quantitative case study. Yin (2014) argued that the quantitative/qualitative distinction is irrelevant for case studies:

a point of confusion [. . .] has been the unfortunate linking between the case study method and certain types of data collection for example those focusing on qualitative methods, ethnography, or participant observation. People have thought that the case study method required them to embrace these data collection methods . . . On the contrary, the method does not imply any particular form of data collection which can be qualitative or quantitative (2014: 32).

Yin (2014) suggested that a case study design should be considered when:

- the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions;
- the researcher cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study;
- the researcher plans to cover contextual conditions because they are relevant to the phenomenon;
- the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context.

There are 7 different types of case studies namely explanatory, exploratory, descriptive, multiple case studies, intrinsic, instrumental and collective. Among all explanatory case studies are used to answer a question that sought to explain the causal links in real-life interventions (Yin, 2014). Exploratory case studies are employed to explore situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes (Yin, 2014), while descriptive case studies describes an intervention or phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurs (Yin, 2014). This research fits within Yin's (2014) criteria for the choice of case study and was the most appropriate research design strategy. This study is organized as a descriptive case study to describe 'race' and gender in a real life context which affects BAME women's struggles to gain acceptance and progression within the Police Services in England in which each participant presents their own experience.

This research adopts May's (2001) guidance, via the use of a qualitative, inductive⁷ research methodology. May, (2001) suggests, that a qualitative inductive approach facilitates the collation and analysis of information, which have been examined to support the creation of an inclusive theory. I contend that the struggle between 'race' and gender has had a negative effect on BAME women in the Police Services in England.

This research has demonstrated that whilst women have struggled to gain acceptance and progression within the police, they have made significant achievements. Latest statistics show that, 18% are at Chief Inspector rank or above, whilst 3.8 percent of BAME officers are at Chief Inspector rank or above (Home Office, 2016). However, this is not a story, which is shared by BAME women from police service. They have languished behind as have their BAME male counterparts (HASC 2016:HC27). They have suffered from a historic failure to acknowledge the importance of intersectionality in matters of diversity and the resultant impact on the struggle between race and gender.

⁷ Induction has a long history in the philosophy of science. It is based on the belief, as with empiricism, that we can proceed from a collection of facts concerning social life and then make links between these to arrive at our theories. (May 2001:32).

This research argues that this is not a matter just for the police as an organisation, it is a wider societal issue in England. This situation has contributed to BAME women in the Police Services in England being treated as 'both invisible' and as a sexualised adornment. Within the Police Services in England stereotypes have been used to describe and treat different racial groups; passive Asian and Chinese women; the 'aggressive African Caribbean women' (Carby, 1997). This situation has permeated to such an extent that it contributes to making BAME women vulnerable as victims of bullying and harassment. This in turn is an obstacle to their progression within the organisation as compared to their white female counterparts.

Understanding epistemological⁸ issues prompts researchers to examine how they explain meaning from events or occurrences. In the context of this research, the unique experiences of BAME women in the police as compared to their white counterparts cannot be understood without acknowledgement of the experiences of Black women. Their subjection to the simultaneous oppression of patriarchy, class and 'race' is the prime reason to render their position and experience not only marginal but also invisible (Carby 1997:46). These factors are considered as issues when undertaking research in terms of validity and reliability. In view of the fact that this research seeks to understand the experiences of BAME women in the English Police, the explanation for the phenomena is rooted in levels of disproportionality in terms of outcomes in the areas of discipline, complaints and grievances in the area of race and gender discrimination. While they are not as popular as quantitative approaches, qualitative research is another means for conducting meaningful research in criminology and policing studies. Ethnography, whilst a frequently employed research method in the cases of illicit drug use, has limited use in criminology since it lacks generalisation to a wider population. As opposed to the general tendency in the discipline. This research contends that qualitative research methods provide a depth understanding of crime, criminals and justice system operations. By offering an in-depth analysis it offers

⁸ Epistemology is concerned with what counts as knowledge (Mason 1996).

much more than what is offered by statistical analysis. Tewksbury (2009) acknowledges that the knowledge produced by qualitative research is richer and offers an enhanced understanding compared with quantitative research. According to Berg, (2007) qualitative research is superior regarding its contributions to the body of knowledge.

Qualitative research helps researcher to dig deep into the meanings, traits and defining characteristics of phenomena, people, interactions, settings/cultures and experience. In this view, numerical descriptions of things and their relationships is not the focus of the research. "Quality refers to the what, how, when, and where of a thing – its essence and ambience. Qualitative research thus refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things." (Berg, 2007:3). The focus of qualitative research is on using specific definitions and meanings of particular concepts and variables. Thus, qualitative research methods put emphasis on interpretation and in-depth of understanding of concepts (Tewksbury 2009).

Qualitative methods emphasise in depth understanding of the meaning of social phenomena, it offers significant insight about how crime occurs and how the agents, structures and processes of responding to crime operate in social contexts. Qualitative, research methods place their emphasis on the social aspect of criminology and policing studies (Tewksbury, 2009). The new trend in the discipline is the combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches. Among all, Eric Hirsch (1990), used a combination of methods, including participant observation, intensive interviewing, and a standardised survey, to study the 1985 student movement at Columbia University. Hirsch argued that the combination of methodologies provided a more comprehensive understanding. Similarly, Laub et al (1998) utilised both methodologies to re-analyse one of the classic data sets in criminology, the Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (UJD) study of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (1940). In addition to original data Laub et al (1998) included interviews with key informants such as social workers, settlement house workers, clergymen, schoolteachers, and officials. Clausen (1993) argues that both case histories and statistical data are required

to understand the influences on the lives of people who have lived through a particular time of American history (Clausen, 1993: 43). As the most recent trends and discussions show the future of criminological research lies in mixed methods. Jenkins (2014) stresses that the under-utilisation of qualitative methods in criminology and criminal justice research, particularly in the field of police scholarship, receives considerable attention in the academic literature. Jenkins (2014) established that the results of content and chi-square analyses of 88 empirical studies of USA Police published in top policing and criminology journals that publish articles with qualitative methods are at a vastly disproportionate rate. Kleck et al, (2006) established that “survey research was by far the dominant mode of acquiring criminological information, that cross-sectional non-experimental designs still predominated, and that multivariate statistical methods were the norm” (Kleck, 2006:147). Given the scarcity of qualitative studies in the field of policing studies, by establishing a qualitative case study design this research aims to contribute in the enrichment of the qualitative research in the discipline.

The research methods adopted in this research are as follows; the analysis of secondary sources, such as legislation, parliamentary debates and bullying and harassment policies; a review of key literature on police and organisational culture, bullying and harassment; case studies of Alison Halford and Carol Howard semi-structured face-to-face and telephone interviews and the analysis of published datasets. Finally, Freedom of Information (FOI) (see Appendix 1) requests were sent to all of Police Services in England areas with a request for information on bullying, harassment and discrimination claims and grievances by race and gender. This mixed method approach allows data triangulation that helps achieving a much better understanding of the phenomenon more accurately by approaching it from different angles. The data collection techniques and process will be presented in the next section.

5.2 Data Collection Methods

It is important to focus on the importance of the need to sensitively collect data in research areas, which may have issues of validity and reliability. In this regard, survey research has to be designed to reveal accurate and truthful reporting personal experience and attitudes. Another challenge lies in convincing the respondents to provide accurate information. Even though, guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality are standard routines of research on illicit experiences. In many cases, ethical guarantees are not enough to eliminate the fears of some respondents in reporting drug use (Harrison 1997). According to Harrison (1997), in spite of its limitations, surveys are a good measure of the nature and extent of drug use in a population by providing information on the characteristics of drug users in a society.

This research is underpinned by a qualitative methods approach supported by some quantitative analysis. This was felt to be an effective way in which to gather supporting evidence to address the research questions. As such, I adopted the following data collection methods whilst undertaking this research: (a) In-depth interviews; (b) secondary sources; (c) published literature; and (d) illustrative cases. In addition, quantitative analysis into relevant data available from public domain and through freedom of information (FOI) requests have also been carried out. The variety of data collection methods have supported triangulation, which have resulted in a stronger research design and more valid and reliable research findings. As stated by Miller, (2007) “the epistemological underpinnings of qualitative research, appropriate qualitative data analysis strategies, and the particular strengths of qualitative research” illuminate crime and justice as social processes (Miller, 2007:70). As qualitative research is viewed as descriptive, qualitative data is considered as supplemental to quantitative analysis. Quantitative analysis of qualitative data is problematic for several reasons: (1) it is unable to further social inquiry, because the data is not rigorously analyzed; (2) it reinforces a sense of the limited utility of qualitative inquiry for the development and elaboration of social theory; (3) analysis or lack of analysis goes unnoticed to a wider criminological audience (Miller 2007, 71). Qualitative studies are

criticised as not reaching appropriate standards of quantitative rigour. However, there is no active dialogue among qualitative researchers in criminology to discuss methodological rigour. Qualitative research, provides valuable insights and advances to knowledge in the field of criminology and policing studies. Qualitative research methods produce knowledge which complements the knowledge derived from quantitative research. Although the preceding discussion has pointed out a clear-cut division between qualitative and quantitative methods in criminology. Quantitative research methods dominate the discipline. These two research paradigms, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Tewksbury et al (2005), established that qualitative research is numerically rare as a research method in criminology and policing studies. Tewksbury et al (2005) established that up to 2005, qualitative research articles in the discipline were less than 11% of published articles in top tier and less than 15% of published articles in non-top-tier criminology journals. Even though, qualitative research is less common than quantitative research in criminology, the importance of qualitative research is acknowledged. According to Buckler (2008), editors of criminology and policing studies journals expressed their positive views about publishing more qualitative research.

5.2.1 Data Collection

(a) Interviews

This research has undertaken in-depth interviews as one of the primary means of data collation. Research interviews are described by Kvale as a “conversation that has a structure and a purpose. It goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation, and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge” (Kvale, 1996:6).

Adopting interviews as a research method was underpinned by the ontological premise of this research, which is that people’s experiences and views facilitate an understanding of the research question (Mason 1996:3). The epistemological premise of this research is that listening to and talking with people, is an effective mechanism to gather data (Mason

1996:39; Back 2007). An additional factor in conducting in-depth interviews is the nature of subjects of the research: BAME women in the Police Services in England. From a feminist perspective, interviews are considered as an appropriate method within which to create a level of openness as it supports a social reform purpose (Sarantakos 1998:246). Furthermore, as a BAME female researcher, adopting interviews in this particular area of research was particularly important as sometimes a woman can only be understood by being interviewed by another woman (Reinharz 1992:23).

The use of interviews as one of the research methods facilitates an understanding of the ways in which bullying and harassment manifest themselves for BAME women in the Police Services in England. It is believed that such information can be obtained through the collation of a diverse range and scope of information and the opinions and knowledge of both individuals who work within the police as police officers and staff but also those individuals with an advanced knowledge through their roles as 'experts in the field' (Mason 1996:41) This necessary richness of information can be best achieved through interviews as opposed to surveys.

At this current juncture in time, race and gender in England are still highly political and emotive issues both within British society and the English Police. (MOJ 2015; EHRC 2015; HASC 2016). Therefore in undertaking this research it was imperative for the study to try and explore how these two political issues are played out in an organisation such as the Police. The interviews, were therefore a very necessary conduit for enabling me to see the realities and manifestations of the politics of race and gender at work within Police culture which is defined by Waddington (2008) as,

the mix of informal prejudices, values attitudes and working practices commonly found among the lower ranks of the police that influence the exercise of discretion. It also refers to the police's solidarity, which may tolerate corruption and resist reform (Waddington 2008:203).

The diverse range of interviews with the research participants have enabled this study to gain a grounded understanding of the complexities of bullying and harassment of BAME women within the context of race, gender and police culture which I would not have been

able to gather through a literature review. For example, the experiences of those who work within the Police Services in England in the area of staff support networks has provided me with an unbridled insight into the complexities of race, gender in the police service over a 25 year period. This has revealed the significant organisational structural and political changes and their subsequent impact on BAME women within the Police Services in England. This has been underpinned by a rare insight into a nuanced shift between the previously 'overt' and current 'covert' racism and sexism within the Police Services in England (Ghaffur 2004; Morris 2004; Smith et al 2013). This invaluable insight has helped to crystallise a number of themes within the research, which would not have been apparent without it. By speaking with and listening to individuals who either work within the police or who are 'experts in the field'⁹ has supported the research in the quest to understand the nature of the underlying discourse as to why BAME women suffer from bullying and harassment within English Policing.

As part of this research, two sets of interview questions were developed. These were aimed at the different interviewees: (1) thirteen BAME women working in the UK police service as officers or staff who identified themselves as victims of workplace bullying and (2) five 'experts in the field' who have a unique understanding and knowledge of bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England through their diverse roles (Among all, President of the National Black Police Association, Police Federation representative, Discrimination Lawyer specialising in racism and sexism police discrimination/bullying cases, Human resources professional within a UK police force, clinical psychologist specialising in bullying and harassment cases of BAME police officers and staff).

The interview questions were developed with a number of considerations in mind. For the BAME women who work in the Police Services in England, the interview questions were aimed at gaining an understanding as to their particular experiences of bullying and harassment in the police. In terms of the tactics used, several questions were asked to help

them to open up about the extent to which their race and or gender impacted on their experience; the impact of the bullying on them and the organisational responses to reported episodes of bullying and harassment. For the 'experts in the field', the interview questions were aimed at understanding organisational processes and practices, which are specific to the experiences of victims of bullying and harassment within Police Services in England. Inquired organisational processes and practices may not be apparent to the victims. Six questions were developed to cover the organisational process and practice issues which impact on victims of bullying and harassment. For both sets of interviewees, a brief overview of the research and my role in it was developed to support the interviewee's participation. This was coupled with an assurance of confidentiality and anonymity in the research process.

(b) Access to the Interviewees

One of the most challenging aspects of this research has been access to the prospective research participants. In hindsight, there was admittedly an initial level of naivety on my part as to the ease in which I would be able to interview research participants. This was soon dashed when I started to embark upon the fieldwork stage of the research. Despite being given contact details of the main BAME staff support network for the Police Services in England, it was extremely difficult to secure their support in the research at the initial stage. This was as a result of suspicion around the research and the perceived potential negative impact on participants (Reiner and Newburn, 1999). The issue was only resolved when my supervisor discussed the research with one of his colleagues who has knowledge and contacts in this area at national level. This was a crucial factor to secure the involvement of research participants. However, there were a number of hurdles, which I went through.

First, I had a number of discussions with my supervisor and his colleague who kindly became a gatekeeper for the research. We discussed the research and the outcomes I sought from the interviews. On the basis of these meetings the 'doctoral colleague' who I

will call the 'gatekeeper' helped me to present my research to one of the BAME staff support networks in London. Then, they decided to support me. As Saunders states, the gatekeeper played an important role in this process. According to Saunders gatekeeper is,

the person who controls research access. For example, the top manager or senior executive in an organisation, or the person within a group or community who makes the final decision as to whether to allow the researcher access to undertake the research. Friends, contacts and colleagues and others may be willing to vouch for a researcher and the value of the research and act as research sponsors (2006: 125).

The gatekeeper's intervention was successful in connecting me with NBPA, and opened the necessary doors to secure research participants. Following my successful presentation of my research proposal to the executive committee of the National Black Police Association (NBPA), access to participants had been negotiated with active support from NBPA. For which they provided support by way of disseminating information about the research. This was in turn agreed with the President of the organisation. However, on construction of the email and a request for participants for interviews, it became apparent very quickly that I was not getting any responses to my requests for interviews. This was extremely disheartening, and as such I had to enlist the support of the 'gatekeeper' who then made a number of telephone calls and sent a number of emails to the President of the Staff Association. This resulted in a new request for participants to be drafted and a very quick flurry of interest from BAME police officers and staff for participation in the research. This highlighted the important role played by gatekeepers in qualitative research in areas such as policing (Reiner and Newburn 1999; Saunders 2006).

However, it quickly became apparent that those who expressed a desire to participate were from one police force and from one particular ethnic group. So in order to ensure that a more diverse group of individuals participated the gate-keeper identified other individuals who were able to support the research process through cascading the interview request to diverse areas and groups. This was also successful and I secured an additional group of

interviewees through snowballing, where existing participants recruited more participants to take part in the interview.

Similarly, the 'experts in the field' were approached as a result of their diverse areas of knowledge such as Discrimination Law; Human Resources, BAME staff support network; Police Federation; Psychologist. These individuals were identified and approached as a result of meetings organised by the 'gatekeeper' and their contacts within the NBPA.

The earlier feminist assumption that women are capable of empathising across class or 'race' barriers has been challenged (Stacey, 1988; Ribbens, 1989; Cotterill, 1992). Feminist researchers have criticised the centrality of the issue of rapport in feminist interview techniques (see Reinharz, 1993; Bloom, 1997; Puwar, 1997). In this context, Lyons and Chipperfield's question that 'is it necessary to "connect" with the interview subject (where "connect" may refer to a continuum of experiences including "friendly stranger" to close intimate) in order to achieve a successful research outcome?' (Lyons and Chipperfield, 2000:2) appears relevant to explain the hardships which I faced during the interview process.

(c) The Interviewees:

In total, thirteen serving police officers and civilian staff were interviewed as part of this research. Of this total, nine were police officers, one was a Police Community Support Officers (PCSO), two were police staff and one was a former police officer. They were from five English Police Force Areas, including the Metropolitan Police, Bedfordshire, Greater Manchester, Merseyside and Hertfordshire. In terms of ethnicity one defined themselves as Chinese, one defined themselves as Sikh, 7 defined themselves as Black British and 4 defined themselves as Asian British. The age range of the participants varied from 25 to 57 with 9 participants in their late 30s and early 40s. The length of service for the participants varied from 2 years up to 22 years with at least 6 participants with over 10 years of service experience. The importance of presenting the demographic breakdown of the participants in form of a table or a chart is acknowledged, whilst the researcher had to prioritise

protecting the anonymity of the participants with utmost care. Even though providing with a brief introduction to introduce each participants is a popular practice in conducting qualitative interviews, the researcher made deliberate attempts not to disclose any such information due to sensitive nature of the research.

Five of the participants were interviewed via face-to-face interviews whilst the remainder were interviewed by telephone. Whilst organising the face-to-face interviews proved to be very challenging (as the participants needed to be interviewed in a safe and secure place away from their usual work stations), it opened up a great opportunity to meet the participants in person and build up a good rapport and connection. Telephone interviewing had many advantages, it was cheaper and quicker to undertake as travelling was not required; the interviewees were not influenced by the researcher's gender or ethnic, religious background and therefore this removed a potential layer of bias. (Bryman, 2001; 2012).

The interviewees were able to provide a very clear understanding of the reality of race and gender within the English policing and the operation of police culture. Within which the diverse experiences, of police officers and staff was made very stark during the interview process. This provided me with a rich understanding of the complexities of the experiences of BAME women in the police and operational processes, which are perceived to impede their progression.

In terms of the 'experts in the field' five individuals were interviewed. Out of these five, one was an expert in discrimination law who had advocated in a number of high profile race and sex discrimination cases involving BAME female police officers; one was an existing police staff member who specialised in Human Relations and had a high working knowledge of the operation of bullying and harassment policies within the Police Services in England. One was a Police Federation representative with a working knowledge of bullying and harassment policies of the Police Services in England who had been involved in supporting victims of bullying and harassment; one was the President of the National

Black Police Association who has a national and strategic remit on race and policing and is familiar with issues of race and gender within the Police Services in England; one is a psychologist who has supported victims of bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England who specialises in the area of race and gender. Two of the individuals were interviewed via face-to-face, whilst the rest were interviewed by telephone. These interviewees provided a rich understanding of the nuances and workings of policies and practices within the Police, which are complex and require an expert understanding.

The research participants answered the interview questions in different ways, but they all acknowledged the impact of race and gender on their experiences. For the police officers and staff who had experienced bullying and harassment, many expressed the cathartic nature of the interview at the end of the process. They expressed that they felt it was beneficial to be involved as it would help others. The interview questions were designed to ensure that the interviewees were able to qualify the statements they made with examples of their experiences.

For the experts in the field, the nature of the research amid the backdrop of a high profile case of a BAME female police officer and the resultant Inquiry by the Equality and Human Rights Commission. This provided participants with a focus to identify nuances about the treatment of BAME women in the police. This would not have been apparent through the reading of literature or a review of existing police Human Relations policies. Their familiarity with the workings of the policies and practices provided an invaluable insight into the treatment of BAME women in the police.

In conducting the interviews, I utilised a voice-tracer machine for both the telephone and face-to-face interviews. Whilst the interview process was straightforward, the transcription was exhausting due to the length of a number of the interviews. The longest of the interviews was over two and half hours. The shortest one was forty minutes. My aim was to ensure that as soon as I have completed the interviews that I would undergo the transcription process almost immediately. However, my wishful plan was thwarted, as some

of the interviews were quite distressing. This led to me delaying by one week the transcription process, as I needed time to reflect and effectively compose myself before listening to the interviews again. As the interviews were of various lengths, I approached the transcription process by undertaking the shortest interview first. A forty minute, interview took over seven hours to transcribe. This was quite daunting, as I recognised that I would have to develop a more effective technique, which would enable me to speed up the transcription process, whilst not undermining the quality of the transcription.

This was achieved by being more systematic whilst undertaking the transcription process and setting / sticking to achievable targets for each transcription. This approach worked, it was extremely stressful and the eighteen interviews took over two hundred hours to transcribe. It then took another four hours to check that each transcription was accurate. Whilst this was exhausting, it was beneficial to help me to notice emerging themes from the various interviews. To ensure confidentiality, I secured each of the transcribed interviews separately onto the password protected hard drive of my computer and transferred the audio interviews to my computer hard drive.

When I had finished all the transcription, I printed off each of the interviews and analysed each of the questions and responses with a view to identify emerging themes and issues and also to establish where best to place the information within the research. Each of the participants was sent a copy of their completed transcript for them to check and verify.

(d) Face-to-Face interviews

Seven of the interviewees requested face-to-face interviews. Due to the nature of the research and the fact that the majority of police officers and staff interviewees were still serving in the English Police, it was important for me identify and select a neutral place *within which to conduct the interviews. Given that the majority of those who had agreed to take place lived and worked in London I was offered to undertake the interviews in the office*

of the staff network. However, I did not feel that this was appropriate as it was felt to potentially compromise their anonymity and I did not want to put them at risk of harassment or victimisation due to their participation in the research. Therefore I set about trying to identify the most suitable place to undertake the interviews. I realised that the University had a London campus, however, my attempt to conduct the interviews were thwarted as they were undergoing an inspection. Requests to other universities for rooms suitable for interviews were prohibitive in cost, making them unfeasible. I then made a speculative request to the Westminster Reference Library who kindly provided a room at minimal cost. This was really helpful as it was a central London location with many transport links.

