

**Perspectives on workforce diversity: a context-based approach to
understanding diversity and equality in the police service**

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Kenisha Linton, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how employee perspectives on diversity, anchored in a specific work context, shape the organisation's approach to managing diversity. The literature advocates the advantages of diversity but fails to clearly identify the boundaries between the phenomena (diversity perspectives) and context (organisational processes). This research seeks to explore how diversity is understood and put into practice in the complex and dynamic work setting of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). The analysis employs theoretical frameworks on diversity perspectives (Ely and Thomas 2001; Dass and Parker 1999) and diversity discourse (Janssens and Zanoni 2005; Litvin 1997; Zanoni and Janssens, 2007) in order to understand employee attitudes towards diversity management in the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS).

Exploratory semi-structured interviews are used to gain insight into the subjective experiences of police officers. The sample of 85 police officers and staff included a mix of genders, ethnicities, sexual orientation, and a range in age and tenure. This multiplicity of interview participants facilitates a multidimensional analysis of the experiences of different identity groups. The discourse of diversity involves the micro-level perspectives of employees, which ultimately impact the macro-level practices and power relations in the organisation. The research identifies important organisation-level contextual moderators that impact employee perception and attitude towards workforce diversity. The study evaluates ways in which the police service might leverage its organisational outcomes through developing context-based diversity strategies and management initiatives. Implications for practice and future research are considered.

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Glossary of Acronyms

ACPO	The Association of Chief Police Officers
APR	Annual Performance Review
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CID	Criminal Investigations Department
DC	Detective Constable
DCFD	Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate
DCI	Detective Chief Inspector
DDO	Designated Detention Officer
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
ET	Employment Tribunal
HO	Home Office
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
HR	Human Resources
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
MetBPA	Met Black Police Association
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
MPA	Metropolitan Police Authority
NPIA	National Policing Improvement Agency
NPM	New Public Management
OCU	Operational Command Unit

PC	Police Constable
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
PCS	Police Civilian Staff
SMT	Senior Management Team
SNT	Safer Neighbourhood Teams
SSA	Staff Support Association
TSG	Territorial Support Group

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Overview of the Research Interest

The composition of the UK's workforce has transformed over the last decades and, in dealing with this change, organizations across different sectors have adopted various strategies and perspectives on managing diversity. These perspectives and approaches are inextricably linked to the UK's historical and socio-political contexts which impose certain constraints for managing diversity (Kirton & Greene, 2010; Klarsfeld, Ng & Tatli, 2012). The prevalent orthodoxy on diversity continues to impact organisations diversity management practices and also how different groups and individuals are able to use the concept of diversity to negotiate status and voice in their respective work groups (Tatli, 2011; Janssens and Zanoni, 2005).

This research seeks to explore how diversity is understood and put into practice in the complex and dynamic work setting of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). A limited number of studies have sought to understand the dynamics of managing diversity in public sector organisations (Greene and Kirton, 2009 and 2010; Kellough, 1990; Maxwell, 2004; McDougall, 1996; Pitts, 2005, 2007, 2009; Riccuuci, 2002). Much of the research on workforce diversity is set in private sector contexts, such as banks, ICT, law firms, retail, multinational corporations, and other private service organisations (Chatman et al., 1998; Dwyer et al. 2003; Foster and Harris, 2005; Jehn, Northcraft and Neale 1999; Richard 2000;

Thomas 2001; Ely and Thomas 2001; Williams and O'Reilly 1998;), and most of these studies are largely positivistic, using quantitative measures to explore issues relating to diversity, particularly in the US literature (Chatman et al. 1998; Dwyer et al., 2003; Knouse and Dansby, 2000; O'Reilly et al., 1989; Pitts, 2009; Smith et al., 1994; Thomas and Ely, 2002; Williams and O'Reilly 1998). Public service organisations, such as the police service, have limited flexibility and innovation in their implementation and management of workforce diversity, due to their continued adherence to the merit system (Pitt, 2007). In addition, policing has its own patterns of authority relations and cultural due diligence, within a set of government legislations (Marenin, 1998). Together with its shared routines, values and intuitive occupational grasp, police officers also have an interpretive and active role in structuring their understanding of the organization and its distinctive work contexts (Chan, 2007).

Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) identified the 1993 case of Steven Lawrence as a critical turning point in the evolution of diversity management in the UK. Since the publication of the Macpherson Report (1999), the MPS has implemented proactive policies for recruiting and managing a diverse workforce. The police have made significant leaps in recruiting black and minority ethnic (BME) officers and female officers. However, while trying to address the issue of underrepresentation in these groups, the organisation has inherited an increasingly complex diversity climate. Amid the ever-increasing numbers of female and BME officers, the retention and progression rates for these individuals, arguably, expose an ineffectual and counterproductive programme for managing diversity.

The diversity literature abounds with advice about the advantages and disadvantages of having a diverse workforce. Scholars have actively promoted the 'business case' for diversity, mainly focusing on evaluating and explaining how diversity affects

organisational performance outcomes (Cox and Blake, 1991; Cox, 1993; Childs, 2005; Dahlin et al., 2005; Hobman et al., 2004; Jehn et al. 1999; Kandola and Fullerton, 1994; McLeod, Lobel & Cox, 1996; Mor Barak 2005; Schippers et al., 2003; Thomas, 1996; Van der Vegt & Bunderson, 2005; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Aside from the conceptual works and performance-related analyses, there have been limited empirical studies on how to manage diversity while concomitantly ensuring employee support in different organisational contexts (Cavanaugh, 1997; Prasad, 1997; Ely and Thomas, 2001; Maxwell, Blair and McDougall, 2001; Pitts, 2009; Stephenson and Lewin, 1996; Janssens and Zanoni, 2005).

Joshi and Roh (2009) call for a new agenda for diversity research, a debate that moves beyond the potential benefits or costs of diversity and instead highlights the inherent context dependence of diversity effects in organizations. They argue that a context-based approach to workplace diversity research can potentially provide practical insights that might enhance the effectiveness of diversity management practices. This study takes a context-based approach in examining diversity management in the inimitable policing context in London.

Much of diversity management research findings are based on managerial or human resource manager perceptions. The non-manager or worker views and attitudes are unfortunately rarely ascertained (Ivancevich & Gilbert 2000). Understanding how work groups make sense of their diversity is an important step in identifying how to effectively manage that workforce. Janssens and Zanoni (2005) demonstrate that employees' socio-demographic differences become relevant in a specific productive context and so the way in which work is organised strongly affects the discourse of diversity and the organisation's subsequent approach to managing diversity. The governing logic of workforce diversity in the MPS will therefore impact on its practices in the diversity management field (Ely and

Thomas, 2001; Janssens and Zanoni, 2005). The rhetoric of valuing diversity and the reality of managing diversity is a complex and fluid process involving various organisational actors and mechanisms. This study explores the diversity discourse at various levels in the police service, thereby gaining insights on the complex interface of multiple identity dimensions in the varied policing work contexts. The link between diversity strategy and practice is also impacted by the core values of the workforce and how effectively the broader strategies are operationalised in the various work contexts (Dass and Parker, 1999; Pitts, 2007).

1.2 Research Aims and Objectives

This study seeks to provide rich empirical evidence on how employee perspectives on diversity, anchored in a specific work context, shape the organisation's approach to managing diversity

This research will consider the following key questions:

1. What are the prevailing perspectives on workforce diversity in the MPS?
2. How are these perspectives reflected in the organisation's policies and day-to-day work processes?
3. What strategies might be used to improve diversity management in the MPS?