In my preparation for the interviews, I tried to ensure that the interviewees were both relaxed in the room and relaxed about the interview process. In hindsight the first interviews were quite difficult as I was fairly nervous, but I soon became more confident. I realised that by sitting back and relaxing more, I could more out of the interviewee and it would be more of a conversation, which flowed and was natural. However, it was very difficult to focus on the interviews when two of those interviewed talked openly about their attempted suicides as a result of the bullying and harassment they experienced. Not surprisingly, they were distressed, but I recognised that I could show my sympathy. I, therefore, asked them if they wanted me to stop the interview. To their credit, each only took a few minutes to compose themselves and then resumed the interview. All of those interviewees stressed that they felt that the interview process was cathartic as it enabled other people to listen to their experiences.

(e) Telephone interviews

Eleven of the interviewees requested interviews via telephone. Whilst this seemed like an easier option compared to the face-to-face interview, it was more challenging, due to the fact that I had to ensure that the recording equipment would clearly pick up the discussion and was not muffled in any way (Bryman 2001; 20012). I ensured this by doing a number of test recordings with the equipment. This was useful and gave me a lot of confidence in

the use of the equipment. One of the disadvantages of telephone interviews is that you can not see the reactions of the individuals to the questions posed or their responses (Bryman, 2001:2012). This only served to make me more diligent in trying to listen to changes in their voice or deliberate pauses, which I grew to recognise was linked to upset in recalling their experiences. For instance Interviewee A, was at first quite reluctant to speak, however, when it came to asking her a question about the strategies which were used to bully her, she became very focused and analytical in her responses.

(f) Insider/ outsider research

As a university funded PhD student researcher, I only had very limited access to any other grants. The university funding was just enough to cover my living expenses during the period of research. I had to face real difficulties trying to liaise and organise number of meetings with the national staff association in London via the gatekeeper for negotiating access to my potential participants. During the negotiation process, my past background as an ex police analyst became useful in establishing my credential as a researcher. I was able to convince the executive committee of the staff association that as an insider, I had gained in depth knowledge and understanding of how police culture, norms and practices operate within the organisation which was vital for the research. My position as a researcher can be best described as an “*outside insiders*” as adopted by Jennifer Brown (1996: 180) where she draws upon various types of police research. In her view, a number of famous studies have been conducted very successfully by this group of researchers who tend to consist of serving or recently retired members of staff, making observations on their colleagues. Having had some academic training, by studying for degrees, and in some cases entering academic careers, they could combine two vital skills. Their insider knowledge together with their ability to observe, analyse and recount the activities, beliefs and in some cases misdemeanours of their co-workers led to a much enhanced understanding of the police officers’ world.

My ethnic background (Asian British) together with my past experience as a police employee helped me significantly to build a rapport of trust and confidence with my participants. In order to avoid any potential bias, I decided to take the formal route to gain access to my participants via the independent staff association who agreed to support my research and helped me sending initial contact (emails) to all BAME employees within Police Services in England. I was not provided with any financial grants whatsoever and this has helped me maintaining autonomy in conducting my own research without any further involvements from the association.

5.2.2 Analysis of secondary/published data

In undertaking this research I have used a varied selection of secondary source materials already available in public domain. These have ranged from National Statistics, Data tables published by Ministry of Criminal Justice, newspaper articles to Cabinet Papers. The Cabinet Papers were accessed through the National Archives. The benefits of which are highlighted by Lowe. (1997), to be “not only the complete range of influences to which government was subjected at any given time but also what did not change” (Lowe, 1997:240-1). Burnham et al, (2008) highlight that the use of official documents is that they provide wide information on which public policy is made. Views of ministers and government officials can be accessed through cabinet papers, this enables researchers to contribute more effectively to wider issues of social sciences such as the type of organisation under examination. However, the search of official documents, was challenging since much of the information is not digitised. Therefore, going to the National Archives in Kew can be financially prohibitive and very time consuming. Through the National Archives, I was able to access official documents about policing and the introduction of BAME people and women within English Policing. High profile speeches and media interviews from key figures from the now defunct Equal Opportunities Commission and the Commission for Racial Equality on race, gender and policing were utilised during the course of this research. This facilitated a grounded understanding of the

changes of bringing about legislative changes in the area of gender, race and bullying and harassment within British Public Policy.

5.2.3 Literature Review

Criminology and criminal justice studies are dominated by quantitative research methods. Quantitative research methods are concerned with measuring criminological or criminal justice reality. Long before criminology and policing studies become academic disciplines, quantitative methods in the crime research has dominated the social sciences literature. The first well-known quantitative study of criminology is dated back 19th century when Emile Durkheim conducted his ground breaking study on suicides. Durkheim's study is recognised as the first use of quantitative research in criminology. While Durkheim did not focus on crime per se, his study was influential in shaping criminological theories such as social control theory, social disorganisation theory, and anomie theories (Baumer 2010). Since Durkheim's study, quantitative methods have become popular means of collection and they are extensively used in criminology. Survey research, experimental and quasi-experimental research, cross-sectional research, time-series designs and meta analysis are among the mostly employed quantitative data collection methods in criminology and criminal justice studies.

Survey research is the most frequently used mode of observation in criminology. It involves the collection of information from a sample of individuals through their responses to questions (Schutt 2012). In many research areas in criminology and policing such as the research on illicit drug use, medical methods are used widely to complete routinely compiled indicators such as police and court data on arrests and seizures. However, the compilation of data including clinical data on treatment admissions and medical emergencies cannot offer information about the incidence and prevalence of illicit drug use. In her paper Lana Harrison (1997) discusses the use of surveys as an alternative to anecdotal information or measures obtained from clinical, police, or court records. Specialised surveys were

designed “to assess the prevalence and frequency of illicit drug use in representative samples of the population. They were also designed to examine the correlates of illicit drug use and inform prevention and intervention efforts” (Harrison 1997, 18). Survey method provides a greater range of information for use in designing intervention strategies too. Furthermore, survey research is considered as the best way of obtaining a thorough profile of drug use and abuse within a broader population.

Not as popular as survey research, experimental and quasi-experimental research design also appears as one of the most employed methods in criminology and policing studies. Experimental and quasi experimental research has three features: (1) two comparison groups (i.e., an experimental group and a control group); (2) variation in the independent variable before assessment of change in the dependent variable; and (3) random assignment to the two (or more) comparison groups (Schutt 2012). The classic experimental design involves a pre-test and post-test for both intervention and the experimental group. On the other hand, quasi-experimental research are designed as either nonequivalent control group designs involving experimental and comparison groups or before-and-after designs involving both a pre-test and post-test but no comparison group (Schutt 2012). Experimental design in criminology and criminal justice is regularly employed to assess cause and effect in certain phenomena (among all see Sherman et al. 1992, Braga et al. 1999, Pierce and Bowers 1981).

As mentioned previously, this research has adopted a chronological approach to facilitate an understanding of the genesis of the policy and legislative framework with regard to key developments in the area of bullying and harassment within British Public policy and within the Police Services in England. This has been necessary to assess the extent to which police culture is a facilitator of bullying and harassment and to understand the extent to which there is an underlying discourse as to why BAME women suffer bullying and harassment within English Policing. Therefore it was crucial to manage and organise the information collated in a systematic way. The most effective mechanism to do this, was

through adopting the method highlighted by Burnham et al (2008:187) who quote Lichtman and French (1978) who use the organisational classification system of primary, secondary and tertiary sources.

- Primary Sources of evidence are information, which is generated at the time of an event. In the context of this research, this was documents which were accessed either through the National Archives in terms of Cabinet Papers, government policies and employment tribunal judgements, official policy policies on bullying and harassment, official statistics.
- Secondary Sources, refers to information produced after an event. In the context of this research, this was related to newspaper articles, Select Committee Inquiry Reports, parliamentary debates reported in Hansard.
- Tertiary Sources is information produced some time after an event in order to analyse and understand it. In the context of this research, this was related to journal articles and academic books.

The wide-ranging nature of the literature review required me to adopt a very focused approach to appraising the diverse range of information I gathered to facilitate me in addressing the research questions. This required me to adopt a range of disciplines to understand the vast and diverse range of information from gender and gender studies, to understand the treatment of women in the Police Services in England, and Race and British Black Feminism to understand the experiences and natures of oppression faced by BAME women working in the English Policing. Understanding criminology and criminal justice made it much easier for me to gain an appreciation of police culture and the nuances, which impacted on gender and race within English Policing. The literature, which covers the area of police culture, has been one of the main grounding features of this research and as such, writers such as Reiner (2000) and Waddington (2008) have proved invaluable in facilitating a greater understanding as to this important area of study. On the other hand, literature which covers the area of bullying and harassment particularly that of Lewis (2011) on discrimination and bullying and Salin and Hoel (2011) on the organisational causes of

workplace bullying were crucial for my immersion into a very complex area of study. During the course of this research, I have collated and digested over 43 different bullying and harassment policies of the various English Police Forces whilst also collating and analysing guidance from the Home Office and College of Policing in this area.

5.2.4 Illustrative Cases

One of the aims of this research has been to establish the extent to which police culture is a facilitator of bullying and harassment and whether there is an underlying discourse as to why BAME women suffer bullying and harassment within English policing. In attempting to address these issues, I have found it necessary to collate evidence, which permeates, social, criminological and legal fields. It has been necessary to illustrate the phenomenon of bullying and harassment of BAME women in Police Services in England by identifying and utilising case examples of employment tribunal cases, which have involved BAME police officers. This has been necessary, as it has enabled me to understand fully the way in which bullying and harassment occurs and the organisational responses to it, in particular the workings of police culture. Given that the first BAME officer was employed in 1968 and non BAME women were also undergoing their own struggles in trying to access opportunities within the Police, (Halford; 1993; Holdaway 1997; 2009; Dick and Cassell 2004) it was important for me to be able to look at the diverse ways in which police culture would seek to prevent the progression of women per se. As such two case examples have been adopted in this research, the first is of the former Chief Constable of Merseyside Alison Halford (1992), and the second is the case of Carol Howard (2014). Both cases were analysed to illustrate the nature of police culture and how it works to limit and block the progression of women.

5.2.5 Freedom Of Information (FOI) requests

Due to the unavailability of certain information within the public domain, such as, number of bullying and harassment grievances and complaints lodged by BAME staff, number of

workdays lost dealing with these sort of complaints, legal and settlement costs for the organization to deal with bullying, harassment and discrimination cases, etc (see Appendix 1). It was deemed to be appropriate to submit FOI requests to all of the English forces for such information to determine the impact of bullying, harassment and discrimination on the organization as a whole.

Even for the purpose of building a qualitative case study, quantitative data analysis is important. For example, Moore et al.'s case study of the transformation of police departments in the US employs qualitative survey method to examine community policing style by exploring differences in styles of community policing. In this study Moore et al, (1999) employ survey and data analysis to develop their case studies. The authors emphasise the benefits of this technique for the advancement of their study. As stated by Moore et al (1999)

“The best way to measure the impact of the COPS program on the field of policing is through data collection of police departments conducted by the Urban Institute. These analytical methods offer reliable evidence on the extent to which a representative sample of American police departments have changed their strategy and operations over the last several years, and the role that the COPS grants played in effecting these changes” (Moore et al, 1999, 1).

Surveys indicate the magnitude of the change after the initiation of the COPS program, thus provide insights to design case studies. The cases, in return, offered “ground truth” for the survey results.

5.2.6 Triangulation, validity and reliability

In undertaking this research, I have adopted a diverse range of data collection techniques.

This has contributed to enabling me to:

- Overcome the deficiencies of single-method studies;
- Achieve a higher degree of validity and reliability
- Use the strength of each method to overcome the deficiencies of the other;

- Obtain a variety of information on the same issue. (Sarantakos 1998:169)

From a feminist perspective, triangulation has supported, 'thoroughness, the desire to be open-ended and to take risks [...] increase the likelihood of obtaining scientific credibility and research utility' (Reinharz 1992:197).

Coffey and (1996:14) argue that it is imperative for those undertaking research to not oversimplify the triangulation process with their guarded warning,

We can use different analytical strategies in order to explore different facets of our data, explore different kinds of order in them and construct different versions of the social world. That kind of variety does not imply that one can simply take the results from different analyses and stick them together like children's building blocks in order to create a single edifice.

This warning required me to ensure to identify connections and links between the different types of data gathered. Most importantly, I was able to justify why I took the course of action which I did with the collated data. The diverse research methods used within this research have enabled me to gain a robust understanding of bullying and harassment within Police Services in England and its effect on BAME women in the areas of gender, race and police culture. In their different ways each method has given me a different type of insight into the issues. For example, data on the levels of racial disproportionality in the police (Smith et al, 2012) is put into real life context when I interviewed an individual who believed that the disciplinary action she faced, was part of a 'process designed to promote her superiors'. This is then underpinned by research from Ghaffur (2004) and Morris (2004), which identified the techniques, which Police managers used to discipline BAME staff. The utilisation of employment tribunal judgements illustrates the reality of police culture for women and the techniques used to suppress challenge and the articulation of rights.

5.3 Data Analysis

5.3.1 Content Analysis

Content Analysis is defined by Noakes and Wincup as an, 'approach commonly used in the analysis of documentary materials' (2004:127). Bryman et al (2008) highlight that content

analysis, is undertaken through the researcher assessing the importance of the content of information collated. Bryman et al (2008) argue that content analysis through its coding and sampling techniques is both transparent and easily replicated as a research methodology.

The main source of collating data for this research has been official policies on bullying and harassment developed by the Police Services in England, Home Office and College of Policing. This has enabled me to understand the organisational processes and procedures around the handling of bullying and harassment. In addition, official data on levels of racial and gender disproportionality in Police Services in England have been collated and assessed. This is conjunction with official Inquiry reports, which seek to understand issues of race and gender within Police Services in England.

To be able to conduct content analysis, first I identified some categories, and then counted how often each one occurred up in each interview. I used categories (1) derived from my research questions via clear chain of reasoning and (2) derived from the data. In adopting content analysis, I recognized that I had to be extremely disciplined to be able to identify the frequency within which certain issues, events were raised. For instance, whilst undertaking a review of the genesis of bullying and harassment in UK public policy and legislative framework. I had to scrutinise the number of times certain issues were raised and look to see whether there was a pattern developing on a focus on race, and subsequent acknowledgement of intersectionality. This process was challenging, as it required me to 'flip back and forwards historically'. This was tiring and at times rather cumbersome. This is reflective of some of the negative features of content analysis identified by Burnham et al (2008). However, it was a very powerful tool in which to record nuanced shifts in public policy focus.

5.3.2 Discourse Analysis

Aware of the fact that the boundary between content analysis and discourse analysis is sometimes blurred. I employed both content and discourse analysis in my research.

Discourse analysis is distinguished from the static content analysis with its involvement in actions which “may be various things, including plots, narratives and conversations” (Rugg and Pete, (2007:159). It is believed that discourse analysis is useful for numbering elements where there are suspected regularities, whilst, in content analysis, there is the chance, that the researcher, finds what they expect to find. Potter contends that discourse analysis, ‘emphasises the way in which versions of the world, society, events and inner psychological worlds are produced in discourse’ (Potter,1997:146). Through adopting discourse analysis, researchers are able to identify hidden meanings in documents. This is crucial as it facilitates the researcher in trying to understand the motives behind the construction documents. Pertinently for Burnham et al (Burnham et al, 2008:248) discourse analysis, ‘involves showing how language and communications influence social actions and policies’. Burnham et al, (2008:250) go on to argue that discourse analysis,

Focuses attention on the role that language, texts, conversations, the media and even academic research have in the process of creating institutions and shaping behaviour.

Moreover, thanks to discourse analysis researchers study “recordings of conversations, looking at things like who interrupts whom and how often; how long each person talks for; whose suggestions are eventually accepted, etc. This can tell you interesting things about power dynamics and so forth” (Rugg and Pete, 2007:159). The subject matter of this researcher facilitated the use of discourse analysis as it enabled to look very carefully at why certain documents had been produced internally within the organisation and how they were subsequently used by the organisation. In some instances, the tactics used to bully and harass BAME women, as in the case study of Carol Howard illustrate the lengths, which organisations such as the Police would go too, to discredit BAME women.

5.4 Ethical foundations of the research

The term "ethics" refers to the set of principles governing conduct in academic research. The ethical issues arise here are common issues in other disciplines of research but some are peculiarly specific to criminology. As stated by Wolfgang (1981) classical issues such

as protection of human subjects, invasion of privacy, confidentiality of records and interviews, accessibility to data, and immunity of researchers from prosecution have been addressed codes of ethics are drawn up by the leading professional organisations namely American Sociological Association and the American Psychological Association.

Ethics is defined by May (2001, 59) as 'concerned with the attempt to formulate codes and principles of moral behaviour'. In the context of potential ethical issues, which can arise as a result of research decisions, Barnes (1979, 16) identifies that they, 'arise when we try to decide between one course of action and another not in terms of expediency or efficiency but by reference to standards of what is morally right or wrong'.

Given the sensitive political nature of the research. It was crucial ensure that the research, was underpinned by rigorous ethical foundations. I ensured that the research complied with the guidelines of Northumbria University Research Ethical Framework of the School of Arts, Design and Social Sciences and the British Sociological Society (2002).

Diener and Crandall (1978) cited in Bryman (2012:135) provide a useful overview of the key ethical issues, which researchers must consider prior to embarking on research. These are;

- Whether there is harm to participants
- Whether there is a lack of informed consent
- Whether there is an invasion of privacy
- Whether deception is involved.

Ethical issues have been a key feature of this research in terms of the interview participants. The research proposal was subject to a mandatory robust scrutiny by the Northumbria University Ethical Approval Committee. It was important for me to be able to gain access to individuals who were able and willing to inform me, of their experiences or knowledge of bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England. One of the major challenges of the research was access to participants. This was dealt with by working with a 'gatekeeper'

who was known to the National Staff network leadership, it was they who ensured my access to participants.

However, I had to draft a comprehensive email outlining my research; why it was important whilst stressing the voluntary nature of participation and guarantees of confidentiality. A letter of introduction, was sent out in conjunction with a covering note from the President of the National Black Police Association via email to all BAME female officers and staff requesting participation in the research. Participants who believed themselves to be victims of bullying, harassment or discrimination were requested to contact the researcher directly and in confidence. The Staff association's involvement ended after the initial call for participation. They were not in any ways involved in the process of selecting participants. The only other alternative to gain access to participants would be to approach each and every individual constabulary (42 in total) for their lists of BAME staff but that could have been a very time consuming and overly complicated process. Individuals who wanted to participate but were not sure as to whether their experiences 'were suitable'. A 'screening' preliminary conversation was undertaken, this successfully weeded out individuals who did not experience bullying or harassment. I took great care to ensure that individuals were not pressurised to participate in the research, on two occasions I sent out the interview questions to prospective participants to help them decide as to whether they would like to participate. One individual found this beneficial as it enabled her to consult with her husband as to whether she should participate.

As the interviews were recorded, consent was gained from each individual as to whether they minded the conversation being recorded, fortunately there were no objections. One of the challenging issues within the research was trying to conceal the identity of the participants. As there are not large numbers of BAME women in English Police, so it was important for me not to identify the area of the woman or their rank. As there was the faint possibility for them to be identified, through their experiences. Ethical concerns were recognised in the gathering of data for the research in the form of primary, secondary and tertiary sources. All source material utilised within the research complies with academic

protocols on referencing according to prevailing standards and ethical guideline of Northumbria University.¹⁰

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research methods that have been used in this research; a mixed method technique in terms of data collection and data analysis has been applied to get the best outcomes and facilitate data triangulation in order to make sure that no potential avenues were left unturned or unexplored. The following chapters (6, 7 and 8) will present the both statistical and qualitative findings and untold stories of BAME women within Police Services in England, their experiences of workplace bullying and harassment on a daily basis. The perspectives of the experts in the fields of workplace bullying have been included to make sure that the research is not fully focused on victims but also professionals who are actively dealing with the problems on a regular basis.

¹⁰ For Northumbria University's ethical guideline see <https://www.northumbria.ac.uk/media/2681306/ethics-in-research-policy-statement.pdf>

Chapter 6: Police Service England and Wales: an analysis of gender and ethnicity 2007 – 2017

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of data on race and gender within the England and Wales Police Workforce published by the Home Office and recorded in the annual Police workforce, England and Wales statistical bulletin. I also draw on the statistical data of 31 March 2017 included for the first time, newly published datasets on police officer and staff promotions (Home Office 2017:4) for the period 2007- 2017.

6.2 Analysis of gender and ethnicity- 2007 – 2017

The statistical bulletin and its supporting tables have been examined and analysed to support this research in order to establish a clear understanding of the numbers of BAME female officers and staff in UK policing and their white counterparts, their ranks and the levels of promotion, discipline with a view to understanding the extent of bullying and harassment of BAME women within the Police Service of England and Wales. In order to have better understanding of the following data analysis, it is important to note that according to the User Guide to Police Workforce Statistics (2017), police forces keep records of all staff employed by the force on their HR and payroll systems. Employees will not be paid if they are not on these systems.

So it is in the interests of the force and the individuals to ensure that these systems are kept up to date. Information on demographic information, such as gender and ethnicity, is inputted into HR systems when an individual is recruited. These characteristics can usually then be amended by HR/the individual at a later date if required. Some forces have self service systems to allow employees to amend their own details.

Ethnicity and gender data are often used by police forces as part of their own diversity monitoring schemes. Several forces publish diversity reports, and the data feed in to these. There is therefore a need for forces to be assured that these data are reliable. The User

Guide to Police Workforce Statistics also refers that published figures may not always be completely accurate if HR systems are not updated quickly to reflect the payroll system. The two systems are usually cross checked periodically in forces, but changes in staff numbers can sometimes take a little time to feed into the statistics.

This and an analysis of the most recent reports into issues of bullying harassment, disproportionality will be analysed within this chapter. They are as follows:

- Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services 2017/18
- Peel: Police legitimacy 2017 report
- Home Affairs Select Committee Inquiry into Police Diversity 2016/17
- Mayors Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) 2016 report into disproportionality in Misconduct cases in the Metropolitan Police Service 2016,
- National Black Police Associations review of staff dynamics 2017
- National Black Police Association submission to the United States Office for the High Commissioner for Human Rights on racism in UK policing.