The exploration of these research questions attempt to contribute to the gap in existing knowledge. The literature advocates the advantages of diversity but fails to clearly identify the boundaries between the phenomena (diversity perspectives or diversity discourse) and the context (diversity management processes and practices). The research

questions attempt to explore how diversity is understood and put into practice by the different agents of diversity. The study will therefore require a research approach that yields useful insights on organisational diversity discourse. Based on the key research questions, the specific objectives of the inquiry are:

1. To understand the characteristics of diversity perspectives in the MPS;
2. To identify factors that may influence individual perspectives on workforce diversity;
3. To determine how the different perspectives and the discourse of diversity impact the various diversity initiatives in the MPS;
4. To identify the underlying processes and mechanisms of workforce diversity at different levels in the organisation;
5. To determine how the MPS might moderate the impact of organisational context and diversity perspectives on their diversity management practices.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis contains nine chapters. The present chapter presents the research aims and raises the questions that the thesis seeks to investigate. Chapter Two provides a framework for the study through a review of the diversity management discourse; focusing on the evolution of the concept of managing diversity, the intersections of social identity, and the relevance of diversity perspectives in understanding the varying outcomes of diversity management practices.

Chapter Three discusses the role of HR in managing diversity and the complex process of implementing and monitoring diversity strategies. Chapter Four provides an

overview of the policing literature, with particular focus on race and gender in policing. This chapter also discusses the importance of police occupational culture in understanding their approach to managing diversity.

Chapter Five discusses the research philosophy by considering the nature of the research aims and positioning them in the ontological and epistemological perspective of critical realism. Chapter Six explores the diversity perspectives of the interview respondents, using theories on diversity perspectives (Ely and Thomas, 2001) and diversity discourse (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005) to analyse how the perception of and value for workforce diversity influence workgroup and organisational outcomes.

Chapter Seven analyses the complex interface of different identity dimensions in the policing work context. This chapter also analyses the perspectives of different identity groups in relation to their experience of diversity and inclusion in the MPS. This part of the analysis employs social identity and intersectionality theory to make sense of their views and experiences. Chapter Eight reports the findings on the diversity initiatives, practices and managerial diversity discourse. This chapter evaluates the efficacy of the diversity strategies of the MPS with regard to how the strategies are interpreted and operationalised by the different organisational actors.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by revisiting the research questions based on the salient themes which emerged from the field study and provides a conceptual account of managing diversity in the MPS. The chapter also considers the original contribution and implications of this study and makes suggestions for future research on the topic of diversity management.

Chapter Two

Perspectives on Workforce Diversity

2.1 Introduction

In order to understand the developments in perspectives on managing diversity, a critical review of the concepts of equality and diversity is required. The concept of managing diversity remains a key topic in academia and in the practitioner sphere, as a result of intense debates over the last two decades. This chapter revisits the diversity management discourse by first discussing the equal opportunities framework and its role in the dawn of the diversity approach. This is followed by an examination of the 'business case' for diversity and its espoused organisational advantages and disadvantages. The different dimensions of diversity and the intersections of social identity are also reviewed with an aim to understand the complex interface of multiple identity dimensions. The chapter continues with an introduction to the literature on diversity perspectives, with a focus on the relevance of diversity perspectives and diversity discourse in understanding the varying outcomes of diversity management practices in different organisational contexts. In particular, this section discusses what diversity management means in different organisational contexts (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005; Klarsfeld, 2010) and how existing diversity management practices impact the experiences of different individuals and identity groups.

2.2 From Equality to Diversity

Diversity management is arguably built on the legacy of equal opportunities as it was traditionally framed within the realm of fairness at work and human rights issues (Cassell, 2001; Liff, 1996). The popularity of diversity management was marked by the shift from the emotive discourse and moral case for equality towards the individualized and performance driven arguments of the business case (Cassell and Biswas, 2000). As a business strategy, diversity management underplays legal regulations for a more voluntary approach to valuing diversity (Calori et al., 1995; Morrison, 1992; Thomas, 1990). Paradoxically, however, the UK employers' key motive for adopting diversity management policies continues to be a matter of legal compliance (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2008). It is therefore important to understand how equal opportunities have impacted the development of diversity management and, arguably, continue to constrain its practice.