6.3 Employment of BAME police officers in the UK Police Service

Until the 1966 there were no Black and Asian police officers in the UK. The West Midlands Police force was the first police force in England and Wales to recruit BAME police officers in 1966 (House of Commons:1972; Scarman 1981; In joining, Coventry City Police¹¹, Mohammed Yusuf Daar became Britain's first BAME police officer. Also in 1966 Ralph Ramadhar became the first BAME police officer in Birmingham (West Midlands Police 2016). In 2016, the West Midlands Black and Asian Police Association (BAPA) established in 1996 celebrated 50 years since the first BAME officer was recruited at a formal event attended by the Lord Mayor (NBPA 2016). The first female officer in England and Wales

¹¹ Coventry City Police was established in 1835, using powers under the Police Act 1964, the Home Secretary merged the city force with that of the county, the Warwickshire Police and Coventry Constabulary. This took place in 1969. From 1st April 1974, Coventry Police was transferred to the newly established West Midlands Police.

was Sislin Fay Allen, she joined the Metropolitan Police in 1968 (Thomas, 2015). At the time there were no black female officers so the mum-of-two sat down and wrote an application. Within a few weeks Sislin had made it to the interview stage, shocking her husband and family when she was accepted and continued to serve the Metropolitan Police until 1972 (Thomas, 2015).

The small numbers of BAME people in the UK police service was compounded by the fact that until 1991 and the introduction of Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991 (1991c.53 Section95) (pre Macpherson inquiry) there was no statutory requirement for Criminal Justice Agencies to gather and publish ethnicity monitoring data in relation to the following; Stop and searches, Cautions, reprimands and final warnings, Police complaints, Police manpower (and personnel), Deaths in police custody and Homicides. Furthermore, whilst the statutory requirement for ethnicity monitoring was introduced in 1991, it wasn't until nearly a decade later (1999) that recruitment objectives for BAME police officers came into force which means that the proportion of BAME officers was hidden as not counted. This was as a result of the Inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence by Sir William Macpherson and in particular, recommendations 64-66 around the recruitment and retention of BAME police officers and staff. The recommendations were¹²:

64. That the Home Secretary and police authorities policing plans should include targets for recruitment, progression and retention of minority ethnic staff. Police Authorities to report progress to the Home Secretary Annually. Such reports to be published.

65. That the Home Office and the Police Services should facilitate the development of initiatives to increase the number of newly qualified minority ethnic recruits.

¹² Home Office (March 1999) Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, Home Secretary's Action Plan. HMSO. p 32

66. That HMIC include in any regular inspection or in a thematic inspection a report on the progress made by police Services in recruitment, progression and retention of minority ethnic staff.

In 1999, the year of the publication of the Macpherson Inquiry, 2% of police officers were from a BAME background (Rollock 2010, Home Office 2017). Two years earlier, in its 1997 Inspection report, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, in its Winning the Race – Part I report highlighted the negative impact of discrimination of BAME police officers and staff and highlighted the following;

- Black and Asian police officers were almost three times more likely to be sacked than white colleagues
- It took a Black Constable about 18 months longer to be promoted to sergeant than a white constable and 12 months longer for Asian officers
- Resignation rates were twice as high among ethnic minority officers as white officers
- 60% of Black and Asian officers claimed to have experienced racism at the hands of their colleagues.

The Inspectorate made the following findings of the impact of discrimination and harassment of BAME police officers and staff and a series of recommendations for improvement.

Counting the cost of discrimination and harassment

To the organisation:

- Damage to reputation/public confidence
- Increased sick leave
- Increased wastage
- Compensation payments
- Lost efficiency

- Opportunity cost of premature wastage/non performance through demotivation
- Lost recruitment opportunities
- Reduced diversity

To the individual

- Embarrassment and humiliation
- anger and resentment
- Demotivation
- Stress
- Sick leave
- premature resignation¹³

The Inspectorate findings of 1997 correlate to the findings undertaken as part of this research (chapter 8 nature and manifestation of bullying, disease and health impacts) the psychological and physical impact of bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Service. However, the growing awareness in the 1990s, events outside police service, including demise of Stephen Lawrence forced inward gaze and recognition of racism.

In its subsequent, 1999 follow up report, the HMIC established that whilst it saw evidence of positive action programmes aimed at improving the representation of BAME police officers and staff. It was concerned that in over a quarter of the police forces it inspected, there was no monitoring of BAME police officer and staff retention.

The most recent police workforce statistics for England and Wales produced by the Home Office, reveals that as of 31 March 2017 there are 198,684 workers employed by the 43 police forces of England and Wales. This is a decrease of 1% from the previous year and

¹³ HMIC (1997) Winning the Race policing plural communities Part I pp30.

the lowest number of police workforce since 31 March 2003 (198,375 workers) Home Office (2017:5).

In relation to diversity, the official statistics reveal that as of 31 March 2017, 6% of all Police officers were BAME, the highest figure since monitoring was established in 1999. Furthermore, the statistics reveal that in the same period 11% of recruits to the police were BAME compared with 5% of leavers. The proportion of the UK identifying as BAME is 14%. This shows that there is an increase in BAME people joining the police than leaving, just over half. The situation for female police officers for the same period is as follows, 29% of police officers are women, 33% of all new recruits to the police are women, whilst women make up 25% of all those who leave the police service (Home Office 2017:6).

In its submission to the Home Affairs Select Committee (HASC) Inquiry into Police Diversity (HC27, 2017)¹⁴, the then President of the National Black Police Association, Sgt Janet Hills highlighted that in relation to diversity in policing there were a number of key issues, which were impacting negatively on BAME police officers and staff. She highlighted that the key issues were:

Racial disproportionality of BME police officers in the area of discipline and complaints; the failure of police forces to deal effectively with race discrimination cases; a lack of progression of BME officers and in particular BME female officers, and bullying and harassment of BME police officers (HASC 2016/17).

Furthermore, Sgt. Hills said,

‘the findings of research into bullying and harassment of BME police officers and female police staff. We draw attention to the racism and sexism faced by female BAME police officers and staff such as Ricky Haruna (Metropolitan Police), who are ‘invisible’ within the police organisation’. (NBPA:2016:4).

In its Inquiry report the HASC made the following conclusions.

“ Progress since the 1999 Macpherson report on the Metropolitan Police

¹⁴ House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee (21 May 2016) Police Diversity, First Report of Session 2016-17 HC27.

and the Stephen Lawrence case was disappointing; and that it was shameful that not a single Chief Constable was Black or Asian. Three years have passed since the publication of that report, and progress has not been sufficient, but all of those conclusions are even more valid today and the need to address this problem has even greater urgency. Whilst there has been a steady increase in the overall proportion of officers and staff who are of a BME background, progress is painfully slow; there is wide variation between forces; and increased numbers of BME police officers remain overwhelmingly in the most junior ranks. Even allowing for appropriate career progression, the number of BME officers above the rank of Inspector is very disappointing. We find this unacceptable". (HC27:17)

Against the backdrop of an apparent lack of ethnicity diversity in the UK police service, a cursory review of the proportions of BAME staff in other parts of the public sector is particularly illuminating. The percentage of BAME staff working in the NHS is 31.9 percent (NHS Report 2015), while according to the latest Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) data 18.2 per cent of academics and 7.3 per cent of professors are identified as BAME within higher education (ECU 2015). This finding is important as despite significant efforts on the part of the UK Police Service to recruit more BAME police officers the numbers are still disappointing as compared to other public sector areas, it is though illuminating that the reasons for BAME police officer recruitment, as articulated by interviewees in chapter 6 was due to a need to serve and protect their communities.

6.4 Key facts about Police Diversity – England and Wales

- In 1999, 2% of police officers in England and Wales were from a Black or Minority Ethnic (BAME) background, compared to 6.5% of the population and 9.5% of the UK workforce.
- Whilst there has been an increase of the proportion of BAME police officers from 4.1% in 2008 to 6.3% in 2017, BAME police officers are disproportionately concentrated at the lower ranks.
- 4% of officers of rank of Chief Inspector or above are from a BAME background. BAME Police officers in the Police are from the following ethnic backgrounds; 41.0% Asian or Asian British, 28.9% Mixed, 18.9% Black or Black British and 11.2% Chinese or Other

ethnic group.

- BAME police officers are under-represented in specialist areas of policing such as firearms, dog handlers, CID and Special Branch (NBPA, 2016).

In its submissions to the Home Affairs Select Committee 2016/17 and its most recent submission to the United Nations Office for the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the National Black Police Association has articulated what it feels is the 'dying breed' of BAME female police officers (NBPA 2016; 2018). This is on the basis of recent data which when interrogated through the use of the supplementary tables D1 and D2 (Home Office: Police Workforce Stats 2018) reveal the following.

It is critical to note that whilst there has been a general welcoming of the increase in the BAME police officer population to 6.3%. The official statistics **do not** look at issues of intersectionality in relation to BAME women in policing in a transparent manner. Rather the official statistics 'hide' the reality for BAME women within supplementary tables, which are difficult to access and interpret. However, it is this, which presents the reality for BAME women in policing. Sadly, the data through the supplementary tables reveals that they are a poor relation to their 'white sisters'.

6.5 Police officers: Ethnicity

The latest Home Office statistical bulletin highlights that there are 7,572 Black and Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) police officers in the 43 forces in England and Wales. This is reflective of a 5% increase from the previous year. Whilst there has been an increase, it is important to note that the proportion of BAME police officers is lower than the BAME population which currently stands at 14%.

In its most recent submission to the Office for the Commissioner for Human Rights the NBPA (NBPA, 2018) The NBPAs interrogation of the supplementary tables reveals the following,

“of the 7,572 male and female BAME police officers, 1,863 are female. Of this figure 1039 are Black or Black British male police officers and 393 are Black or Black British female police officers¹⁵. Furthermore, a third of all police forces have no Black British female police officers.

- The following 14 police forces have no Black or Black British female police officers: Cambridgeshire, Cleveland, Cumbria, Durham, Dyfed-Powys, Gloucestershire, Gwent, Lancashire, North Wales, North Yorkshire, Northumbria, Suffolk, Warwickshire and Wiltshire.
- The following 7 police forces have **no** Asian Female police officers: Dorset, Essex, Gwent, North Yorkshire, South Wales, Suffolk and Wiltshire.
- The following 20 police forces have Chinese or Other female police officers¹⁶: Avon & Somerset (1), Cambridgeshire (1), Devon & Cornwall (3), Greater Manchester (12), Hampshire (3), Kent (3), Lancashire (2), City of London (2), Merseyside (6), Metropolitan Police (154), Norfolk (1), South Yorkshire (1), Surrey (5), Sussex (3), Thames Valley (1), West Mercia (1), West Midlands (3), West Yorkshire (7), Gwent (1), South Wales (3)”. Apparently, all these forces are urban and city forces with relatively higher proportion of BAME population. Whilst the NBPA have taken the opportunity to identify those police force areas which have no BAME groups (Asian female, black or black British, Chinese or other female”. It could be argued that these areas are areas with small BAME populations. However, it is stressed here that this approach might also have been used by the NBPA in response to the very same point that the then Home Secretary, Theresa May made in her speech at the NBPA conference in October 2015, when she made a point of identifying 4 police force areas (Cheshire, Durham, North Yorkshire and Dyfed Powys) with no Black police officers (Home Office 2015)

¹⁵ Source: Home Office (31 March 2017), National Statistics, Police Workforce, England and Wales: 31 March 2017 supplementary tables D1 and D2.

¹⁶ Other denotes those ethnicities which are not contained within the Office for National Statistics 16+1 ethnicity categories

In relation to women in policing the issue is concerning when we look at the intersectionality of race and gender particularly in relation to rank. Most recent data (as at March 2017¹⁷) reveal, that BAME female police officers are concentrated at the lower ranks, unlike their white counterparts who whilst concentrated in the higher ranks are well distributed in all ranks compared to their BAME counterparts. There are as of March 2017, 35, 8444 female police officers in the 43 police forces. Of this figure, 26.8% are at the rank of Chief Officer and 22% are at the rank of Chief Superintendent, 23.3% at the rank of Superintendent whilst 31% are at the rank of constable.

- Chief Officer 2
- Chief Superintendent 2
- Superintendent 8
- Chief Inspector 13
- Inspector 35
- Sergeant 165
- Constable 1,639
- Total BAME Female police officers in 43 Police forces 1,863.

6.5(a) Proportion of police officers who are BAME, as at 31 March 2008 to 31 March 2017, England and Wales:

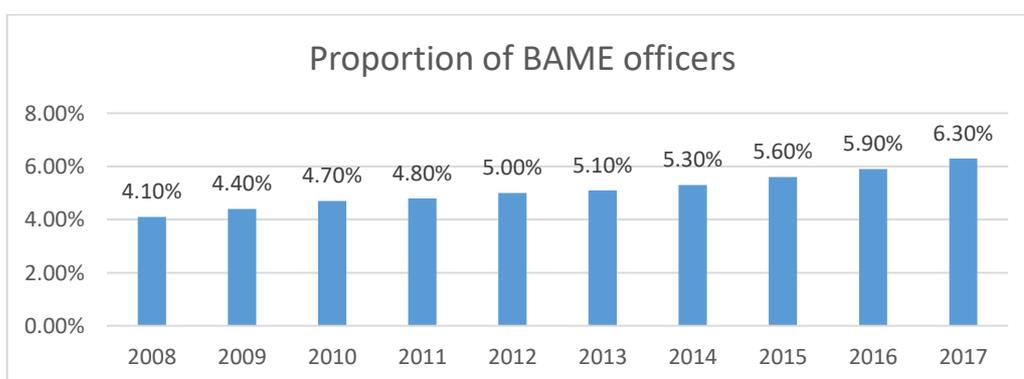


Chart 6.5(a): Proportion of BAME officers¹⁸

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸Source: Home Office, Ethnicity Open Data Table, 31 march 2017, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-workforce-open-data-tables>, Notes: data excludes those who did not state their ethnicity.

Of the 43 forces in England and Wales, the Metropolitan police had the highest proportion of BAME police officers, with 13% of officers identifying themselves as BAME. London is also the region with the largest proportion of BAME people in England and Wales, with 40% of the population identifying themselves as BAME (Home Office, 2017). The second highest proportion of BAME officers, was in the West Midlands, where 9% of officers who stated their ethnicity identified themselves as BAME (compared to 30% of the population), followed by Bedfordshire (9% of police officers compared to 23% of the population). Dyfed-Powys had the smallest proportion of BME officers (0.9%), reflecting a relatively small BME population in the police force area (2%)¹⁹

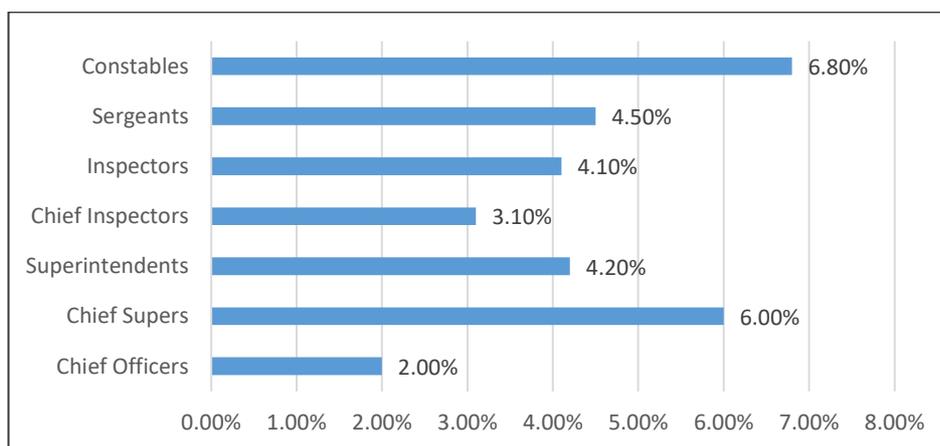


Chart 6.5 (b) Proportion of police officers who are BAME, by rank, as at 31 March 2017, England and Wales, Source Home Office (2017: 27)

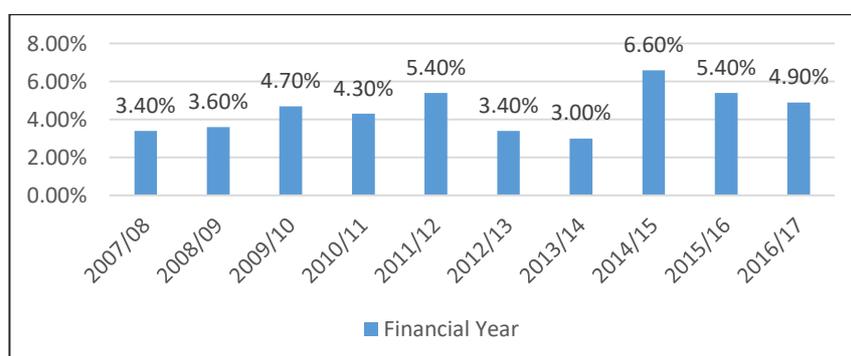


Chart 6.5 (c) Proportion of promotions where the officer promoted is BAME, 2007/08 to 2016/17 England and Wales, Source: Home Office (2017:28)

¹⁹ Source: Population data from the 2011 Census, based on whole population. Data available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census/2011censusdata>

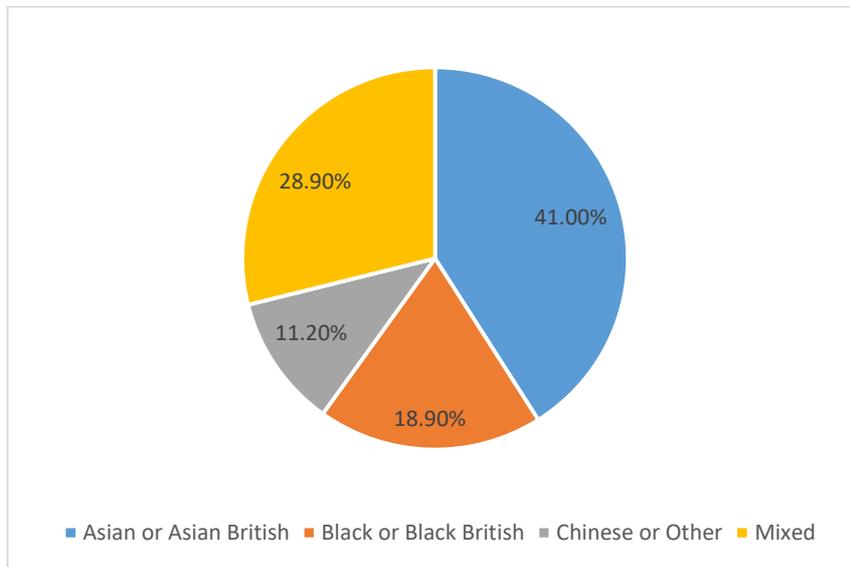


Chart 6.5 (d) BAME officers, by ethnic group, as at 31 March 2017, England and Wales

Source: Home Office 2017:27)

The supplementary tables were analysed to understand the levels of disproportionality and relation to promotion and progression of white Vs BAME female police officers that we see the reality. There are a very small numbers of BAME women police officers as compared to their white counterparts. There are currently 1,863 BAME female police officers as compared with 33,333 white female police officers. Furthermore, there have always been larger numbers of white female police officers than BAME officers.

As such, rates of promotion and progression of white female police officers is naturally going to be much greater than that of BAME female police officers, as the pool of white female police officers is much greater. However, the issue lies in the fact that despite the significant rates of progression for white police officers at all levels, which has been underpinned by a combination of positive action, political will and forceful lobbying by the influential women in policing lobby group, it seems that the emphasis has been on promotion and progression for white women, with scant attention and acknowledgement of the issues facing their BAME counterparts. Not only that, but what is more stark is an apparent failure to look at

the cumulative impact of intersectionality of gender and race in relation to women in policing. For it is this, in conjunction with discriminatory practice in such areas as recruitment, selection and misconduct which is contributing to the stagnation of BAME female police officers. Each of the tables which have been specially accessed and analysed all point to the same conclusion, BAME women have fared badly, and the prospects for improvement in their experiences and status within UK policing is not going to change without special investigations and interventions.

6.6 Percentage of police officers promoted by ethnicity and gender (2010 – 2017)

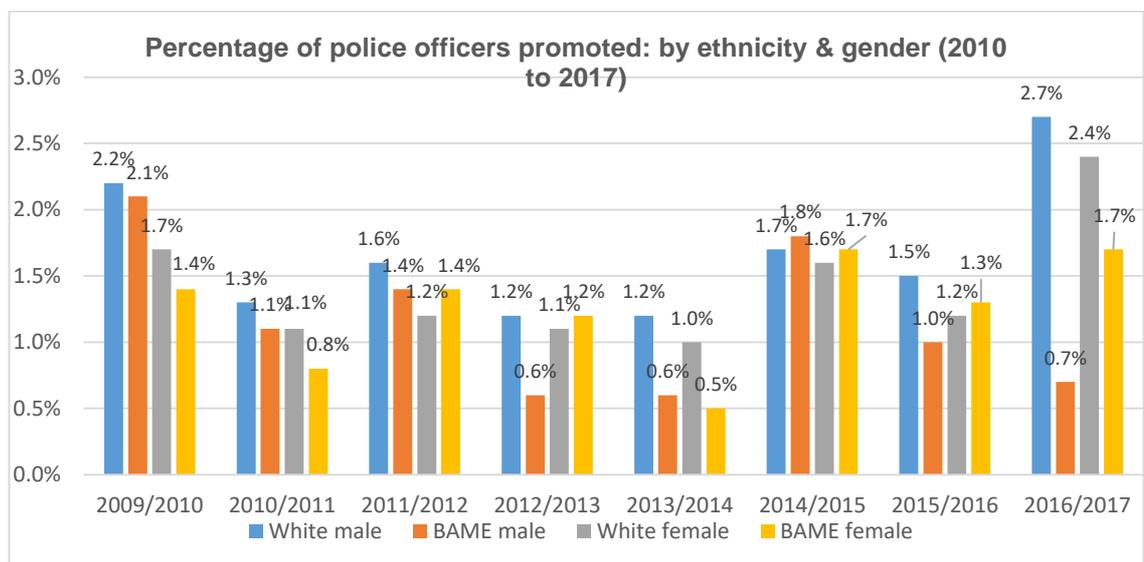


Chart 6.6: Percentage of police officers promoted by ethnicity and gender (2010 – 2017)

The above chart shows the trend in percentage of both White and BAME male and female officers promoted between the period of 2009 and 2017. It clearly shows that the promotions of BAME male officers has seen a noticeable decrease since 2014/15 whereas white male promotion figures has almost doubled for the same period. BAME female promotion figures on the other hand, remains at 1.7% since 2014/15 till 2016/2017 compared to their white counterparts has almost doubled for the same period. What is interesting to note is that from the period 2015 to 2017 the numbers of BAME female officers promoted has been

higher than their male counterparts. This is an interesting trend and it will be important to monitor whether this trend continues in the next official data release.