The EU's equal employment opportunities framework has been a progressive process of bargaining and redefining of the connotations attached to the principle of equality. Its interpretation and implementation is informed by the socio-economic contexts of EU member states (Ostner and Lewis, 1995). In the UK context, equal opportunity is taken as an antidiscrimination policy for tackling various forms of discrimination. The UK antidiscrimination legislation is found to be the most developed framework throughout the European Union (Sloane and Mackay, 1997), with the Sex Discrimination Act (1975); the Race Relations Act (1976, amended in 2000); the Equal Pay Act (1979, amended in 1983); the Disabled Persons Employment Act (1944); the Disability Discrimination Act (1995, amended in 2004); the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation and Religion or Belief) Regulations (2003); and the Employment Equality (Age) Regulation (2006) - these now all fall under the umbrella of the Equality Act (2010), which brings together over 116 separate

pieces of legislation into a single act, providing a legal framework to protect the rights of individuals and progress equal opportunities.

During the 2000s, there was a major shift in the EU's equal opportunities framework to include multiple bases of difference within the legal framework. Article 13 EU Treaty explicitly states its aim "to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion and belief, disability, age or sexual orientation". This broadening of the equalities framework would impact diversity management, which characteristically offered a wider definition of individual differences.

Equal Opportunities	Diversity
Externally initiated	Internally initiated
Legally driven	Business-needs driven
Quantitative focus (i.e. improving the numbers)	Qualitative focus (i.e. improving the environment)
Problem-focused	Opportunity-focused
Assumes assimilation	Assumes pluralism
Reactive	Proactive
Race, gender and disability	All differences

Table 2.1 - A comparison of equal opportunities and diversity (Kandola and Fullerton, 1998:13)

The antidiscrimination legislation initially provided only a narrow definition of individual differences (gender, race and disability) and, as a consequence, diversity

management, which had a broader and more inclusive definition of individual difference, took a strong hold in the equality discourse. Scholars debate that diversity management is essentially equal opportunities reframed "in a businesslike way" so that equality issues can be discussed in "an organizationally acceptable manner" (Cassell, 1996: 59). This reframing is in essence a revitalisation of the equality agenda (Liff, 1996; Miller, 1996). Managing diversity is also described as an 'evolutionary step' and a 'positive starting point' for embracing everyone, so that 'no one is excluded, even white middle class males' (Kandola, Fullerton and Ahmed, 1995, pp. 31–32).

Others argue that there are significant conceptual differences between diversity management and equal opportunities (Kandola, Fullerton and Ahmed, 1995; Liff, 1999; Maxwell et al., 2001; Elmuti, 1993). Table 2.1 highlights the distinguishing characteristics between diversity management and equal opportunities. The equality paradigm typically perceives individual difference as a liability, whereas the diversity paradigm perceives it as an asset. Diversity management seeks to positively recognize individual difference so that it can be nurtured and rewarded rather than denied or diluted (Liff, 1996). The rights-based agenda of equal opportunity focuses on discrimination and disadvantage of social groups; it uses legislation to prevent discrimination and to influence behaviour toward minority groups. Diversity management on the other hand promotes organizational development and places more emphasis on organisational goals and individual capabilities. Diversity management is seen to contradict the standardized equality procedures, with its commonly applied individualistic strategy (Liff and Wajcman, 1996). This is different to equal opportunity which is a broader policy that is underpinned by the principle of social justice (Cassell and Biswas, 2000; Kaler, 2001; Mulholland et al. 2005). This is linked to a 'liberal' perspective of the antidiscrimination legislations (Jewson and Mason, 1986), which

perceives equality only when people are able to compete freely and equally for social rewards. Accordingly, the liberal approach to equality advocates the principle of neutrality, also referred to as the 'sameness' principle (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000). Consistency of treatment would therefore signify fairness in the workplace (Hepple, 2001); where people are treated as individuals, despite social categories, and judged on merit of characteristics relevant to job performance (Fredman, 2001; Kaler, 2001). Such procedural justice is said to have limited impact on peoples' attitudes and beliefs about minority groups (Liff, 1999). A key distinction between diversity and the liberal equality approach is that diversity diverts from the social/moral justice case and opts for a more exclusive focus on the business case, which values workforce diversity as an asset that contributes to organisational success (Noon and Ogbonna, 2001; Kaler, 2001).