6.7 Promotion and progression of White Vs BAME female officers

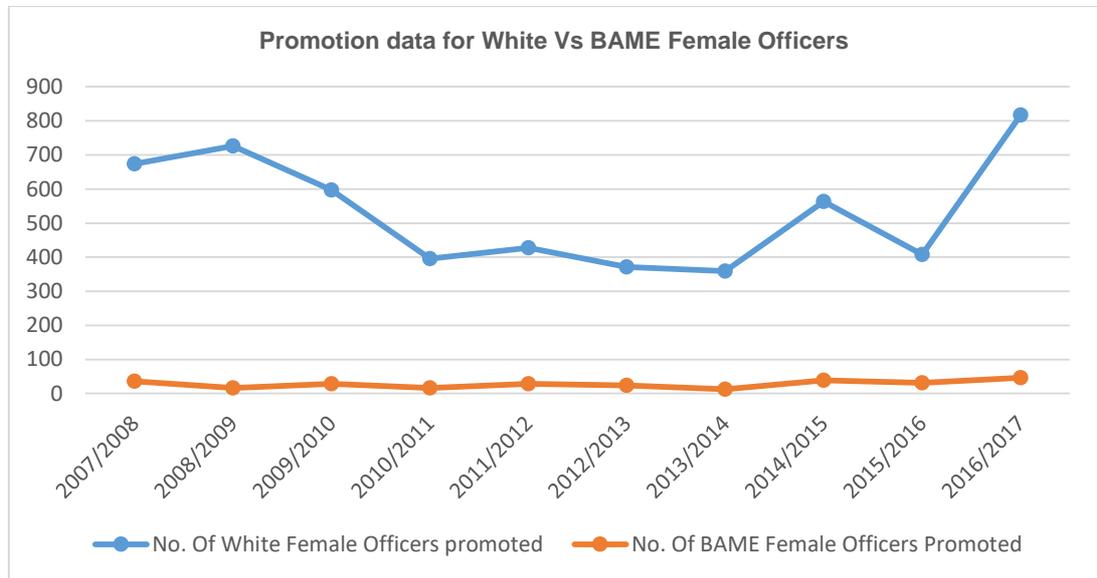


Chart 6.7(a): Promotion data for White Vs BAME female officers

The above chart 6.7(a) which uses Home Office Police workforce data illustrates that levels of promotion and progression of BAME female officers against their white counterparts. It is interesting to note that whilst there was a steady trend of white female officers promoted shows a significant and steady increase between the period of 2013 and 2017. It is argued here as outlined by HMIC (HMIC,2012) that the decrease in levels of promotion for white women in policing was as a result of the introduction of austerity measures introduced by the coalition Government of 2010, which resulted in a freeze to police recruitment campaigns and reductions to police numbers (HMIC 2012:7). However, what is noticeable is that despite the Macpherson Inquiry and the push for BAME police recruitment and progression objectives, there was little to no increase in the numbers of BAME female officers promoted over the last ten years. This finding correlates with the findings from the HMIC who noted that there was a lack of attention paid to ethnicity monitoring in relation to progression and a lack of consistency in police forces of interventions designed to address disproportionality (HMIC 1999, Rollock 2010) While the overall trend is similar to that of White female officers promoted, the rate of growth has slowed down since 2013, and the

total number promoted remains below 60. Moreover the demographic profile of BAME women in policing is skewed to older age groups as many were recruited in the late 1980s and 1990s (NBPA:1998) and as many are close to retirement, the impact on the numbers of BAME police officers who are in senior positions will be severe as younger women are not being recruited.

6.8 Promotion and progression of White Vs BAME male officers

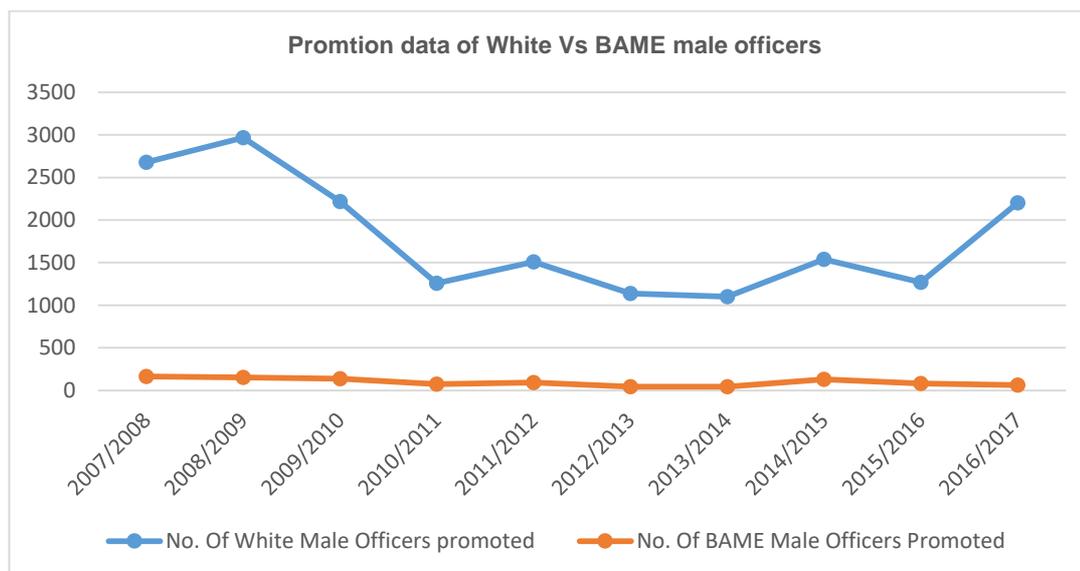
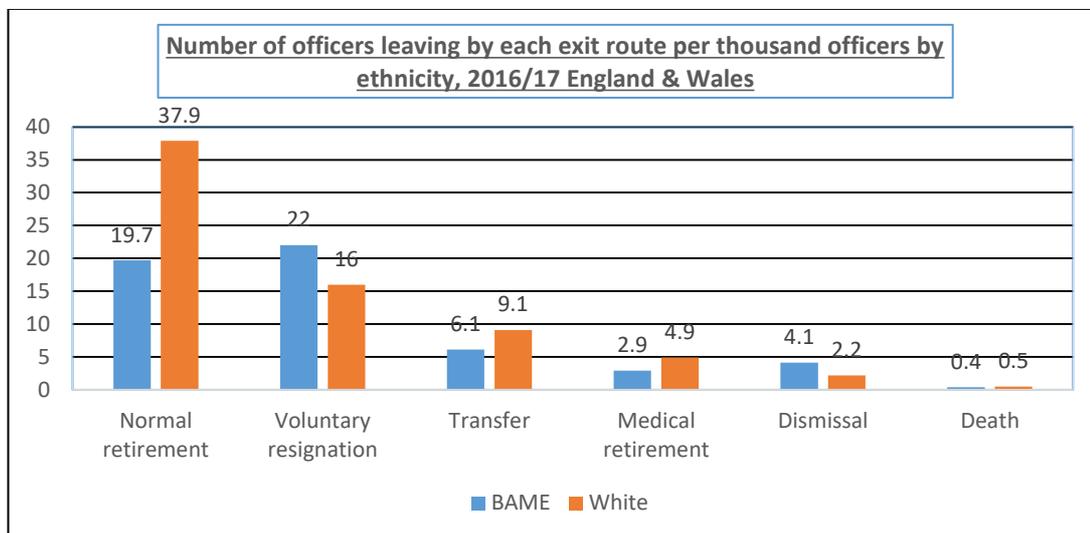


Chart 6.8(a): Promotion data of White Vs BAME male officers

The above chart 6.8(a) show the promotion and progression of BAME male officers against White male officers. It is interesting to find that whist the trend of white male officers promoted shows a significant and steady increase between the period of 2013 and 2017, the trend of BAME male officers promoted shows a sharp decrease since 2014. It is articulated here that this trend is due to the fact that the majority of these officers were recruited in the late 1980s 1990s. As such they are near retirement age with their promotions having naturally occurred in the peak periods illustrated as 2007-2010 (NBPA 1998). Furthermore, the introduction of direct entry to the police service for the ranks of superintendent and inspector has had a positive impact for BAME people who were recruited by the scheme (College of Policing 2014). The scheme was introduced in 2014, a peak period for BAME promotion. The above data do not include the promotion data for the police support staff (also known as civilian members of staff).

6.9 Ethnic breakdown of the police leavers, as at 31 March 2017, England and Wales

Chart 6.9(a): Leavers by ethnicity



Source: Home Office, Police Workforce England and Wales, 31 March 2017.

The above chart 6.9(a) shows that compared to the higher rate of normal retirements and medical retirements amongst white officers, voluntary resignations and dismissals were higher amongst BAME officers. The aforementioned statistical evidence regarding the representation of the BAME in the police force as well as the figures of dismissal and voluntary resignations of BAME officers show that more BAME staff are using complaint procedures and also facing disciplinary action (Smith et al 2012, NBPA 2016,2018, MOPAC 2016) These formal measures tended to be used more often for BAME than white staff (Smith et al 2012). Furthermore, these issues were connected to the under-representation of BAME officers in the police service. These figures also correspond positively with Sir William Morris (2004) report on disproportionality in the way black and minority ethnic officers are treated by internal disciplinary procedures.

Chapters (7 and 8) explore through the lived experiences of BAME police officers and staff that there is an active resistance to race equality in policing which is exemplified through the experiences of BAME women in the area of discipline and complaints and progression. Through the experiences of experts in the field from lawyers to staff association support

groups it is articulated that this is a contributory factor in stagnating the progression of BAME police officers, particularly women. This was revealed within the interviews with both police officers and staff and through the experts, as being in direct relation to the specific time limitations placed on disciplinary sanctions which have been seen to have an adverse effect on an officer's ability to apply for promotion (NBPA 2018). This research acknowledges the fact that a number of high profile Employment Tribunal awards have begun with a BAME member of staff whistleblowing about race discrimination (Howard v Metropolitan Police 2014). This has resulted in them being effectively expelled and subject to disciplinary action (Carol Howard) (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2016) The treatment of Carol Howard was described in the judgement as vindictive on two occasions (case numbers 2200184/2013 & 2202916/2013 pp5 and 18). Decisions such as this, call into question the laudable aims and objectives of whistleblowing legislation. For organisations like the NBPA it articulates that whistleblowing in the pursuit of race equality are critical disclosures which are both in the public interest and also crucial in bringing about change and improvements in policing (EHRC,2106) Without it, there is the real potential for an undermining of the legitimacy and policing by consent model of UK policing, which is seen as a critical feature of the UK democracy. It is therefore not surprising that in its submission to the United Nations Office for the Commissioner of Human Rights that the NBPA stressed that it was essential for there to be a concerted focus of the Home Office and UK policing on the identification, understanding and addressing of racial disproportionality in discipline and complaints for BAME police officers and staff, particularly women as a pre requisite to tackling issues of lack of progression.

What is of critical importance is for the need for continued focus on understanding what lies behind the lack of BAME female progression in policing and in turn bullying and harassment of BAME women. In the previous two chapters both the targets of bullying and harassment and the experts raised serious concern about the impact of disproportionality in misconduct cases. Sadly, there is a paucity of research in this area (Smith et al 2012, NBPA 2016, 2018). However, what is of significant interest is recent research undertaken by the Mayors

Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC), which reviewed disproportionality in misconduct cases in the Metropolitan Police Service (Wunsch et al 2016). The Metropolitan police service is important, because it has the highest number of BAME police officers and staff and in particular it has a larger number of higher ranking BAME police officers. The research by MOPAC undertaken in the aftermath of a number of high profile race discrimination cases established the following (Wunsch et al 2016:3):

- BAME officers in the MPS are twice as likely as White officers to be subject to misconduct allegations. Over the five-year period from 2010 to 2015 there was an average rate of 4.96 per 100 for BAME officers, versus a rate of 2.46 for non-BAME officers.
- Allegations against BAME police officers are more likely to be substantiated, whilst allegations against White officers are more likely to be unsubstantiated (48% v 39%). This figure is statistically significant.
- Whilst there was no ethnic disproportionality in the way in which substantiated cases were dealt with, in unsubstantiated cases BAME officers were more likely than White officers to still receive management action.

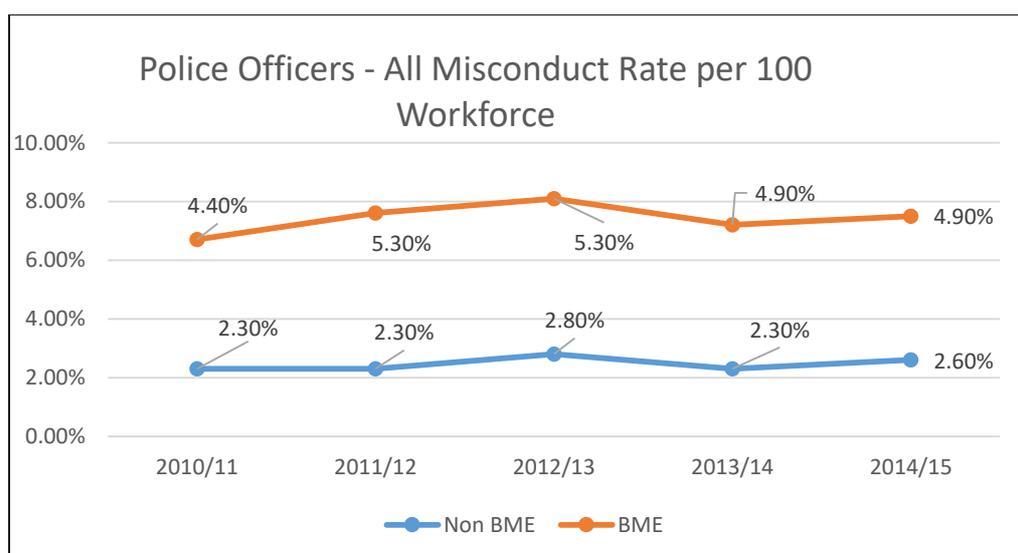


Chart 6.9(b) Rate per 100 MPS officers of receiving an allegation of misconduct or gross misconduct²⁰

²⁰ Ibid pp7

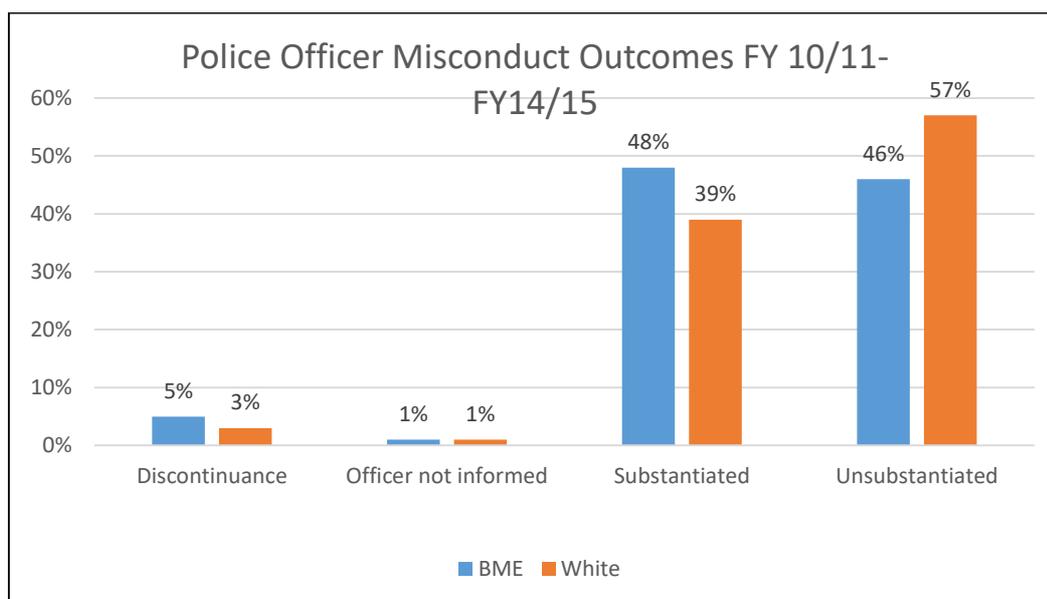


Chart 6.9(c). Outcomes of police officer misconduct allegations in the MPS²¹

The research by MOPAC is made all the more pressing when it is viewed in conjunction with Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) review into PEEL Legitimacy²² (2016). Which identified that a review of 11,000 internal misconduct cases suggested differences at various stages, which led them to question fairness and consistency. This led to the following findings,

- a higher proportion of BAME members of the workforce with a case to answer were required to attend misconduct hearings (33 percent), compared with white people with a case to answer (18 percent); and
- a higher proportion of those BAME people attending hearings were dismissed (52 percent), compared with white people (40 percent).

That ‘public complaints or misconduct allegations against BAME officers or staff were more likely to be escalated to the professional standards department for consideration, rather than dealt with swiftly and informally. This is consistent with our findings from our police integrity and corruption inspection in 2015’ (HMIC, 2016:29). Furthermore in making its findings the

²¹ Ibid pp8

²² Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary (2016) PEER: Police Legitimacy 2015- A national overview

HMIC heard from professional standards departments, individuals and staff networks of the perception that in the event of an allegation of misconduct against a BAME officer or member of staff the following occurred;

- BAME officers or staff, who did not trust that they would be dealt with fairly, were more likely to seek the advice and assistance of their representative staff network or union to help them ensure a fair hearing. This had the effect of their supervisors treating the complaint as more serious than he or she would have done had the person been white; and consequently;
- fear of being accused of discrimination or bias, led supervisors to behave in a way that had the effect of more complaints against BAME officers and staff being referred to the professional standards department for formal investigation. The outcome of this was that BAME officers or staff, were treated more severely than their white colleagues. The overall effect of this was that;
- BAME officers or staff did not trust that they would be dealt with fairly, should an allegation against them be made. (HMIC, 2016:29).

Whilst it is important to recognize that the HMIC recommended the following,

Within six months all Chief Constables should conduct a review of their complaints and misconduct arrangements, analysing data from their records to: assess whether or not there is any bias in the way decisions regarding the management of complaints are made; and, if there is evidence of bias, to take action to remove it. The reviews and action taken should be fully documented and made available to the police and crime commissioners of each force and to HMIC. Within 12 months, the College of Policing and National Police Chief's Council should agree national standards for recording and publishing complaints and misconduct data for officers and staff. (HMIC 2016:32).

This research has highlighted that the impact of bureaucracy and the resistance to race equality on the Police Services in England has resulted in the awkward truth as established by the NBPA (NBPA, 2018) that the clear recommendation of the HMIC, has

not been actioned upon by either the National Police Chiefs Council (NPCC) or the College of Policing (CoP). As cleverly articulated by the HASC this is symptomatic of 'lip service [...] been paid to diversity in the police service [...] was unmatched by action' HC27:17). Furthermore, this validates the findings made within this research as articulated by both the victims of racial bullying and harassment and the experts, that there is a lack of appetite within policing to address issues in a systematic and authoritative manner and it is this lack of action which creates the conditions for the embedding of bullying and harassment and discriminatory practice.

Notwithstanding, this issue, has led the NBPA to articulate to both UK and international legislative forums its concern that despite the identification of racial disproportionality in policing, little action seems to be taken to address the root causes. The NBPA has stated publicly that the Government tackle these issues as a failure to do so will impact adversely on the recruitment, retention and progression of BAME officers and only sets people up to fail. It is essential that identifying, understanding and addressing racial disproportionality in discipline and complaints is key to tackling the stubborn lack of progression of BAME police officers. In light of the failure of the NPCC and CoP, to action the recommendations of the HMIC, the NBPA undertook a Freedom of Information Act request to ascertain the extent of misconduct and disciplinary proceedings for BAME police officers and staff to all 43 police forces. What is of significance is that a large percentage of police forces in England and Wales do not record misconduct/ discipline and complaints by ethnicity. Sadly, what this demonstrates is that despite the commitment in the Macpherson Inquiry to deal with race equality in policing and in particular monitor, a recommendation which was also highlighted by the HMIC in 1999 in 2017 a significant number of UK police forces still do not monitor this crucial area. If we look at this issue within the context of the recent UK Government race disparity audit, we can see that there is greater work needed but also a significant commitment by Chief Constables to undertake their legal obligations under the Equality Act 2010.

6.10 Freedom of Information requests

The experiences of the NBPA in its own FOI request exercise for its staff diversity audit was sadly replicated by my own experiences in undertaking this research. As part of this research, I undertook a request for further data (which was currently not available in the public domain). The request for information was submitted to all 43 forces within England & Wales under the Freedom of Information Act (2000) on 31st March 2018.

The information deemed important for the purpose of this research which was requested, was as follows: number of complaints/grievances made by members of staff (both White and BAME including male and female), concerning workplace bullying, discrimination, harassment or victimisation. The outcome of such complaints and grievances, i.e. formal or informal resolutions, number of work days lost, employment tribunal claims, legal costs of dealing with the claims, settlement figures, etc. (**Appendix 1**). The intention was to establish a clear picture of the current situation in this area with a view to assessing the impact of bullying and harassment on the organisation itself. The period of data requested was between 2008 and 2017. The outcome of the FOI request as follows. Despite the fact that all 43 police forces responded to the requests and indicated their intention to cooperate, 36 refused whilst 7 provided part of the information requested.

As a result of the disappointing result, the data is of an insufficient level to include in this research. The main reasons provided by the police forces for not supplying the information requested was as follows:

1. The information is not held in readily retrievable format. There is no systematic way of electronically recording complaints data.
2. Most forces argued that the requests would therefore needed to be looked into manually. This would exceed the time threshold of 18 hrs and cost threshold of £450. Hence, the police forces reserved the right to refuse such applications under section 17(1) of Freedom of Information Act 2000.

3. Some forces expressed that they held the information for 5yrs only and as such they were unable to cover the 10yr period as stipulated in the FOI request. Furthermore, they didn't have any ethnic monitoring system in place to record complaints data.

However, of those police forces, who did supply some information. It is interesting to note that the Metropolitan Police revealed that a total of 927 complaints were submitted between 2012 and 2017. Out of the 927 complaints, 121 complaints, were lodged by BAME members of staff (of which 10 complaints had been resolved internally). The Met also received 60 employment tribunal claims of harassment and discrimination for the same period. 22 of such claims have been settled. The total pay-out between April 2014 and March 2017 was £1,144,256.

6.11 Conclusion

Whilst the chapter discusses pre and post Macpherson periods of policing, the main issues identified in this chapter has been the low number of BAME women in the Police Service in England and Wales as compared to their white counterparts 33,333 white police officers as compared to 1,863 BAME female police officers (which is reflective of the small BAME UK population (14%). This is an indication of police forces are not conducive of career progression of BAMEs and probably younger BAME women are not applying to join the police. Whilst there has been a slight improvement in the number of BAME police officers from 1999 (2.%) to 6.3% in 2017. This figure has not met the targets set by the Home Secretary in the aftermath of the Macpherson Inquiry (Rollock 2010, HASC 2016) and the targets have been abandoned in recent years. Whilst there has been a significant improvement in the representation of white women in policing, particularly at senior levels, currently 26.8% of female police officers are at Chief Officer rank. The experiences of both BAME men and women has not been as successful. This chapter has articulated that the success of white women in policing is as a result of a well organised and politically supported lobby force within policing and at the political level, particularly through the work of the women in policing network, which is currently chaired by the Chief Constable of West

Yorkshire Police, Dee Collins. What has been revealed within this research is that it is very difficult to access data in relation to the progression of BAME women in policing and that whilst the official statistics provided by the Home Office do have an important level of data, the granularity of the data in relation to issues of intersectionality, pertaining to race and gender, is only established through a challenging, robust and time consuming analysis of the supplementary tables. The tables reveal issues of disproportionality which through triangulation with the interviews with BAME police officers, staff and experts can be seen to be as a result of a number of factors which are rooted in racism and sexism and compounded by an organisational reluctance to take robust actions to increase the number of BAME representation than just to monitor effectively key performance data around BAME staff progression and retention as outlined in chapters 7 and 8. This chapter has identified that this worrying trend was identified in 1999 by the HMIC, it is therefore of extreme concern that the newly created HMICFS the same issues have been identified. This finding supports the research questions which has identified that police culture and in particular the intersectionality of race and gender, within the context of a lack of a failure of successive governments to develop a robust legislative framework on bullying; on the grounds that it would create an unnecessary regulatory burden to industry (Adams 1994) has had a massive impact on workplace bullying and harassment issues. This has led to the default position of the development of the creation of 'dignity at work' policies through which cases of bullying are channeled. The thesis argues that this policy framework when implemented within a command and control organisation such as the police makes it 'fair game' for undermining (EHRC 2016).

The chapter has identified the impact of this historic policy failure to acknowledge the importance of intersectionality in matters of diversity and the continuing 'struggle' between race and gender within English policing. This factor then contributes to the 'invisibility' of BAME women in policing. In doing so it makes BAME women susceptible to 'unique tactics' of bullying and harassment, which contribute to their obstructed progression as compared

to their white counterparts. These 'unique tactics' are underpinned/enhanced by the police 'organisation' and enforced by police 'culture'.

The chapter has argued, that the failure to 'grasp' the issue of bullying and harassment of BAME women within British Policing is due, in part, to a lack of effective leadership; which is driven by a 'crisis management' culture around issues of race and gender (CRE, 2004, Ghaffur 2004; Rollock, 2010). Furthermore, the chapter has argued that this situation is compounded by a paucity of research in this area, which contributes to intensifying the perceived and actual 'invisibility' of BAME women within contemporary English policing.

7: Findings: Race, Gender Discrimination and Bullying

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the findings from the interviews undertaken with 13 BAME female police officers and staff from 5 areas of the Police Services in England. As outlined in Chapter Five a combination of semi-structured telephone, and face-to-face interviews were undertaken in order to answer the research questions presented which are as follows:

- Does 'police culture' act as a facilitator of bullying and harassment?
- Are there underlying reasons why BAME women suffer bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England? What is the nature of the discourse surrounding such bullying and harassment and how has it impacted on the progression of BAME women in English Policing?

The interview questions (see appendix 3) were developed with a number of considerations in mind. For the BAME women who work in the Police Services in England, the interview questions were aimed at trying to gain an understanding as to their particular experiences of bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England. This was in terms of the tactics used, the extent to which their race and or gender impacted on their experience; the trigger points, the impact of the bullying on them and the organisational responses to reported episodes of bullying and harassment.

As outlined in chapter 5 nine interviewees were police officers, one a PCSO, two police staff and one former police officer. Out of the thirteen interviewees, one defined herself as Chinese, one defined herself as Sikh, seven defined themselves as Black British and 4 defined themselves as Asian British. The age ranges of the participants varied from 25 to 57 with 9 participants in their late 30s and early 40s. The length of service for the participants varied from 2 years up to 22 years with at least 6 participants with over 10 years of service. I was provided with a very clear understanding of the reality of race, gender, discrimination and bullying within the 5 Police Services in England areas.

The chapter is organised into a number of distinctive themes, which have been identified through the analysis and coding of the findings. They are as follows; Race, Gender and Sexuality; Promotion, Problems and Prospects and finally Bullying, Trauma and Dis-ease.

This chapter will argue that the experiences of BAME women in the 5 Police Services in England areas highlights issues around racism and gender stereotyping which despite legislative frameworks as identified in Chapter 4 have done little to change attitudes and behaviour. However, it also argues that the role of unequivocal leadership is key to tackling issues of bullying and harassment of BAME women in the police and that support mechanisms are crucial to the well being of those targeted for bullying and harassment. Without this, issues surrounding ill health of victims remain a cause of major concerns, this has an impact on organisational reputational damage and costs not only for the police but also for the health service. It is acknowledged that a brief introduction of each research participant and a little bit of background into their roles and responsibilities would have been very useful with regards to having a clear understanding of their stories however it was also considered to be extremely important to protect their anonymity at all times and not to jeopardise their safety and compromise their identity in any ways.

7.2 Race, Gender and Sexuality

Chapter 4 explored the issue of police culture, and the theoretical perspectives identified are drawn on in this chapter. Furthermore, they have been linked to each of the distinctive themes outlined within this chapter. One of the recurring themes to emerge from the analysis of the interview transcripts was that my research participants believed that their treatment was a result of the way they were perceived by their colleagues and peers, which had a detrimental impact on their treatment. O' Neill and Singh, (2007:2) articulate that this is as a result of the way in which the Police, 'have socially constructed ways of viewing the world, their place in it, and the appropriate action to take their jobs'. Furthermore, Rowe, (2012:43), highlights that 'police culture has often been addressed in relatively narrow terms

to explain the pervasiveness of police stereotypes of minority ethnic and other groups and the impact that this has on relations with the public”.

One of the findings that was expected to reinforce previous studies; was the way that most (11 out of 13) of the interviewees, were perceived by colleagues, who may not be known to them. It is articulated here that this is related to issues of racial prejudice, which stem from stereotypes and racism. What is most interesting is the impact that this had co-workers and members of the public. An indicative example is that of a female sergeant with more than 20 years of experience from an Urban Police force.

If I wasn't known and I was dressed smartly then I would be a solicitor. Then, they warned me to sit down since solicitors are not allowed to walk around. If I am in plain cloths and doing a lot of hands on work, warrants and arrests, we would use many different stations. As in many stations they do not know me, when I entered the station with a prisoner they asked the prisoner what have you brought in what/who have you arrested. They would be directly speaking to the prisoner.
(Interviewee B).

I hold a senior civilian post within [...], having to travel around the country delivering training sessions to both officers and staff in various different forces. It happened more than once when I was deemed to be an admin girl.....whilst reporting to the reception of my training venues.....probably because of my attire and appearance
(Interviewee K)

Interviewee B and K revealed two extreme stereotypes they had encountered when they were on duty, she articulated that this was dependent on the clothes they wore. Whilst this example is disturbing, in terms of the stereotypes held by those who may not be in the immediate chain of command of BAME female police officers. The reactions of the police officer's co-workers is heartening and also exposes them to the reality of racism within the police for their female BAME counterparts. This is such that they recognise that this behaviour should be challenged.

My team was so incensed. These were white guys that I was working with. They said 'Do you want us to have a word?' and I said 'no', cause it was everywhere
(Interviewee B).

In attempting to make sense of the incident the interviewee made a rather resigned statement, which conveyed a sense of exasperation and also a recognition that little could be done to change the state of affairs as the attitudes and stereotypes were so well engrained within police culture.

Its endemic throughout the organisation... how we are seen. And you know, it doesn't matter how you dress as you will fit into one of their stereotypes. They will fit you into one. So if you are not a solicitor cause your smartly dressed, clearly then you will be the prisoner as you are not so smartly dressed or as you are standing along a white person who could never be the prisoner **(Interviewee B)**.

I can put it under the heading of culture. Yep. Its not just because I am police staff but the way I dressed..... with their derogatory comments and even, Just by the comments, they made **(Interviewee G)**.

Stereotyping was an issue for BAME women in the police, but it was also combined with a high degree of mockery and undermining of their position of authority in an organised and calculated way. It is argued here that Waddington's assertion (1998, 2008) that police culture is such that it 'tolerates corruption' in which other members of teams are in effect co-opted to intimidate BAME staff, this is especially with the use of junior staff. Interviewee H, at the time was an acting Inspector with responsibility for custody, articulates this well.

Erm I was an acting inspector. I was posted to work in custody as an acting Inspector and there was a sergeant who was in a custody suite who obviously I outranked. They took it very badly that I am black and female and obviously look much younger than my age. I'm 40 but at the time I looked much much younger [...] and basically every time I walked into the custody suite, he would make sarcastic comments which I ignored as I thought he is obviously jealous of the fact that I outrank him **(Interviewee H)**.

I did a post graduate. So I looked at myself, I was very confident person. But when I went there after my promotion they made me feel very inferior as if I don't belong there. They always used to task me with mundane jobs whilst my white colleagues in the same rank would be considered for more serious operations **(Interviewee M)**.

The significant feature with the experience of Interviewee H and M is that their experience of bullying and harassment was underpinned by the fact that they were promoted and as a consequence outranked the individual (interviewee H) who bullied and harassed her, who in fact had a greater length of service than she did. This was not just an issue for police officers it was also an issue for Police staff.

However, it is important that the issue of why there is still a continuation of racism and stereotyping within the police. This was best articulated by Interviewee B, she highlighted two words about the experience of BAME women in the Police, that they were '*invisible*' and that as a consequence, she felt that they were treated as '*immigrants*'.

As a black woman in the organisation you become invisible to people because their expectation of what black women represent doesn't come in the form of a supervisor [...] you are not seen as someone of authority and someone that people would come to for advice or anything that is work related. [...] I wouldn't say its like being treated like a second class citizen it's like being treated like an immigrant. That's how they, you know you are alien to their environment [...] you should not be there but you are [...] we are the black sheep. **(Interviewee B).**

I remember they had a meeting with me, bear in mind that they said that I was timid as I wear a head scarf to hide my pretty face. They had a meeting with me like 4 guys and just myself and they called me in at the end of my shift they called me in and they said we want to give you some time off we dont know if this is the right job for you for you to have 3/4 days off to think about it. So I called my friend and I was in tears, I told her that they are going to sack me **(Interviewee L)**

It is this which is at the heart of this research, that BAME women in the Police and by extension wider society are seen as invisible and as a consequence are ignored' (Carby 1997:51) this is part of the racism experienced by BAME women. Their status is seen as marginal, and not akin to their white female or male comparators. This is argued within this research to be at the heart of the reason for their experiences around bullying and harassment in the workplace.

They will look all around the office even though you are quite visible and sitting there and they will walk back out and then you'll hear conversation in the corridor, oh is there an OIC (officer in charge) about, yeah theres one in the office you've just come straight out of, and then you'll be like sorry did you want something. Yeah.....this was always the case.....they make you feel invisible **(Interviewee A).**

My supervisors my inspectors and above would know who I am cause of course they are dealing with me but of course you are dealing with a lot of people who don't know who you are people who would visit the station and potentially have need for your advice but they would completely blank you, you just don't exist **(Interviewee G)**.

The experiences of Halford (1993) and Howard (1996) discussed in chapter 2 highlighted misogyny and racism in the Police Services in England. Their uniqueness lies in the fact that they highlight the experiences of women at the highest and the lowest ranks and at different time periods. What is significant however, is that the media coverage of the Howard case (Chapter 2) highlighted her beauty, and exoticness. What is not overt within mainstream literature on police culture and race is the impact of sexuality of BAME women within policing. The usefulness of Hooks (1981), Carby (1997), and Hill-Collins (2000) has been vital in trying to unravel the issue of race and gender and as such black feminist theory has been adopted (Chapter 2).

As part of this research, three main racial/ethnic groups were self-identified by the interviewees: African Caribbean, Chinese and Asian, and they were united in incurring similar treatment; which was influenced by perceived stereotypes of them held by their perpetrators and their collaborators. One of the interesting features of this research was that it was apparent, that those women who underwent a sustained campaign of bullying and harassment were identified through the interview process as being seen by their male colleagues as being physically attractive.

Whilst this could be seen to be a subjective opinion, a pattern emerged during the interviews that the women interviewed were attractive and looked after their appearance. As this pattern emerged from the face-to-face interviews all subsequent interviewees were asked whether they would describe themselves as being attractive. This led the Chinese interviewee (J) to respond after the interview by text to say that her husband who was white British described her as *'pleasing on the eye'*. This issue matters as it is argued that the experiences of the BAME women in this research was in part due to the fact that they were

seen as 'sexually attractive' by their male perpetrators and as such seen as 'forbidden fruit' and potential 'prey'. Moreover their female white counterparts viewed them as a 'threat' to their ability to gain white male romantic/sexual partners.

What was shocking in this research is that despite the fact that the sex discrimination legislation has been on the statute books since 1976 that what can only be described as primitive sexually degrading practices such as those identified within the work of Smith and Gray (1985) of 'station stamping', was still evident in one urban police force in the UK. Interviewee F, described her experiences which were shocking.

They put more pressure on us, we had to wear skirts, we had to wear stockings and things like that [...] I never used to wear any of that kind of stuff, but that's what they had to do. And when I started off in the uniform they give you the option of either skirt or trousers and then if you wear a skirt it means you will get station stamped [...] the tradition was you get the female member of staff, you would then jump her literally and bend her upside down and stamp her bum with the station stamp. **(Interviewee F).**

What year was that?

This was when I first joined the force as a PC in 2002. **(Interviewee F).**

A pattern emerged through the interviews, which revealed that a number of the women, were propositioned by white male co-workers and that in the rejection of their advances a pattern of bullying and harassment ensued. However, this was complicated by the fact that on two occasions two interviewees -interviewees G and F- described how their treatment of bullying and harassment and ultimately disciplinary sanction had been underpinned by the actions of what can be politely described as the '*scorned* white female partners of men who propositioned the BAME women'

Let me talk to you about the incident where I was bullied and disciplined and the perpetrator had actually fancied me. I didn't know that. When we were in the car together and we used to talk etc. and I rejected him. It could have been his payback [...] Oh I am pretty by the way. That's not my ego, I am attractive. I believe that. Remember when I told you about that incident and the Sergeant, what I didn't know was that his wife was also in that department and she was on my case. I think that they sexualise black females in any case **(Interviewee G).**

Looks do have an impact, they play a very important part in policing, looks shape.....being black and attractive could put you in more danger of attracting unwanted attention **(Interviewee E)**

Issues of sexuality as pertaining to BAME women were then underpinned by how they presented themselves and what was identified within the interviews was the experience of Interviewee E. What was significant about this interviewee was that they had gained promotion to the rank of Sergeant within a very short space of time; in two years. The individual was regarded as physically attractive which was combined with a high level of education, Master Degree. More significantly as they put it; "I speak with an English British accent and I think that that helps me" **(Interviewee E)**. It was significant that she made the connection of the importance of speaking English without an accent and the potential consequences for those who had a pronounced accent.

I have noticed a few others who are just as competent as me but who perhaps speak with an accent. I wouldn't necessarily say that they have been bullied, because I haven't worked with them closely enough, like you know they haven't been on my team or anything like that but maybe you know, you sort of hear comments and things **(Interviewee E)**.

For Interviewee J and C, the issue of language and her accent was the trigger to the bullying and harassment which they suffered. Whilst she (Interviewee I) recounted that it had never been an issue for her previous managers, her new managers, started to use this as a basis for what can best be described as micro management and ultimately, discriminatory treatment.

It was the way I speak, if you look at their pocket notebooks it said that I was very blunt, spoke fast and weak. I believe that this could have been a cultural problem. I don't know how many of them had foreign friends. I slowed down a bit, my husband told me to slow down when I speak as it's like a machine gun **(Interviewee J)**.

They gave me a nick name [...] behind my back for my strong Caribbean accent. Even though I speak very clear English.....they made me feel I had a terrible accent that may have been the reason for the way they used to ridicule me... **(Interviewee C)**

7.3 Promotion: Problems and Prospects

One recurrent finding, which was established quite quickly within the research, was the perception borne of experience of seven of the interviewees from 4 forces that they believed that they were subjected to disciplinary action as it was a route for their perpetrators to gain promotion. All police officers and members of staff employed by police require to fill in their Personal Development Review (PDR) every year with evidences of good work and they also require to identify the areas of improvement and development for personal growth. This PDR then requires approval from two sets of line managements. Managers seeking promotions often see this as an opportunity to neat pick and target certain subordinates that don't match their required standards by blocking their career progression path. This was best described by Interviewee B, I and C in the following way;

when it comes to promotion they say well you got PDR box 4 don't know if your ready, that sort of thing, so even though its ineffective and its used in the negative rather than the positive you know people should always challenge the markings and stuff **(Interviewee B)**.

I think because this individual, he was an acting sergeant wanted to get promoted and so in order to get promoted he had to do an action plan on officers as if they are not performing. So just say for example, that if I have X arrests a month in my probationary period and I have only got one, then you obviously discuss it with your probationer and so in order to get promoted, he targeted me. **(Interviewee I)**

They will use the process for gaining their own promotion to when you make a mistake and when you mess up to say well that's a performance issue because they are too scared to have the conversation because all that is going on in their mind **(Interviewee C)**

Furthermore, what also transpired through the course of the interviews and what correlates with the findings of Ghaffur (2004); Morris (2004); Smith et al (2012) was that there was a perception by half (seven) of the interviewees that they were subjected to formalised disciplinary procedures. For Interviewee H, her experience of disciplinary action stemmed in part from her high level of performance when compared to her colleagues. This led to a course of action, which can be interpreted as escalating a trivial incident, which could have been dealt with in an informal manner. However, what this example does is that it

corroborates the research of Smith et al (2012) that BAME people are more subject to formal disciplinary sanctions as compared to their white counterparts.

I used to share an office with another sergeant he reported me for discipline. [...] Basically this other male sergeant didn't use to get on with anyone in the office. So basically, both teams used to come to me for quite a lot of help. Once I took annual leave. I was moving house. [...] so whilst at home, my team were there and they wanted to come in for a cup of tea, so I let them in for a cup of tea together. And then when they went back to work. He reported me for taking my team off duty.

What?

Yeah, for taking my team off duty.

But you didn't do anything?

The fact is when he went to report me to a senior manager. The senior manager said that when they had rung the doorbell, an entire team was literally off duty. And I should have literally sent them back to their [...], but I am robbing the community of them (**Interviewee H**).

Whilst the incident could be interpreted as trivial, it is the sanction, which was applied which is revealing for a number of reasons. First, it highlights that some BAME people are subject to disciplinary sanctions more than their white counterparts (Smith et al 2012). Secondly that those sanctions can have a detrimental effect on promotion effects on individuals. As Interviewee H highlighted the impact of the disciplinary action:

I got a written warning for that one (**Interviewee H**).

But that wasn't your fault.

It was valid for 18 months. For 18 months I had a written warning (**Interviewee H**).

And that means you cant get promoted,

No you can. But it expires after 18 months. So during that 18 months couldn't go for promotion or anything. But once it's expired I was free and I can do anything. But I think what they were trying to do was get me another written warning for the second time round. If I got a second written warning, I could have faced dismissal as you can't have more than one written warning (**Interviewee H**).

It therefore appears that the disciplinary and complaints system was used to prevent the progression of BAME people in the police, so organisational procedures and practices which enforce the disciplinary complaints procedures is underpinned by a bureaucratic organisational culture that was operated in such a way to undervalue BAME as compared to their white counterparts (O'Neill and Singh 2007; Waddington 2008). Furthermore, this was occurring at the same time as the push on equality post the Macpherson Inquiry (Chapters 1, 2 and 3) where competencies recognising the importance of equality and diversity and in particular race issues became part of the performance management framework for statutory agencies including the police. It is argued here that this apparent 'trend' of deliberately targeting BAME women in the area of discipline and complaints, which then contributes to their blocked progression is part of the backlash against race on the grounds that some groups particularly on the political right found that race issues had gone too far.

What was most shocking in the interviews was the experience recounted by Interviewee I. She highlighted that her line manager and perpetrator of the bullying and harassment attempted through the disciplinary process to get her to commit an 'illegal act' around the number of stops and searches she was undertaking. Interviewee D had also faced similar sanctions for not carrying out enough stop and search:

On one particular time he called me to the office and said that I am not doing enough stop searches. When I came home, I was upset and I told my brother and he is a [...] and he went, *'Look, you cant do anything unlawful, you need to stand up to him. As if you don't, you are doing something unlawful and you can't stop and search someone for no reason'*. And, I said, *'I fully appreciate that, that's why I joined the force, to you know uphold the law and not break it'*. And so, since I had a chat with my brother, I became more confident (**Interviewee I**).

I have faced discipline twice and both times it was because I was reported by a fellow sergeant for wrong doing, to a senior manager who has taken it up and took me down the formal route (**Interviewee D**).

Given the historical concern and tension around stop and search within BAME communities and the efforts of successive UK governments to address racial disproportionality in stop

and search it is concerning that this contentious police mechanism was used in this way with a BAME police officer.