The equality approach also has a radical side. The radical approach views discrimination as socially constructed and so group level patterns of inequity are seen to occur as a result of social-group-based stereotypes. This approach emphasises equality of outcome, not just fair procedures. The focus is therefore to ensure that the workforce is representative of all social groups available in the labour pool (Kaler, 2001). This perspective endorses positive discrimination as a means of ensuring fair distribution and fair treatment of disadvantaged groups in the workforce (Jewson and Mason, 1986). The imposition of quotas is a direct intervention aimed at achieving fair distribution of opportunities in the workplace.

Similar to the liberal approach to equality, diversity management is underpinned by the concept of individualism in that it focuses on difference at the individual level instead of treating people according to social group membership. This new managing diversity paradigm replaces the traditionally more collectivist focus of equal opportunities (Glenn,

2007; Kirton and Greene, 2009). The individualism approach to diversity management is based on the dissolving of differences and celebrating uniqueness (Miller, 1996). However, this individualisation of difference could depoliticise and essentialise difference (Kelly and Dobbin, 1998; Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000; Nkomo, 1992) and thereby divert attention from systematic social-group-based discrimination and disadvantage (Liff, 1999). Trade unionists, as organisational actors, have been found to be "suspicious of the individualist diversity discourse" (Kirton and Greene, 2006: 444) which they consider to be a threat to position employees as individuals rather than as members of social groups. Trade unions have an expressed preference for standardised treatment of employees; this plainly underpins their policy approach to diversity management (Kirton and Greene, 2006).

Although the business case rationale for diversity is presumably anchored in individualism, the group-based approach to diversity may be reinforced if certain group characteristics are perceived as a source of advantage for the organisation. The fundamental issue is whether "people's achievements can be explained by their individual talents or are they better explained as an outcome of their gender, ethnicity, class and age" (Liff, 1997: 11). Diversity is generally conceptualised as referring to differences between people based on attributes such as gender, age, race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, and educational background (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). All these characterise social identity groups. Organisations which adopt such definitions of diversity are linked to a second approach to managing diversity where difference is valued based on social group membership. This approach involves giving special treatment to groups that may be disadvantaged so that they might feel included and valued (Liff, 1997). Specific initiatives are made available to the identified groups but these are also open to all members of the organisation.

The two approaches to diversity management bear stark resemblances to the two approaches to equal opportunity. Experts in the subject area suggest that equal opportunity and diversity management are fully compatible and closely associated as the former acted as a base for the introduction and progress of diversity management (Ford, 1996; Liff, 1996; Kondola and Fullerton, 1994, 1998; Miller, 1996). The discursive shift from equal opportunities to diversity management was pointed out by Kelly and Dobbin (1998) and Litvin (1997) who were among the first diversity scholars to critique the logic of efficiency and the essentialist assumptions that underlined the new diversity discourse. This widely accepted distinction between diversity management and equal opportunity has been dubbed as a "false dichotomy" (Kaler 2001) and a "false dilemma" (Liff and Dickens, 2000). Healy et al. (2011) also point out that the progression from equal opportunity to diversity management is merely a matter of change in emphasis rather than a paradigm shift. Evidence in Tatli's (2011) study also only partially support the claims of a shift, because the discursive shift from equal opportunities is not carried through by a shift in the practice.