I built myself up thinking I'm going to challenge him, no matter if the substantive sergeant is sitting with him. I am going to have to challenge him about his behaviour and how he is with me. I told him that *the law requires me when I have suspicion*'. And he didn't like it. **(Interviewee I)**.

However, to her credit, she refused to participate in the required action, even though she risked further disciplinary action in the form of action plans which would impact negatively on her probationary period. What was significant for the individual was the reason why she joined the police in the first place which she like the other individuals stated was a need to help people and uphold the law. Significantly, it was also to help protect their own communities; especially vulnerable groups within them (Smith and Gray 1985). Most importantly being a member of the police gave them a sense of pride. This led a number of individuals particularly interviewee I to state the following;

I can't tell you how overwhelmed I was when English people, black people coming up to me and saying how wonderful to see that you are a Muslim woman police officer. We are so proud of you. You know I was so happy when I joined the force. **(Interviewee I)**.

Interviewee B had similar experience where she confirms that she had to deal with bullying behavior of her supervisor over a period of time even though she was holding a senior supervisory position:

He was shouting about a complaint of the fact that something hadn't been done, it wasn't a direct, 'oh you black' that kind of thing. Erm so but there had been a build up between us anyway. Erm and you could put it down to a personality thing, but because of my position, do you know what I mean, that made them fearful, you got to hold your ground **(Interviewee B)**

Interviewee A, a trainer, highlighted her experience of a promotion:

When I first applied for that role where I was previously, it wasn't a promotion. It was what they call it a position at the same level. It was a level

transfer. And there was someone there who was a band E, a lower role, who also applied for it. And I think, unfortunately, they do not recruit based on potential. So the band [...] police staff, he was already doing that role. Before I went there. So he had the role. I distinctly remembered when I applied that there was one vacancy. So in the end, he got the role at the end of the selection process. He was interviewed. And I got it as well. So two of us got the role and I think that it had something to do with that.

Is that because you went in at a higher grade?

Yes. I was already on that particular level. I just applied to do another role. Because, I was in recruitment before. And I did some training with the [...] so that I could do become a trainer. And I made sure I did all that in order to do that particular role.

Was he older than you?

No he was younger.

Significantly younger?

About ten years.

But he had a lot of influence?

Yes he did but the police, [...] he had a lot of influence but not only in terms of years but also he had won commendations and stuff like that.

It is the issue of level of service combined with promotion, which can be problematic for BAME women police officers and staff. For both of these women, the fact that one outranked her colleague and the other was the same grade as a police officer were the trigger for a campaign of bullying and harassment; which was then used to undermine them personally and professionally.

I carried out a review of a prisoner and he didn't see me carry out the review and I wrote it up on an what we call an official document and I had visited the prisoner and he reported me saying that I had doctored an official document and I didn't at all. He reported me to a senior manager and I was removed from my rank **(Interviewee H)**.

Interviewee H had suffered bullying over a period of two years due to disciplinary sanctions taken against her, she couldn't move anywhere else and had to remain in the same department and deal with that particular colleague and her supervisors. Their experiences in terms of the nature of the bullying and the way in which organisational practices in effect 'supported' the bullying and harassment will be discussed later in this chapter. It is however fair to say that there was no consistent approach of the cohort regarding the organisational process of reporting bullying and harassment. However what became apparent quite

quickly was that there was a general consensus that there was little trust and confidence in the Fairness at Work policies. This was as a result of perceptions of the process by colleagues and peers. The lack of trust in Fairness at Work policies reaffirms Young's argument that '[t]he symbolic meanings that people attach to other kinds of people and to action, gestures, or institutions often significantly affect the social standing of persons and their opportunities' (1990, 23). Such an approach shifts the focus of fairness to the issue of what particular contexts admit as disadvantage and redress of disadvantage.

However, what became very clear was that in those occasions where victims approached their line managers for support in tackling bullying and harassment that those line managers who were not in the 'chain' of command of the bullies was supportive. For Interviewee A, her reporting the incident of bullying and harassment to her line manager resulted in the action stopping, but what was most important for her was that her line manager believed her. As a result the bullying and harassment which she endured from her team stopped. However, what she did note was that whilst he believed her, she felt that his action was 'him just performing his job', and was as a result a 'formality for him' to which she didn't receive any empathy.

For interviewee I, her response to the bullying was unique in that she had at her disposal a support mechanism for her as a BAME officer which she utilised, However, the way in which it was activated was purely by chance. This displayed her courage, tenacity and her line managers incompetence and lack of discretion:

As I left the room. I was getting my belongings together, you know to go back out on the beat and get jobs done. As I was walking past, fortunately, for me his office door was open so he didn't realise that I was outside. He was on phone and he said, well its [...] she's crap. And I walked in and I said, excuse me what have you just said. And he said to me, I'm ever so sorry. I said to him, no you are not sorry, you are only sorry as I caught you talking like this. I made a formal complaint against him to my Inspector who supported me **(interviewee I).**

Interviewee I's experience also illustrates the importance of support mechanisms for BAME women in the police, Interviewee I was very fortunate that her force had the benefit of a

positive action mentoring scheme for BAME officers, she utilised her mentor to support her through the bullying and harassment she endured, this gave her the much needed support to tackle the issue. It also made her bullies aware that there was a function within the police organisation which would seek to protect the interests of minority officers, this had a positive detrimental when his presence was known during the discussion.

when I started the police, force, I built up a relationship with an inspector, he was like a mentor, [...]. So he was like my positive action like mentor. And I immediately, rang him up and I said, look this has happened. He said, don't worry we will do what you want to do. The inspector was saying. Oh come on [...], what do you want me to do he is apologising. I said that's fair enough.

Did you not formalise the complaint?

Everyone was saying to me nothing is going to get done if you put in a complaint. Since that particular incident, he never even spoke to me Its amazing how he just stopped.

The positive action mentoring support were available to very few, majority of the participants had to deal with the bullying behavior on their own and came up with their own strategies to cope with it as Interviewee A and C indicated.

I worked out a strategy of how not to take this on by myself but to expose him and put in him in a situation where he was held accountable by others as well as myself **(Interviewee A)**.

I'm the type of person that doesn't like to bother people. Basically, I took the five weeks off. And I could have taken more off, but I felt that if I didn't go back to work, I wouldn't go back to work, started to unravel as well, as I had a line manager who wasn't supporting me, and so it was unravelling at work I was trying to cope, I felt down **(Interviewee C)**.

7.4 Bullying, Trauma and Dis-ease

For all of the interviewees, their experiences of bullying and harassment was not overtly racial or sexual, it was also covert and subtle, yet constant and deliberate. For interviewee C, the bullying she experienced was as a result of her promotion to a senior position, which was not achieved by her male colleague. This was made all the more strained as she was also member of police staff (also known as civilians or support staff) and was bullied over a six month period by a both a Police Inspector and Sergeant. The bullying consisted of a

campaign of individually and collectively undermining her, refusing to undertake tasks which she requested of them.

When we were together, face to face, he would take on this charming stance trying to win me over. But he used patronising comments. I said to him that I didn't think our relationship was working and that I was going to seek somebody to mediation. I suggested getting [...] to do this mediation and his response was. *"oh [...] [...] [...] do you really think we need to do this, I really don't think that getting somebody else to do that mediation would be the answer, to sorting out these issues, you're alright we can work this out. No [...], I really really don't think we need to get anybody else involved"* **(Interviewee C).**

What is interesting is the interviewee's belief that the techniques used to bully her were felt to be techniques unique to police officers and learnt as part of their training. These techniques were she believed to be used as way to make her feel that she was being unreasonable and un-cooperative.

That kind of tone, which then makes me think that am I being unreasonable, and then I was talking to the [...] He said that, that was negotiation skills and persuasion skills from the courses that they attend. That he is using, those kinds of tactics on me. So I felt very much, that he was using his experience as a police officer on me and all the training he has had to deal with people [...] working them out on me **(Interviewee C).**

The issue of rank and status within the Police was most graphic with Interviewee C because of her role, for which she had national exposure combined with a high degree of power and influence. It is argued here that the issue of the perceived 'non status' of BAME women and the non status of staff in the police, led to a significant incident for Interviewee C.

Because when I, I said to my Chief Constable, that I would like to meet as many Chief Constables as possible, did he have any ideas and he told me that they have a Chief Constables Council where all Chief Constables meet and would I like to come.

He said, 'I could come along and do this and that' and [...] said to me, 'you'll be eaten up alive' and I said really, and he said 'yep'. I said and I thought to myself, what makes you think that I cant handle a room full of senior people / officers and he said 'trust me you need me to be there with you. Cause

you'll be eaten up alive'. During that meeting he did some networking and because of that he got a secondment to the [...] (**Interviewee C**).

Where she was personally and professionally undermined by her male colleague as he didn't think that she could attend and deal with a national Policing meeting because of her not being a police officer and also because she was a woman. This resulted in him using her to gain a significant promotion which is argued here to have been at her expense.

For Interviewee G, the bullying and harassment, she experienced was intensified as she suffered degrading behavior of her manager/ colleagues who thought she was not capable enough to attend this meeting on her own. She felt that as she was the only BAME person in her department and so her every movement and action was being monitored.

I went out to this task force and initially it seemed okay and then there was a particular white person, a female, there and she seemed to get on well with her. I had to go to the court but there was no parking at the court they look at simple things. However I had parked outside a relative's house. Unfortunately, I went to court by the time I got back the car was clamped just got there to convince the guy that I was a police officer and for him to unclamp it. So that's all fine.

I went to my inspector explained what happened, he seemed happy. What the white female said, *'I don't think she went to court I think rather than she went to court she had lunch with her relative'*. That's what I understand. So unbeknown to me, this is what has been going on, behind my back. Having done my work at court and listened to the case. I went back to the station. And then, I am approached again by them saying, 'where were you all this time'. I said, 'I rang you and informed you that the car was clamped and I went to court and now I am back'. So already again I am served with a 163 (**Interviewee G**).

The bullying and harassment she suffered was relentless in that it was petty but also that it was malicious, with the underlying outcome that the organisational impact of bullying and harassment for 'targets' (Chapter 2) will lead to disciplinary sanctions which will slow prospects for promotion. What is, most important is that the 'target' was the 'victim' of the police organisational cultural clique (Waddington 2008) which facilitated her bullying and ensured that the outcome would impact adversely for her and furthermore that it would

have on-going negative consequences in making her ineligible for established financial incentives and promotion prospects.

What they do is that they still look and find something you know even through you put that evidence before them they still find something. That is just one incident. You know that is a pile on discipline. So they take me off that unit and send me back to the borough that I was. When I go back there I have the discipline so because I had those 163s. We used to have a bonus at the end of the year. I lost £2500 that year. Having worked hard for the entire year. Then of course you can't apply for a job. So when they look at that they say look she's not performing. When it goes to the head office to see whether I can or can't go forward it was rejected. And obviously as time goes on. That's what happens. That was the three incidents **(Interviewee G)**.

What is significant in this finding; is that Interviewee G was not believed by her superiors, instead the perpetrator was able to make a statement which had serious negative ramifications for her. It is argued here that she became visible as a black woman as someone to target and that her treatment reflected the organisational power in controlling her ability to gain financial recognition for her effort and future promotion. Furthermore, her humiliation in her asking for confirmation from her criminal justice colleagues in the court, provides an extremely negative impression of how the police and that particular force treats BAME female police officers. This is argued to reinforce awareness of the continued existence of racism within the service to external agencies; and that BAME people are untrustworthy and liars. This has similar ramifications to the case of *Aziz v CPS 2000*²³

One extremely unsettling feature of the research has been the impact of the bullying and harassment on BAME police officers and staff from all 5 forces. What was extremely shocking to note was that one PCSO made multiple suicide attempts a number of which were whilst she was at work (Interviewee D) and that one interviewee made a suicide attempt which was then made known without her consent to her colleagues (Interviewee F). Whilst Chapter 8 explores in detail the impact of the manifestations of bullying and harassment on victims through the views of experts in the field. This chapter shines light on

²³ *Aziz v Crown Prosecution Service 2008* 1 September 2008; ET/1808550/01

the psychological, physical and emotional consequences of bullying and harassment on victims.

For interviewee A, whilst the bullying and harassment she suffered was over two years ago, through the telephone interview when she recounted the incidents and the impact on her, there was still a feeling of upset in her voice when she recounted the incidents and the impact on her. The most significant of which was her lack of confidence. This was a significant feature for all the 13 women who were victims of bullying and harassment. While some worked through their period of bullying and harassment, 11 people did not and they took time off time because of stress. Those few who managed to work through the bullying and harassment were supported by a combination of family, friends and/or work colleagues. Indicative of then is Interviewee G, she recounted enduring depression, hair loss etc.

You cry a lot you can't sleep, I haven't slept in years, not properly, but you just have to get on, you have to get on with it, what can you do,

Did you take any time off during this?

Yes, during both incidents I took time off, up to 6 months as a time as you are depressed and you think, '*I can't move it's a job*', you don't see any future, you don't see any outlook **(Interviewee G)**.

For interviewee I, her reaction to the impact of the bullying and harassment she suffered was to come home in distress and experiencing eating and sleeping disorders. Interviewee M on the other hand had expressed how she suffered from anxiety and withdrawal symptoms:

I used to come home crying to my parents, and to my brother and saying I am going to leave, [...] I was always crying when I came home, I didn't feel like eating, didn't sleep well. Erm I think I had a month off for stress as well **(Interviewee I)**.

I was out of my rank, they forced me to go back to my home borough to my previous post, erm that really did affect me, you become really paranoid, you walk into an office and you think that everyone is talking about you, rumors are going around, no one actually ever talks, to you you just hear little rumours you become withdrawn to people you just hide **(Interviewee M)**

However, for Interviewee J, her disability was exacerbated as a result of the bullying and harassment she endured.

I have anxiety, I have changed from having mild dyslexia to having heavy dyslexia [...] at the end I had dyspraxia as well and my dyspraxia became so bad because my special awareness became so bad that I kept getting lost. And I didn't know how to get back to [...] as I couldn't remember the roads. That's how bad I was at the end, I had one and a half years off work (**Interviewee J**).

For interviewee H, who was the rank of sergeant, she deliberately chose not to take time off work and gave the following outline of what she did and her reasons for the course of action she undertook. This indicates the vicious cycle of bullying where the victim suffers both physical and psychological trauma of feeling helpless and being trapped into the situation that they were facing whilst dealing with bullying on one hand and keeping their career going on the other:

... at the beginning I didn't (take time off work) because I thought they were trying to break me. I took it as annual leave. I'm trying to keep my sickness record really really clean. As every time you go for any job, any job, you have to present your sickness record, and that's one of the things that they can say well we are not going to hire you. I couldn't add that on top of the fact that I was black and female to the equation (**Interviewee H**).

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has identified the issues faced by 13 BAME female victims of bullying and harassment across five English Police Forces where the research participants were police employees and had suffered bullying and harassment over a period of time (6 months or over) regardless of whether they have been subjected to prejudice or illegal discrimination, they had been made to feel inferior and victimised which constitutes bullying. The main finding has been that bullying and harassment of BAME women has a detrimental effect of resulting in the awarding of disciplinary sanctions; which restricts opportunities for promotion, thereby adversely affecting their careers. The research participants felt that in

addition to subordination and sexualisation they were also viewed as being 'invisible' by the white counterparts and perceived to be incapable of holding supervisory rank this results in tactics of undermining by their colleagues and peers and is reflective of a culture of police racism (Waddington 2008). They all had their own coping tactics, some had support from family, friends and colleagues, some had support of positive mentoring scheme, some took time off for stress and depression and a small minority took annual leave to cope. Unfortunately, two out of these thirteen participants who found the bullying experience unbearable and were not able to cope, had attempted suicide. The damaging effect of bullying and harassment needs to be viewed in terms of not just reputational damage but also the financial costs of impact to the health service of the prescription of medication and consultations with medical doctors and other health impacts. The next chapter provides the invaluable insights of experts in the field around police force handling of bullying and harassment of BAME women in English Police.

Chapter 8: Findings: Organisational Response: The Experts

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview and analysis of interviews undertaken with five experts in the field: professionals with expertise in Discrimination Law; Human Resources, Race issues in the Police Services in England, Police Federation and Psychology. The experts, have, through their work, collectively established a significant level of expertise and knowledge of bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England.

The need for this chapter became more apparent during my presentation to the NBPA Executive (chapter 5) committee meeting. As during their discussion, the members of the NBPA Executive committee discussed a number of issues relating to Police Services in England Human Resources Directorates, Professional Standards Departments, Police Federation Regulations, and the general experiences and obstacles which members faced when trying to bring forward a complaint of bullying and harassment, in particular they also highlighted the crucial work undertaken by a number of Solicitors who specialised in race, sex, bullying and harassment cases brought against the Police Services in England. Furthermore, they informed me that at their 2014 National Conference, they requested input from a well-regarded psychologist who was inundated with requests from current and former police officers and staff for support as a result of the impact of the bullying and harassment which they incurred. As a result of this discussion, the gatekeeper and the Executive committee of the National Black Police Association played an important role in identifying and signposting me to these experts who had firsthand experience of dealing with a high volume and high profile cases of race, sex discrimination, bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England.

As discussed in Chapter 5 four participated in semi-structured telephone interviews and one completed a questionnaire and offered insights into organisational processes and practices, which are specific to the experiences of victims of bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England and which may not be apparent to the victims themselves.

Through the diverse experiences and professional knowledge of the 'experts in the field' (who had direct experience of three Police Services in England areas). A unique and informed perspective to assess and view the legislative framework around bullying and harassment and the organisational mechanisms aimed at addressing it has been gained through this process. A number of questions were developed to gain an understanding of the organisational processes and practices; which impact on victims of bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England.

The findings contributed towards answering both of the research questions, which are as follows;

- Does Police culture act as a facilitator of bullying and harassment?
- Are there underlying reasons why BAME women suffer bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England? What is the nature of the discourse surrounding such bullying and harassment and how has it impacted on the progression of BAME women in English Policing?

The diverse experiences of the research participants; was made very stark during the interview process. They offered an invaluable insight into race, bullying and harassment cases, including bullying and harassment cases through the Fairness at Work procedures and the employment tribunal process. Participants also talked about the impact of bullying and harassment on BAME women in the Police Services in England on their physical and psychological health. The Experts provided a nuanced understanding of the reality of the processes and the impact of bullying on the individual. Their input provided a rich understanding of the complexities of bullying and harassment of BAME women in the police and operational processes, which this research argues is a contributory factor in restricting their professional progression. Participants' reflections also indicated that the main reason behind bullying and harassment was a deep-rooted problem in the Police Services in England was as a result of the reinforcement of the bureaucratic and hierarchical nature of the organisation which is underpinned by a prevailing police culture.

It is argued that the parochial and insular nature of police culture is a result of the lack of diversity among those recruited to the service. That police culture is partly characterised by racist stereotyping, which is suggested here as a reflection of wider attitudes and prejudices predominant in the sections of society from which police officers are predominantly drawn (Skolnick, 1967; Scripture, 1997).

This chapter is organised into a number of distinctive themes, which have been identified through the analysis and coding of the findings: manifestations of bullying and harassment; organisational response to bullying and harassment, individual responses and the impact of bullying and harassment – health issues; casualties of bullying and harassment and solutions to tackle bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England. This chapter argues that the bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Services in England is underpinned by issues of patriarchy and racism; which are difficult to challenge in bureaucratic and hierarchical organisation like the Police.

8.2 Patriarchy and Racism in the Police Service

What was clear from the findings was that the organisational cultural make-up of the Police Services in England which is still dominated by white men²⁴ (data analysis in chapter six also supports this finding) makes it harder for the organisation to understand the issues of bullying and harassment affecting BAME women. This was found to be as a result of the historical tradition around race and gender in policing (See Chapters 2 and 4) and also as a result of police culture. For Interviewee 1 (an HR professional with 12 years experience in an urban force), when probed about what they understood to be police culture, the following was highlighted;

²⁴ By the end of 2017 only 29 percent of police officers in England and Wales is white female, numbered 33770 and BAME female numbered 2572. (source: Office of National Statistics)

I think it's a lack of diversity, around the influencers, the people at the very top of the organisation. There is an organisational message there. The message is that this will not be tolerated and harsh sanctions will be given. But the reality of the experience is not that the organisation actually gets what that means. When you have black women who are complainants or women who are complainants or black people on their own who are complainants. The organisation doesn't get the sort of nuances and the interaction between the organisation and therefore put in place appropriate things to try and combat that, with regards to peoples' attitudes and behaviour **(Interviewee 1)**.

Within the context of police culture, interviewee 3, who felt that issues of race are at the heart of the negative experiences of BAME officers and staff in the Police Services in England. This was based on their years (more than 20 years) of experience as a solicitor who specialised in discrimination and harassment cases of BAME people in the Police Services in England. Furthermore, they stressed the important point that as highlighted in Chapter 3, that bullying is not illegal and is often found within hierarchical and bureaucratic organisations like the police. Furthermore, they outlined that it was often used as a tool to manage staff through processes such as micromanagement which corroborates the findings from previous chapter. The lack of confidence on exiting system with regards to following complaint or grievance procedures was one of the key issues identified from the interviews with the victims in last chapter. The challenges of raising claims of bullying and discrimination are made stark and the reality of being a BAME person in the Police is seen as a potential position of vulnerability from the outset, which requires a deliberate course of action.

It's made clear to you that you are not quite one of the gang and you are always given the worst jobs. You are never given credit so you can be marginalised or isolated a little bit. It not too overt as obviously they don't want too much of a reaction. [...] So it happens and of course bullying is not illegal, and bullying is used in many organisations as a hierarchical organisation as a legitimate tool of management. It's the culture [...] vast majority of people police officers don't complain about it and they don't want to be victimised [...] we have had so many people been arrested over bogus misconduct stuff and then professional standards just run with it. People are quite vulnerable as at the lower levels you are often at the front line of dangerous situations and if you don't think your colleagues are on your back you could get isolated on the street. Its an entirely different experience If you

are isolated in the office. No one is trying to hit you with a blunt instrument in the office **(Interviewee 3)**.

For Interviewee 3 whilst they acknowledged the existence of race and gender discrimination in the Police Services in England they made very clear their view that there was in operation a 'Sort of hierarchy of discrimination' **(Interviewee 3)**. Discrimination was underpinned by patriarchy, however, they stressed that the treatment of BAME workers and BAME women was worse. This cultural aspect was seen to be historic in nature and therefore as a consequence engrained within the fabric of the organisation. For interviewee 3, the situation facing BAME people and in particular BAME women in the police, was very stark.

The problem of black people in the police, is its like being given a membership card. While you are a member you are in theory equal to other officers, but you will encounter quite engrained racism in police stations across [..]Newer recruits coming through who are more at ease with a multicultural society are more educated, degree based. That doesn't necessarily follow but sometimes having a slighter broader mindset can help **(Interviewee 3)**.

The input of interviewee 3 affirms the findings of previous chapter where the victims shares how they were made to feel isolated. On this issue, Atkinson, (2016) asserts that "it is possible to identify patriarchal dispositions within police culture and the emergence of a gender order in policing which subordinates femininity, youth and other masculinities that run counter to police culture's form of hegemonic masculinity" (Atkinson, 2016:234). Similar to Atkinson's (2016) study, Chesney-Lind, (2006); and Young, (2011) identify the impact of patriarchal culture in the Police Services in England. As discussed throughout this research, in addition to gender related patriarchy, police culture also discriminates racially. Research undertaken by O'Hara, (2013) underlines the double discrimination that female BAME police officers and staff faced in Ireland. Similarly, the interviews with the experts, have all stressed that BAME women in the Police Services in England experience double discrimination.

Interviewee 3 acknowledged that it was possible for BAME women in the police to progress without encountering racism or bullying and harassment. However, they believed that this could only be achieved when the individual had the support of an influential /senior male or female white person within the organisation who was their mentor and viewed them as their protégé (two interviewees in Chapter 7 also mentioned the benefits of positive mentoring). Often, the mentor and/or protector provides opportunities for the protégé to break the glass ceiling. The interviewee 3 pointed out the fact that the difficulty of progression for female police officers, in general, BAME female officers, in particular, without an insider mentor/protector.

That would put black females at an additional disadvantage and generally black people get worse treatment than women. You see more obstacles, for white women, there are fewer obstacles going through the ranks, they are less dependent on the freemason connections now, and by their progression, for Black women there is very little progress unless they are adopted by a more male of female colleague who is white [...] with that type of support it can help break that particular type of glass ceiling (**Interviewee 3**).

For interviewee 4, a clinical psychologist working within occupational health services in an large urban force, they highlighted that BAME women in the police specifically African Caribbean women were stereotyped as being 'negative, aggressive, intimidating and confrontational' (**Interviewee 4**), As such, she believed that this contributed to them being viewed as 'fair game'. She went on to observe that when the issue of bullying and harassment was in relation to women and black women it often resulted in a dismissive reaction from peers and managers. On the grounds that they were stereotyped as, 'the neurotic woman or the hypersensitive black' (**Interviewee 2**). Interviewee 2, a high ranked staff association leader with over 22 years of experience articulated that the result of the stereotyping of black women made it much harder BAME women to have the bullying and harassment they suffered taken seriously. This phenomena was also evident in the statements of several interviewees in previous chapter;

So you are having to fight right from the beginning from naming something that you are experiencing as real. You have to fight the sort of view about what you are dealing with as your fault. That's why I use the word melody, as it's seen as your problem and it's in your and it's your stuff and it's nothing to do with us **(Interviewee 2)**.

The reality of being a BAME woman in the police and how to cope with working for the Police was made stark by Interviewee 1:

When it comes to policing you are different, that's why it's taken them so long to deal with this [...] It's a them and us situation, so black, white, if you are part of the crew, then you have to think and behave like them.

So how do BAME women survive in the police?

You assimilate. To the majority culture,

Is that necessary for survival?

Yes!

What became apparent through the interviews with all five experts was that 'race' was their contention that race was not on the agenda post the Macpherson Inquiry, (Chapter 2 and Chapter 4). Furthermore, they articulated that race only became a concern when it was associated with a high profile issue or case. This led the Experts to contend that race was not a natural consideration within the thought processes of decision makers in the Police Services in England. This was then perceived to have a detrimental effect when it came to the handling of bullying and harassment of BAME women in the police. They confirmed that race is not on the agenda, for people to have or to people to care about, it only comes up when it comes up with an issue, but it's not on the forefront of people's minds. A black woman's sexism experience is slightly different to a white woman, in that for a white man, a black woman is forbidden fruit. And you have all the sexualisation of black women that they are forbidden fruit (reciprocates the experiences of interview participants in previous chapter). It puts them in that arena that is all premeditated in the form of subconscious/unconscious biases and therefore there is this ownership perception prevails

where it can be linked back to master and slave dynamics which all plays into our experience and the thought processes are pre built.

The women we have interviewed, said that race was the prominent issue in their bullying and harassment. What do you think?

Yes, it would be because that is the first thing. The first thing that anyone sees about you. This is what I feel as a black woman, my description will be, and did you see that black woman that walked into the room. Which sets me apart. So if two of us walk into a room, one black one white, then they will say did you see the black woman.

So after all of the years of diversity training after post racial Britain. It's still the case?

Of course it is, people don't want to admit it but that definitely is it, then their behaviours are the defensiveness /attitudes around difference. **[Interviewee 1]**

This research argues that patriarchy and racism within the police service has a 'domino effect' in terms of how the organisation views complaints and complainants of bullying and harassment such as BAME women. The adoption of the terminology 'bullying and harassment' undermines the seriousness of the issue. This is then coupled with the fact that the issue tends to be associated only with those with protected characteristics (i.e., BAME people, disabled people, lesbian, gay, bisexual, etc). However, the recent push to the political mainstream of the issue of bullying and harassment has given the issue more credibility, however there is no particular emphasis on its effects on BAME women. Interviewee 2 makes a very poignant point on this issue.

Once the individual feels that what's happening to them is harassment or any other kind of bullying. Or any other kind of experiences, the individual starts to experience trauma, whether we want to talk about trauma with a small T big T or a middle T it is trauma, and I think if harassment and viewed as trauma I think that we will respond to it quite differently we will definitely respond to it quite differently. There are sorts of misconceptions about trauma about harassment happening only to weak people for example harassment happens to unassertive people harassment only men harass and that is a misnomer women do harass as well harassment only happens to the politically correct who cant take a joke harassment only happens to people who speak up and point out, who says the unsayable, for example harassment only happens to people have a chip on their shoulder, all of these things those are the common misnomers about harassment (**Interviewee 2**).

What is important to note that if we look at the Police Services in England as a service which provides a critical support to a number of groups e.g. victims of domestic violence and race hate crime. In providing that service and more crucially in gathering evidence to bring forward a criminal case that the police will seek to identify a pattern of cumulative behavior a major part of the criminal case will be on the impact of the 'abuse, racial or domestic violence on the victim, trauma, anxiety etc. Therefore it's critical that the police in ensuring that they can deliver their role to the public effectively are also acutely mindful and proactive when it comes to their own staff. Otherwise this undermines public trust and confidence in the police and especially from diverse communities.

8.3 Organisational Response to Bullying and Harassment of BAME women in the Police

This part of Chapter 8 will deal with the perceptions of BAME women as a result of the organizational response to reporting bullying and harassment. The experts who dealt with cases of this nature didn't differ much from the views of victims. All five interviewees agreed that the Police Services in England as an organisation had effective policies in place to deal with the issue, however they articulated that it was the implementation of the policies, which was problematic.

What emerged from the interviews with the Experts was the issue of power and control between two Police Departments; Human Resources and Professional Standards. Furthermore, they all stressed that the reality of police culture, was that there would be a closing of ranks which would deter people from taking forward cases of bullying and harassment. Interviewee 3 described the typical response to a claim of bullying and harassment by citing a case he had once dealt with.

Incidents like a black policeman may walk into a police station and be racially abused by a white officer who is near to retirement. And then that officer protests and then the moment they protest the police force, and the department of professional standards operates what I would call a cover up and what they would call to protect the reputation of the force and they think that to do this by getting rid of a problem rather than addressing it and normally in the cover up getting rid of a problem there is usually corruption as they tend to retaliate to get the officer up for misconduct or to arrest the officer. The closing of the ranks occurs and you are in a very vulnerable position. **(Interviewee 3)**.

The mechanics of handling bullying and harassment cases by the Police was seen as part of a 'corrupt process' where what was at stake was the preservation of the organisation. This is a unique finding in itself as the victims of bullying may not be aware of the broader pictures within the organisation as the experts do. As a discrimination lawyer Interviewee 3 made very clear his belief from experience that the response of the Police Service to cases of bullying and harassment of BAME women was to 'cover it up' and then to develop processes whereby the case would be 'subverted' through processes designed to bring in an element of quality assurance to deal effectively with cases rooted in race discrimination.

There were numerous reports which said the investigation into race complaints in the [...] have often been sabotaged. By management and so they had a quality assurance process in it so someone in DPS would check that the investigator had done the job properly and that there was no cover up. That's quite a good idea. But the way that the DPS subverts the process is if you put a complaint in as [...] did the new slightly more (inaudible) investigator finds in her favour and finds that she has been discriminated against but then the QA system operated by HR and DPS order the investigator to re-write it so that [...] loses on everything (**Interviewee 3**).

During the period of this research (since 2008), the UK has entered into a period of financial austerity and job/budget cuts in the name of organisational restructuring has had an adverse impact of race issues (EHRC, 2016). What this has done, has made it much more difficult for individuals to challenge their employers and bring forward cases of harassment and racial discrimination in the employment tribunals (Unison, 2015; EHRC, 2016) as individuals are more fearful for their jobs. They also have to exhaust the internal procedures before they go to employment tribunal and the fees for taking cases to employment tribunal were high (Unison 2015; EHRC 2016). The employment fee system in the UK was viewed unlawful by the Supreme Court on 26 July 2017 and abolished.

This research argues that this 'restrictive' climate is creating the conditions for greater numbers of people to tolerate bullying and harassment instead of challenging it. This will have a damaging effect on the numbers of people taking time off work for stress related conditions and puts a strain on General Practitioner and healthcare services. With the

recent activities for greater acknowledgment of the impact of societal racial discrimination in the UK (EHRC, 2016; Runnymede Trust, 2016) there is a need for those groups such as the National Black Police Association and the Police Federation to encourage for greater action in this area. In recognising that the business case for equality has taken precedence over the moral case for equality. It would be welcomed for cross departmental research to financially quantify the impact of racial discrimination and harassment of BAME women in the police service. It is argued that a focus on the financial costs of bullying and harassment would potentially have more traction in gaining action than the moral arguments on equality have done. The broader aspects and consequences of rise in bullying incidents in terms of economic and health impact was not an area of expertise for the victims to focus on. Hence the discussion with the experts reveals and highlights a few key areas in this chapter that hadn't been discussed in the earlier interviews.

8.4 BAME women in the Police Response to Bullying and Harassment – Health

One of the most disturbing features of this research has been listening to the psychological and physical impact of bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Service. The previous chapter highlighted that two of the women one PCSO and one police officer had made suicide attempts due to the pressure of the bullying and harassment they endured. Some of them also reported stress and anxiety disorders, sleep and eating disorders, hair loss, escalating disability, etc. The research has benefitted significantly from the clinical knowledge and expertise of Interviewee 2, who had a clear understanding of the issues facing BAME women in the police. However, what was significant and what framed the findings was that it became apparent that the very terminology of bullying; has in some ways downplayed the seriousness of the issue and does not reveal the potential psychological and physical impact of the issue on victims.

During the course of this research this point became more apparent as within the last year (2017/18) there has been a gradual increase in key UK figures on issues of mental health so much so that the Duchess of Cornwall edited a special Radio 4 series about mental health (broadcasted on 29 April 2018). This in addition to the revelations of a number of political figures of their mental health issues (Alaistair Campbell) and the high profile bullying case surrounding the Conservative Party. Has brought the issue of mental health and bullying into the mainstream. However, what has not been made apparent is the impact of racial bullying and harassment on BAME people in the workplace. Therefore the wider marginalisation of race issues (Craig and O'Neil 2012) in the UK has a deleterious effect on it not being recognised as an issue for BAME women. This was articulated in the following way;

I refer to it as causing invisible injuries. That people don't see very easily, a white counterpart who is very very stressed might look visibly very stressed, they might look very red as they are flushed with their stress, they may look more visibly distressed as it shows on more easily on their face and their whole persona. So, you have the invisible injuries, you have the grinding down, you have the dis-ease, morphing into disease and then you have the somatisation. And the trauma, I would call it with a big capital T trauma. It's a big T trauma, just because it goes on for months and years. The use of language and the terms bullying and harassment are not as harsh as trauma and this and the impact and effect of bullying and harassment is then negated. Whereas the usage of the term trauma is very different. Bullying and Harassment trivialises [sic] but the word trauma gives it a clinical connotation. It immediately negates it and then you have to fight to survive. It gives it a clinical grounding. In mental health they used to use the term quite reluctantly and dismissively. People made jokes about it, but have you noticed quite recently that mental health is the flavour of the month.

Interviewee 2.

Whilst the previous chapter highlighted the physical and psychological impact of bullying and harassment experienced by BAME women in the police. Interviewee 2 provides a crucial clinical overview of the impact of bullying and harassment on victims. This corroborated the experiences of the women in previous chapter but also highlighted the viewpoint articulated by Interviewee 2; that the psychological impact of bullying and harassment can result in unrelated physical symptoms, which has been described in detail

by a number of the interviews (Chapter 7) This adds weight to the view that to label the issue as bullying negates the serious implications associated with it. Her work as a psychotherapist of people who come to therapy when they are ground down, by harassment and bullying in the workplace or institutional racism, as an impact, she actually sees them at their worst. She described that she actually witnesses them when they are totally ground down when they are suffering from clinical depression. They suffer from all kinds of somatic conditions. She indicated that internalisation of the stress starts to affect the whole body and mind. She expressed how it was quite shocking for her to have seen in her practice how many black people develop late onset diabetes hypertension and something resembling ME.

8.5 Solutions for tackling bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Service

For the experts, solutions to enable both the police service and BAME women address the issue of bullying and harassment was predicated on a need for clear leadership. This issue was highlighted and raised in Chapter 6. Whilst the majority of the experts had what could be termed achievable solutions, e.g. interviewee 3 proposed what can only be described as a radical and potentially unachievable solution. However, his solution was based on their experience that the handling of cases of bullying and harassment were steeped in what he termed 'corruption' and issues of power and control of the Department for Professional Standards and Human Resources. As such he believed that only a radical solution could deal with the engrained nature of the problem. In his opinion, an allegation of discrimination should not be viewed as gross misconduct until proven. Therefore when a black female puts in a complaint under fairness at work the fairness and work investigator needs to be based outside the police and someone independent. So that they are external, and that the decision on it needs to be by someone who is independent, possibly not be the police but within that chain of command.

Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) that's an utter and complete waste of space they are not going to prosecute corrupt officers

successfully. We have a case where it looks like someone who is accused of discrimination one of the reasons why they turned down the person, is that they wanted the person to go for a senior position in the IPCC on retirement (laughs), you have your own man in there then who is grateful for you who is found to be a racist. But who may be involved in a death in custody or so that's how it works and that's the network it's the historical thing that you have to either work on it incrementally or you have to rip up the structure and say it doesn't work. **(Interviewee 3)**

Interviewee 3's proposal whilst it could seem radical, makes sense when you consider a number of recent high profile cases which involve the deliberate targeting and bullying of Black women who are involved in investigating cases of racism in the Police Services in England. The case of Jennifer Izekor, a former Commissioner of the Independent Police Complaints Commission who was faced with criminal misconduct charges whilst she investigated assault and racism cases against three Metropolitan Police Officers (Shaw, 2019). Have laid bare the extent of what Interviewee calls 'corruption', specifically in the professional standards department. Furthermore, this can be classed as a deliberating hounding and strategy to break down an individual to ensure that they stop their investigation (as in the case of Jennifer Izekor) or the complaint they have made victims of bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England.

Interviewees 1, 4 and 5 all agreed that a key solution to tackling bullying and harassment for BAME women in the police was to ensure that people were brought to account for their actions, greater levels of transparency in fairness at work processes and greater support for victims. Greater levels of accountability and transparency and accountability were seen as important as the issue was they argued linked to overall staff confidence. Confident staff are more able to take forward cases of bullying and harassment, whereas the findings in the previous chapter and the available literature illustrate that people have very little confidence in the organisations ability to deal with issues of this nature. This can be seen as the rationale for interviewee 3 advocating the use of external investigators. Furthermore, the findings have shown that there is widespread mistrust of the Fairness at Work

procedures with a number of those interviewed stating and being advised that going through the formal route will have no outcome. Therefore the individual is faced with a stark choice; fight or fly. Either way the consequences require the individual to have strong support networks either or both work and family.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on the interviews of five experts to examine the bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Services in England. It is asserted that the experiences of BAME women in the Police Services in England are a result of patriarchy and racism; which are difficult to challenge in bureaucratic and hierarchical organisations like the Police that facilitates bullying and harassment. The experts confirmed that the wider marginalisation and stereotyping of BME women is a key problem. Lack of confidence in the existing policies and procedures are a result of cover up by HR and PS to protect reputation. Often the processes are hindered by the fact that those departments trying to get rid of the problems than addressing the problems. The key findings supports the claims of bullying, harassment and discrimination previous chapter. Whilst the Police Services in England has developed on 'face value' effective policies and procedures to deal with bullying and harassment. It is the implementation of the policies and procedures and the way in which certain sections of the organisation handle them (Department of Professional Standards (DPS) and Human Resources (HR); which is problematic (Lewis, 2015). As the departments responsible for handling cases of bullying and harassment of BAME women; do not have many BAME people working within them (HASC 2016, HC27). It is argued here that this makes implementation of bullying and harassment policies difficult, as these individuals do not truly understand the nature of racism which is essential to be able to tackle the bullying and harassment of BAME women. Furthermore, the forceful police culture, does its utmost to maintain and protect the organisation from those BAME women who would expose it both internally and externally for bullying and harassment. This triggers a range of acts; aimed at undermining, discrediting and isolating the victim through drawn out investigative processes (Carol Howard, Alison Holford). These acts are aimed

at maintaining power and order and are enabled through the operation of police culture. Which by its very nature facilitates 'corruption' of processes in the handling of bullying and harassment cases. These are all reflective of the underlying discourses that nurtures the prevailing police culture.

This chapter has identified that the role of unequivocal leadership is key to tackling issues of bullying and harassment of BAME women in the police; with support mechanisms being crucial to the well being of BAME women targeted for bullying and harassment. The issues of ill health what is termed in this research as dis-ease, is a manifestation for victims, this has a malignant effect on organisational reputational damage and costs not only for the police but also for the health service. As such cross-departmental research to identify the costs of bullying and harassment of BAME women in the police is deemed as a necessary piece of work to understand the extent of the problem. Next chapter draws conclusion to the research findings.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Overview

This thesis has examined the bullying and harassment of BAME women within the Police Services in England with a particular focus on race gender and police culture. The thesis aimed to answer the following research questions:

- Does police culture act as a facilitator of bullying and harassment?
- Are there underlying reasons why BAME women suffer bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England? What is the nature of the discourse surrounding such bullying and harassment and how has it impacted on the progression of BAME women in English Policing?

This research contributes to knowledge by identifying, the impact of the historic failure to acknowledge the importance of intersectionality in matters of diversity and the 'struggle' between race and gender. The research confirms Gitten's argument (2004) that intersectionality has been contributing to the 'invisibility' of BAME women in policing. Gender and race make BAME women common targets for bullying and harassment. The tactics of bullying and harassment are generally enhanced by the police 'organisation' and enforced by police 'culture'. In this regard, the thesis argues that the bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Services in England is underpinned by issues of patriarchy and racism; which are difficult to challenge in a bureaucratic and hierarchical organisation such as the Police.

The research was aimed to fill a gap in the policing studies literature by conducting an examination of the experiences of BAME women in the Police. It is argued that the unique experiences faced by BAME women within organisational policy development, has created a situation where they remain invisible. This is further compounded by the fact that mechanisms used to tackle race equality such as audit and evaluation have a negative impact as they are not gender neutral. This has contributed to the development of a

masculine approach to social change. Within this context, the thesis argues that it is essential that issues of intersectionality as they pertain to BAME women who work in the Police Services in England must be explored by the UK Government and Policing organisations. It is a testament to the persistence of the National Black Police Association that this issue is finally becoming part of the discussion (HASC, 2019). A failure to address intersectionality will only continue to have a negative impact on the recruitment, retention and progression of BAME women in the police. Furthermore, given the current austerity climate, it is essential for the Government to look carefully at the extent to which bullying and harassment has impacted on the health of BAME women in the Police Services in England and the cost implications for this on the Health Service.

Furthermore, the thesis has explored the development of the legislative and policy framework of bullying and harassment within the context of the Police Services in England. This research has identified that the resistance to the development of a UK legislative framework on workplace bullying by both Conservative and Labour Administrations has resulted in the development of a public policy framework to tackle bullying and harassment within organisations alternatively termed as 'Dignity at Work' policies. This thesis argues that this concession to the development of a legislative framework on workplace bullying was adopted as it would not be burdensome to employers and that the existing Equalities Legislative framework included provision for harassment.

9.2 Summary of Findings

The thesis has addressed two interrelated research questions. Whilst seeking to understand the impact and the extent to which police culture race and gender have on the experiences of BAME women working within Police Services in England, it has interviewed experts who were chosen because of their levels of experience around distinctive areas, discrimination law; human resources, race relations and psychology. To support the qualitative findings of chapter 7 and 8, data analysis (chapter 6) into official published figures from the following UK Government Departments; Ministry of Justice, Home Office

and Office for National Statistics, have been undertaken. This has been facilitated an analysis of data regarding ethnicity, gender, recruitment, retention, progression, in the Police Services in England.

The findings of the analysis has confirmed that police culture has facilitated bullying and harassment within the police organisation. The thesis has identified how the actual behaviour of staff challenges the formal stance of the organisation, in which the influence of organisational culture operates from top down, i.e. from management to workers. In this regard, organisational culture does not necessarily reflect the formal stance of working environment as represented by official documentation and policy. Instead organisational culture is viewed as being formulated through the actual behaviour of staff. Paoline (2003) asserts that this contrasts with occupational culture where the source of such influence emanates from front-line workers themselves. This research has examined, organisational and occupational culture and explained why individuals who deviate from cultural expectations of the organisation become marginalised.

In order to understand the role of police culture in bullying and harassment behaviour within the Police Services in England, a chronological policy review and interviews were undertaken. The policy review and interviews have identified the persistence of specific themes in relation to bullying and harassment towards BAME women: patriarchy and racism, invisibility of the experiences faced by BAME women, limitations of the mechanisms used to tackle race equality, the reluctance of the UK to adopt a legislative framework on bullying in working places and an organisational culture that perceives and represents black women as 'subordinate and sexualised'.