Many critical diversity scholars are divided on this argument. The main divide involves those who believe diversity management is a policy that positively incorporates the existing equal opportunity policy, while others view it as a harmful, distinct and politicised ideology (Webb, 1997). Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) labelled this shift as a 'critical turn' towards a managing diversity approach, which is based on neoliberal, individualistic, depoliticizing and managerialist ideas. Mullholand, Özbilgin and Worman (2005) further argue that the two concepts have completely incompatible goals and diversity management is more likely a replacement concept to equal opportunity.

The understanding of diversity management and equal opportunity as one and the same paradigm is quite problematic to conceptualize. Arguably, the two models are not

alternatives or substitutes for one another but are mutually compatible as many diversity initiatives are often quite indistinguishable from equal opportunity (Kirton and Greene, 2010). Maxwell (2003) found that managing diversity at BBC Scotland was plainly linked to equal opportunities in practice, with a managing diversity initiative developing and complementing approaches to equal opportunities. The main criticism regarding compatibility of the two models is that diversity management often neglects some key issues pertaining to discrimination and also overlooks some of the deep social dilemmas that surround this subject.

One of the main tensions between the traditional EO approach and the diversity approach is the interventionist policy, which involves measures such as positive action aimed at social groups which conflict with the measures of individual merit associated with the models of 'managing diversity' (Kondola and Fullerton, 1994). Ironically, there might be instances when positive action is required in the diversity approach to achieve business objectives. Still, the diversity approach appeals to critics of the traditional equality approaches as they consider the moral case of equality to be less valued in the competitive world of business.

2.3 The Business Case for Managing Diversity

The business case for diversity stems from the progression of the different approaches to equality. While equality and positive action had been successful in ensuring entry into organizations for women and ethnic minorities, researchers argued that it did not address the development and progression of these groups and, consequently, organisations were missing out on the important competitive advantages associated with fully utilising such a talent pool (Cox and Blake, 1991; Kandola and Fullerton, 1994; Ross and Schneider, 1992;

Thomas, 1990; Thomas and Ely, 1996; Rice, 1994). Interest in managing diversity started to rise as scholars debated the economic benefits of managing workforce diversity. Making a business case was the first step in bringing about organizational commitment to diversity (Cox, 1991; Dobbs, 1996). The adoption of the business case meant that the organisational debate was diverted from issues of ethics and justice, which forms the basis of the equal opportunities policy, and focused instead on business-oriented motivations for managing diversity. Tomlinson and Schwabenland (2010) however found that business case and social justice arguments complement each other in organisational contexts of the voluntary sector. Still, this harmonious complementary relationship is rather unrealistic in private-sector organizations where the relationship between the two approaches is one of conflict and tension, due to a clash between the regulatory context and the profit maximization motive (Tatli, 2011).

The managing diversity literature suggests that by recognising individual differences and effectively utilising the skills of individual employees, numerous economic benefits can be attained in three main areas of the organisation:

(i) Increased market share and customer relations

Research suggests that workforce diversity can improve the organisation's knowledge of the market place and increase its ability to deal with diverse groups of customers (Cox and Blake, 1991). This leads to enhanced customer service, increased customer satisfaction and increased market share (Bhadury et al. 2000; Cox and Blake, 1991; Ely and Thomas, 2001; Iles, 1995), and improved corporate image (Kandola, 1995).

(ii) Improved labour relations and retention

Employee recruitment and retention rates are said to improve through successfully managing diversity and providing a working environment where the potential of all staff is realised (Kandola and Fullerton, 1998). The organisations suffer less from losses related to labour turnover, absenteeism and discrimination claims (Cox 1991, 1993; Morrison, 1992; Kandola, 1995; Kirton, Healey and Noon 2011; Brown and Misra 2003; Ross and Schneider, 1992; Wilson and Iles, 1999). Diversity helps cultural change in organisations (Owens, 1997; Thornburg 1994) and promotes social justice and inclusion (Carnevale and Stone, 1994; Noon, 2007; Rosett and Bickham, 1994).