Based on the chronological policy review and interviews, the research has established that the implementation of bullying and harassment policies is difficult, as individuals with responsibility for their implementation them do not truly understand the nature of racism which is essential to be able to tackle the bullying and harassment of BAME women (HASC, 2016). Furthermore, this research has revealed the manner in which the police culture

operates to maintain and protect the organisation from those BAME women who would expose it both internally and externally for bullying and harassment. This triggers a range of acts; aimed at undermining, discrediting and isolating the victim through drawn out investigative processes. These acts are aimed at maintaining power and order and are enabled through the operation of that wielding police culture. That, by its very nature, facilitates 'corruption' of processes in the handling of bullying and harassment cases.

The research has confirmed Ghaffur's (2004) and Rollock's (2010) arguments that the failure to 'grasp' the issue of bullying and harassment of BAME women within English Policing is due in part, to a lack of effective leadership; which is driven by a 'crisis management' culture round issues of race and gender. Furthermore, the research has established that this situation contributes to intensifying the perceived and actual 'invisibility' of BAME women within English policing. This is argued within the research to be reflective of a discourse; which perceives and represents black women as subordinate and sexualised. This makes them 'prey' or 'targets' within organisational cultures, which value traditional notions of masculinity in which whiteness is valorised. The result of which, has led to the development of ineffective policies, which are vulnerable to undermining and hostile responses within diverse organisational policing structures.

Coleman and Gorman, (1982) and Reiner (2010) describe that the unique themes of police culture are: sense of mission, pragmatism, a thirst for action, cynicism, pessimism, suspicion, isolation from the public and solidarity within the police, conservatism, machismo, authoritarianism and racial prejudice. These themes, are all products of police organisations which are founded on a military and bureaucratically based history (German et al 1973). Police culture, has created the conditions whereby women, BAME, LGBT people within the organisation are viewed with suspicion as they are different from the norms associated with the Police. In this context, this thesis argues that the combination of police culture within a bureaucratic 'command and control' organisation such as the police results in a resistance

to policies and procedures aimed at tackling issues such as discrimination, bullying and harassment.

The thesis has established that the bullying and harassment of BAME women in 5 police forces in the Police Services in England had a detrimental impact on BAME women. This resulted in disciplinary sanctions, which restricted opportunities for promotion and blocks their progression. The findings have revealed that BAME women in the police, both officers and staff respectively, are viewed as invisible to their white counterparts. They are not perceived to be capable of holding supervisory ranks. This results in the undermining of BAME individuals by their colleagues and peers, which is reflective of a culture of police racism. The impact of bullying and harassment needs to be viewed in terms of not just reputational damage to the image of the Police Services in England but also in terms of the financial costs to the health service by way of prescription medications and consultations with medical professionals.

The role of unequivocal leadership is a crucial factor to tackling bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Services in England. Furthermore, adequate support mechanisms are imperative to the wellbeing of BAME women who have suffered from bullying and harassment. Without this, issues of ill health what is termed in this research as 'dis-ease' is liable to manifest as physical ailments for victims as outlined by the expert, psychologist (Chapter 8). This causes reputational damage and costs not only for the police but also for the health service. As this research is limited to the parameters set out in the research questions, it is imperative that future on the health impacts of bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England is undertaken.

The findings of chapters 7 (interviews with BAME women police officers and staff) and chapter 8 (experts in the field who through their work have a deep understanding of the issues faced by BAME police officers and staff) were that bullying and harassment of BAME women in the Police Services in England impacts adversely and disproportionately on the

awarding of disciplinary sanctions; which restricts opportunities for promotion and which in turn significantly impedes the progression of BAME female police officers and staff.

9.3 Policy Recommendations for Further Action

The number of thematic investigations into issues of tolerance and diversity has increased in the aftermath Macpherson Inquiry, (1999) (HASC, 2019). They have all raised the prevalence of institutional racism within the Police Services in England and highlighted the difficulties encountered by BAME police officers and staff working in a predominantly white institution and the ways in which this impacts on police interactions with the diverse communities they serve.

The lack of an acknowledgement of the intersectionality of race and gender for BAME police officers and staff and how it operates within the context of bullying and harassment has made addressing the issue challenging, (HASC, 2019). The reluctance of the UK to adopt a legislative framework on bullying has been revealed to be a response to concerns of successive Conservative and Labour governments that the introduction of legislation on bullying would create a regulatory burden. This view has created tensions between employers in both the public, private sector and unions.

The UK Police Service has developed on 'face value' effective policies and procedures to deal with bullying and harassment. However, it is the implementation of the policies and procedures and the way in which certain sections of the organisation (Department of Professional Standards (DPS) and Human Resources (HR); handle them which is problematic (Lewis, 2015). In addition, those departments within the Police Services in England with responsibility for handling cases of bullying and harassment of BAME women; do not have a representative BAME workforce (HASC 2016, HC27). As such there understanding of the impact of racism and bullying and harassment is limited.

The failure of the UK to adopt a legislative framework on bullying has meant that within the Police Services in England, Dignity at Work policies are shown to be unhelpful as they are

able to be undermined as they operate within police culture which is underpinned by a 'blue wall of silence' that colludes to undermine internal investigations particularly into corruption or areas of discrimination Interviewee 3 Expert in Discrimination Law) (Silverman, 1999, Walker 2001, Morris et al 2004). This research argues that this had a detrimental impact on BAME women in the police as they suffer from intersectionality, in terms of race and gender (Crenshaw, 1989)

Whilst this study did not commence as applied research, its findings point out the inevitability of a brief discussion of its potential practical outcomes due to its humane subject matter. The research findings can be used to develop solutions to the problem of bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England. There the next section offers an inventory of recommendations for action. Aimed at dealing with the issue of bullying and harassment within the Police Services in England. The main focus of the thesis was BAME women in the Police Services in England, however, the recommendations provide a blue print for further action to make the Police Services in England a more conducive inclusive, egalitarian and diverse organisation within which people from all different ethnic backgrounds can work with dignity and respect without fear of bullying and harassment.

9.3.1 Fighting with patriarchy and racism within the Police Services in England

The murder of Stephen Lawrence (1993) and the Macpherson Inquiry (1999) was a turning point in the history of racism in the UK, in terms of legislation and public policy. Furthermore, it triggered profound cultural changes to the attitudes and practices of the police in terms of racism. The Macpherson Inquiry, defined institutional racism as the collective failure of,

an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behavior which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racial stereotyping" (Macpherson 1999:6.34).

The Black Lives Matter movement in the US and the UK have targeted the elimination of violence and systemic racism toward Black people as well as broader issues of racial profiling, police brutality, and institutionalised racism. However, as this thesis reveals, the

Police Services in England is both patriarchal and racist. This research has identified that it is extremely difficult to eliminate patriarchal and racist practices within bureaucratic and hierarchical organisations like the Police Services in England (Interviewee 3) However, a number of new cases, such as that of Carol Howard and Jennifer Izekor (Chapters 2 and 8) highlighted the engrained nature of the issue and the established social structures which keep them in place. As the Police Services in England is a core part of the establishment it needs root and branch change to be able to deal effectively with bullying and harassment (Chapter 8 interviewee 3). This means it must acknowledge the intersectionality of race and gender and the impact of racism and patriarchy.

9.3.2 Raising awareness about the unique experiences of BAME women within the police force

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 highlight that BAME police officers and staff are subject to disproportionate treatment in disciplinary procedures and struggle to integrate into a predominantly white police culture. However, BAME women are the most vulnerable gender in the Police Services in England. This research advocates that the unique experiences of BAME women within the Police Services in England need to be recognised and acknowledged. This research and reports into racism in the Police Services in England can contribute to raising awareness about the unique experiences of BAME women face in important areas such as bullying and harassment. The interviewees all stressed that they felt that their experiences ignored and undermined them as individuals and as police officers and staff that impacted adversely on their confidence and mental health, due to the sustained and targeted nature of the bully and harassment which they suffered. This was compounded by their negative experience of reporting instances of bullying and harassment. Recent efforts to increase diversity in the Police Services in England, by Direct Entry, Graduate Entry and Fast Track Entry aim to change the culture of the police and improve police diversity.²⁵ It is important to note that the recruitment of diverse groups to

²⁵ <https://www.police.uk/news/how-diverse-are-police-2/>

the police does not make the organisation less racist or more tolerant. Rather it is the attitudes and behavior towards minority groups and their treatment in key processes such as retention, progression, discipline and complaints which is important to understand and monitor (chapter 6, 7 and 8). It is therefore important that the lived experiences and issues faced by BAME women are acknowledged by their colleagues and peers and that the key enforcement and inspectorate agencies involved also monitor these issues (faced by BAME women) within the Police Services in England when it comes to bullying and harassment.

9.3.3 Improving existing mechanisms to tackle race equality with the inclusion of gender lenses

Despite efforts to diversify the Police Services in England, it still is predominately represented by male and white. However, this situation is not just specific to the UK. The masculinity and whiteness of the police dominates policies and practices which impact on BAME women (Chapters, 2, 6, 7 and 8) in the Police Services in England. Silvestri, (2000; 2003) has shown that women still experience exclusion however, this is less of a problem for white women (Chapter 6). Dick et al, (2013) suggest that the greater presence of women in policing provides the prospect of 'transformational spaces' in which change may occur. This study highlights the barriers faced by female officers and staff after decades of equality legislation (Heidensohn, 1992). The interviews reveal that the intersectionality of being BAME and female has impacted adversely on the recruitment, retention and progression of BAME women. This research recommends that there is a benefit in adopting a gender lens to draw attention to the contestations and challenges to gender hierarchy. It also illustrates the complexity of gender practices, which eliminate the prospect of true equality. Through the concept of 'Undoing gender' (Butler 2004: 2)²⁶, there is an opportunity to tackle race equality within the Police Services in England. This requires the replacement of gender-neutral mechanisms, which have contributed to the development of a masculine approach

²⁶ As stated by Butler, 'If gender is a kind of a doing, an incessant activity performed, in part, without one's knowing and without one's willing, it is not for that reason automatic or mechanical. ... it is a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint' (2004, 2)

to organisational change. To address gender-based inequality, the Police Services in England should not only increase the number of women serving as police officers but more importantly address their concerns on an equal basis with those of men. Introduction of regular oversight mechanisms, such as specialised training on how to deal with bullying and discrimination would provide an effective means to ease the grievances of BAME women police officers and staff.

9.3.4 Raising public awareness to put pressure on decision makers to adopt a legislative framework on bullying in the work place

In the UK workplace harassment is unlawful under the Equality Act 2010, however, bullying is not. There is a lack of legislation regarding bullying in the workplace and it is important that this issue is addressed especially given the rise in social media based bullying.

Spreading malicious rumours, unfair treatment, undermining competent colleagues and denying training or promotion opportunities are cited as harassing behaviour. Policy and guidance recommends that those experiencing bullying and harassment talk to their line manager, human resources representative and or trade union representative. In the event that this approach does not work, then the individual is advised to make a formal complaint. In the event that it does not work and the formal internal complaints procedure is exhausted they are then directed to approach ACAS in the event that it does not work either they are finally able to lodge their claim with the Employment Tribunal. Legislation on bullying in the workplace would protect the individual from protracted and bureaucratic processes, which are susceptible through their very nature to bullying tactics, especially within the police service which has a specific culture which is defined by violence, physical power, deference to authority and patriarchy. For BAME women the harassment complaint procedure is not that accessible, as outlined by interviewees and experts in Chapters 7 and 8. Furthermore, as exemplified in the cases of Alison Halford, and Carol Howard the police have the ability to instigate and hide deviant practices aimed at discrediting a complainant. To do this it depends on group loyalty, which is an integral part of rank and file police culture. This makes

it challenging for groups like BAME women in the police to instigate legal proceedings against their treatment as the consequences for doing so could have an impact on their liberty (Chapters 2, 6, 7 and 8). Another challenge lies in the relative vagueness of the definition of harassment. As there is no specific legislation against bullying and therefore many cases of harassment could be evaluated as bullying.

In order to bring revolutionary change a wide scale public campaign would be needed. An awareness of the impact of bullying would be required and the costs of bullying both in terms of health and economic would need to be highlighted. Furthermore, public awareness of the impact of bullying which highlights the damage it is causing at different sphere, especially post Brexit would bring in wider public support. Providing a mainstream understanding of the issue would then support the transferability of the issue to BAME women in the Police Services in England. Grassroots campaigning and a wider appeal to the need for the legislation could help to overcome Government hesitation that had historically been perceived as a regulatory burden to industry.

9.3.5 Changing Organisational Culture

Organisational culture is formulated through the shared values and beliefs of staff (Shein, 2004). Public policy changes in the aftermath of the Macpherson Inquiry (1999) designed to make the Police Services in England more diverse and inclusive have struggled to be fully embedded due to the enduring and engrained nature of police culture (Sklansy 2007; Reiner, 2010). Police culture, which is characterised by sense of mission; informal working practices; defensive; solidarity, glorification of masculinity and the use of force (Reiner, 2010) has endurance and has resulted in a natural exclusion of BAME women. The research findings have highlighted the difficulties encountered by BAME female police officers and staff to integrate into a predominantly white police culture and that the tactics of exclusion, the glorification of masculinity and the use of violence has resulted in a workplace conducive which encourages the targeting of the bullying and harassment of BAME police officers and staff.

Through the development of public policy and legislation in the area of race, the UK has shown itself to be at the forefront of recognising the value of diversity to society. This sensitivity has been reinforced by the Black Lives Matter movement in the US and UK. The introduction of reform programs focusing on more effective and equitable services to diverse communities has required a necessary change to the organisation culture of the Police Services in England. This research argues that the notion of diversity is crucial for the transformation of organisational culture of the Police Services in England. In spite of the enduring masculine features of the police culture, the embedding of the importance of diversity within the police will gradually influence the way officers think about their BAME colleagues. Such a change in organisational culture has enabled the police to take advantage of the unique contribution which BAME female police officers and staff can make. The recognition of the value of BAME women within the Police Services in England force would end their invisibility and also raise trust and confidence of minority communities in the police.

The way in which bullying and harassment policies and procedures are implemented and handled by specific departments in the Police Services in England is problematic (Chapters 6,7,8; Davies, 2018; HASC, 2019;). The very units tasked with dealing with cases of bullying and harassment in the Police Services in England, do not have a representative workforce (Davies, 2018; HASC, 2019). This thesis argues that it is essential that issues of intersectionality as they pertain to BAME women who work in the Police Services in England must be explored by the UK Government and Policing organisations. A failure to do so will only continue to have a negative impact on the recruitment, retention and progression of BAME women in the Police Services in England. Furthermore, given the current austerity climate it is essential for the government to look carefully at the extent to which bullying and harassment has on the health of BAME women in the police and the resultant impact on health and well-being. This research has provided a fascinating insight into the lived experiences of BAME women within the Police Services in England and how they navigate racism and sexism at work and their survival strategies to pursue their career.

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Appendix 1

Freedom of Information request

Marina Hasan

*PhD Researcher
(Criminology)*

*Department of Arts,
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Marina.hasan@northumbria.ac.uk

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am writing to make an open government request for information to which I am entitled under the Freedom of Information Act 2000.

Please send me the following information, broken down year by year for the period between **2008** and **2017**:

1. number of formal complaints/grievances made by staff [unless stated otherwise, throughout the request, 'staff' should include sworn officers, police support staff, PCSOs, and volunteers] against the constabulary
2. number of formal complaints/grievances made by female BAME staff against the constabulary
3. In terms of data in relation to question 2, please indicate the number of these complaints/grievances that related to:
 - Workplace bullying
 - Race discrimination or harassment
 - Sex discrimination or harassment
 - Religious discrimination or harassment
 - Age discrimination or harassment
 - Disability discrimination or harassment
4. number of complaints / grievance raised by BAME female members of staff that were resolved through internal management/HR or disciplinary procedures
5. number of complaints / grievance raised by BAME female members of staff that were resolved through an Employment Tribunal
6. number of complaints/grievance raised by BAME female members of staff that were settled by the courts
7. amount paid out as settlements for all discrimination and harassment cases
8. amount paid out to BAME male employees as settlement
9. amount paid out to BAME female employees as settlement

10. amount of legal expenditure for dealing with all discrimination and harassment cases
11. amount paid out to settle all race and sex discrimination cases
12. number of work days lost as a result of bullying, discrimination, harassment and victimisation complaints raised by members of staff

I would like the above information to be provided to me as electronic copy if possible.

If this request is too wide or unclear, I would be grateful if you could contact me as I understand that under the Act, you are required to advise and assist requesters. If any of this information is already in the public domain, please can you direct me to it, with page references and URLs if necessary.

If the release of any of this information is prohibited on the grounds of breach of confidence, I ask that you supply me with copies of the confidentiality agreement and remind you that information should not be treated as confidential if such an agreement has not been signed.

I understand that you are required to respond to my request within the 20 working days after you receive this letter. I would be grateful if you could confirm in writing that you have received this request.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully

Marina Hasan

Phd Researcher (Criminology)

Northumbria University

Appendix 2

BME percentages in police forces in England and in their local populations

Police Force	% of local population	% of BAME of police officers 2015
Avon and Somerset	6.7	2.6
Bedfordshire	22.5	6.1
Cambridgeshire	9.7	2.1
Cheshire	3.1	0.6
City of London	21.4	6.2
Cleveland	5.5	1.7
Cumbria	1.5	1.1
Derbyshire	6.7	3.4
Devon and Cornwall	2.5	1.2
Dorset	4	1.3
Durham	2.2	1.7
Essex	6.8	2.2
Gloucestershire	4.6	2.1
Greater Manchester	16.2	5
Hampshire	6.7	2.5
Hertfordshire	12.4	4.1
Humberside	3.5	1.1
Kent	6.9	3
Lancashire	9.6	3.7
Leicestershire	21.6	7.3
Lincolnshire	2.4	1.6
Merseyside	5.5	3.4
Metropolitan Police	40.2	11.7
Norfolk	3.5	1.8
Northamptonshire	8.5	3.7
Northumbria	5.4	1.7

North Yorkshire	3.4	1.1
Nottinghamshire	11.2	4.4
South Yorkshire	9.4	3.3
Staffordshire	5.9	1.9
Suffolk	4.8	2.4
Surrey	9.6	3.7
Sussex	6.3	2
Thames Valley	15.4	5
Warwickshire	7.3	4.8
West Mercia	3.8	1.9
West Midlands	29.9	8.6
West Yorkshire	18.2	5.1
Wiltshire	5.5	1.6

Appendix 3

Research questionnaire for the victims of bullying and harassment

Research Interview:

Date: Time:

Participant's URN:

Age: Sex: Ethnic Origin: Religion:
Disability: Y / N

Rank: Duration of service: Most Recent
Qualification:

Perpetrator/s

Age: Sex: M / F Ethnic Origin: Religion:
Disability: Y / N

Rank: Work relationship with participant:

Age: Sex: M / F Ethnic Origin: Religion:
Disability: Y / N

Rank: Work relationship with participant:

Have you ever been subject to any forms of discrimination, harassment, bullying or victimisation at workplace?

Yes / No

Discovering the phenomena (Please briefly describe the discriminatory / bullying incidents that you have experienced):

Selection factors (why do you believe you became a target in the first place?):

Victim's Prior abuse (have you ever experienced any similar incidents prior to this in the same organisation?):

Bullying / discriminatory tactics used (What tactics or strategies do you think the perpetrator adopted to bully or discriminate against the victim?):

Types of discrimination for victim (how would you categorise the discriminatory or bullying behaviour that you have experienced? Was the discrimination on the grounds of your race, sex, religion, disability, sexual orientation, working pattern, etc.)?

If it was a case of double discrimination (race and sex both), in your opinion which one carries more weight?

In your opinion, have you been treated adversely because of your background as a BME woman or because of your position, i.e. uniformed or civilian member of staff? How?

The nature of discrimination: Was the discriminatory or bullying behaviour quite overt (direct) or quite subtle, covert or systematic?

What was your responses and strategies to stop being bullied or discriminated: (What did you (victim) do to protect yourself? Do you think your strategies were useful or successful?

Damages: How did you suffer (in terms of health, mental health, career, personal life, social life, financial, etc) as a result of being bullied or discriminated at work?

Leaves taken to deal with the situation (length of time off from work):

Support for bullied victim (internal & external sources, i.e. HR, OHU, Union, Staff Associations, Co workers, GP, etc): Did you receive any support from any of these

sources? If yes, was it useful or satisfactory? If no, what made it difficult for you to access the support of any of these sources?

What was the attitudes and actions of witnesses and co workers who witnessed the abuse or incident? Did any of them offered support or were they too scared and didn't want to jeopardise their positions and kept quiet?

Did you make any formal or informal complaints? If no, what restricted you from making a complaint?

If yes to the above question, how effective were the internal complaints or grievance policies and procedures?

Did you manage to get a satisfactory resolution of your complaint? Was justice attainable for the victim of bullying /discrimination? If not, why?

Support for perpetrator/s (what support or facilities did the perpetrator/s received? had he /she received any unfair advantage as a result of their position of power or good connections?

Employer's attitudes and action towards bullying / discrimination? Was the organisation (i.e. HR) keen to resolve the problem or were they trying to mop it under the carpet? Did they offer you the right support or apology?

Do you believe that the Organisation is doing enough to protect their staff from being bullied and discrimination? If you think they failed in doing so, where did they fail?

Is it a suitable workplace for the Ethnic Minority Women?

Consequences:

Impact of recession (i.e. departmental reviews, budget cuts, redundancies and job loss) on workplace bullying and discrimination:

If you get better opportunity outside the organisation, will you leave? Will you recommend your friends and family to work for the organisation? If not, why?

What changes would you like to see in this organisation in terms of management styles, policies, practices and work environment:

Additional Information: Is there anything else you would like to share?

Appendix 4

Research questionnaire for the experts

Interview Questions

The Experts

1. How much are you aware of bullying and harassment of BME women in the UK police service?
2. As part of this research, we have spoken to a number of BME police officers and staff who have informed us that they were bullied and harassed whilst working in the Police Service because of their race and gender. Do you have any views on this based on your experience?
3. What would you recommend as a way forward in dealing with bullying and harassment of BME women in the police?
4. What do you think the Police Service lacks in how they handle bullying and harassment cases of BME women?