(iii) Improves labour performance and work outcomes

Diversity researchers debate that a diverse workforce enhances the performance and productivity through increased job satisfaction in an inclusive work climate (Morrison, 1992; Noon, 2007). Diversity fosters greater effectiveness in the organisation because its diverse work teams serve to increase creativity and innovation, and improve problem solving and decision-making (Bhadury et al. 2000; Cordero et al. 1997; Cox and Blake, 1991; McLeod, Lobel & Cox, 1996; Mor Barak 2005; Smith et al. 1994; Watson et al., 1993).

Despite the purported numerous business advantages of diversity that are heralded by scholars and practitioners, there is growing evidence which suggests that workforce diversity may not always lead to positive organisational performance. Moreover, it is important to note that the 'softer' benefits of managing diversity, such as increased morale, competitive advantage and job satisfaction, are often difficult to prove (Maxwell et al. 2001: 471). Research carried out in the USA has shown that negative impacts of workforce

diversity include low morale, conflict and tension, organisational detachment, communication issues, reduced cohesion and effectiveness at work (Cox, 1991, 1993; Dwyer et al. 2003; Hobman et al., 2004; Jehn et al. 1999; Milliken and Martins, 1996; O'Reilly et al. 1989; Pelled 1996; Pitts, 2005; Richard 2000; Thomas and Ely, 2002). Williams and O'Reilly (1998) reviewed 40 years of diversity and concluded that increased diversity, particularly age, tenure and ethnicity, typically had negative effects on social integration and communication in heterogeneous work groups.

Critical debate on diversity management arose when its implementation problems became apparent. Kersten (2000) further argues that the business case for diversity creates an iron cage of reality as logical and rational and so it will fail as a catalyst for deep-seated organisational change. Diversity had failed to deliver its vision of greater equality as many of its programmes backfired in the forms of male backlash, white rage and political correctness (Gordon 1995). Moreover, the sole use of the business case as a basis for workforce diversity is deemed a perilous approach because it engenders elimination of the moral imperative and may dissuade organisational actors of the importance of diversity initiatives if there are no recognisable bottom-line benefits (Kersten 2000; Perrons 1995; Wrench 2005). This utilitarian logic of the business case is therefore criticised for valuing only differences that are deemed 'relevant' (Jack and Lorbiecki, 2007; Zanoni and Janssens, 2004).

2.4 Defining Diversity Management

A widely accepted definition for diversity management is offered by Kandola and Fullerton (1998, p.7):

"The basic concept of managing diversity accepts that the workforce consists of a diverse population of people. The diversity consists of visible and non-visible differences which will include factors such as sex, age, background, race, disability, personality and work-style. It is founded on the premise that harnessing these differences will create a productive environment in which everyone feels valued, where their talents are being fully utilised and in which organisational goals are met."

Other definitions range from broad descriptions of the functions of diversity to the more specified features of diversity. Ivancevich and Gilbert's (2000, p. 75) opt for a definition that describes the functions of diversity, ". . . the systematic and planned commitment by organizations to recruit, retain, reward and promote a heterogeneous mix of employees". Examples of diversity factors are race, culture, ethnicity, gender, age, disability and work experience (Bartz et al., 1990, p. 321). Most definitions of diversity management point out the fact that there are natural human differences that set us apart. These differences are also acknowledged for being advantageous for higher productivity and achievement of organisational goals. Definitions that use a managerial language tend to be based on a means-end or instrumental rationale of diverting away from the activities and assumptions defined by equal opportunity to management practices that are inclusive and pragmatic in their approach to realising the potential of workforce diversity (Arredondo, 1996). Ashkanasy et al. (2002: 310) offers a definition that emphasises difference and inclusion as opposed to sameness and equality:

"Diversity management refers to a model of inclusion of all employees in both formal company programmes and informal networks. It presents a voluntary organisational

programme that enhances the perception of employees and potential candidates, and where women and other disadvantaged minorities in the workforce are positioned according to merit."

This proactive and inclusive stance on diversity management is explored as a key interest in this study. The employee's perception of diversity management is evaluated with an aim to ascertain its congruence with the organisation's discursive structure and mechanism (Tatli, 2011; Zanoni and Janssens 2007). Before discussing the literature on diversity perspectives and diversity discourse, the next section explores the different dimensions of diversity and the importance of understanding the intersections of different forms of identity in the organisational diversity dilemma.

2.5 The 'relevant' dimensions of diversity

As the business case for diversity became widely accepted organisations and scholars started to question the effect of different types of diversity on organisational outcomes (Jackson & Ruderman, 1995). Studies over the ensuing years, mainly in the USA organisational context, generated numerous dimensions for classifying differences and also identified varying organisational outcomes. There have been numerous methods used for evaluating the amounts and types of diversity, such as fault lines (Lau and Murningham 1998), surface versus deep-level (Harrison, Price & Bell, 1998; Mohammed and Angell 2004), and relational demography (Riordan, 2000; Tsui, Porter and Egan, 2002; O'Reilly et al., 1989; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989; Wagner, Pfeffer, & O'Reilly, 1984). Some scholars suggest that demographic diversity, as well as diversity in personality, attitudes, and values, have negatively affected group performance; whilst diversity on the information-related

dimensions, such as education and functional background, is more likely to have positive effects on group and organisational performance (DiTomaso et al., 2007; Hobman et al., 2004; Ely and Thomas, 2001; Jehn et al., 1999; Pelled et al., 1999). These studies indicate that perceived or visible dissimilarities, such as race and gender, are negatively associated with work group outcomes, when compared to groups that are homogeneous on these dimensions.

Subsequent studies that incorporate both demographic and informational dimensions of diversity call into question these negative assumptions and challenge the validity of such findings by reporting very positive relationships for demographic diversity and group performance (Dahlin et al 2005, Harrison et al. 1998, 2002, Schippers et al. 2003, Van der Vegt & Bunderson 2005). Cox (1993) also points out that it is problematic to assess the impact of diversity on a firm's bottom-line performance because it is difficult to isolate cultural diversity as a clear-cut cause of organisational outcomes such as profitability.

These shifting and varying findings underscore the incessant discrepancies in identifying or generalising how different categories of diversity affect organisational processes and outcomes. Some scholars maintain that the salience of different identity dimensions depend on the context within which they were seen as valuable (Cox, Lobel, and McLeod, 1991; Ely, 1995; Kramer, 1991, 1993; Richard, 2000; Watson et al., 1993). Studies have found that age and tenure similarities lead to increased communication frequencies (O'Reilly et al., 1989; Zenger & Lawrence, 1989), whereas diversity in experience or functional background reduces informal communication, social integration and group cohesiveness (Glick, Miller, & Huber, 1993; O'Reilly et al., 1989; Smith et al., 1994). Garvin (1988) pointed out that employees who are versed in a particular discipline or function,

perceive and define quality differently to their co-workers. Such functional diversity therefore gives rise to potential conflict.

Writing in the US context, Pelled (1996) asserts that, as a form of visible diversity, racial diversity incites intergroup bias and results in negative work group outcomes. Other researchers challenge such claims and suggest that racial diversity, in specific work contexts, as a form of cultural difference, enhances creative problem solving and resulted in positive work group outcomes (Cox, Lobel, and McLeod, 1991; Watson et al., 1993) and greater competitive advantage for businesses (Richard, 2000). These empirical studies, although conducted in US contexts, provide valid evidence of the effects of visible and non-visible diversity, with the main discrepancies being that of the specific organisational context and nature of the organisational variables being researched.

2.6 Intersections of Social Identity

Social identity theory highlights the important role that perception plays in the organisational diversity dilemma. As discussed in the previous section, any array of characteristics possessed by an individual may be more or less salient, depending on the context (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005). Much of the diversity research focus on how different identity dimensions affect organisational performance, whereas social identity theory attempts to explain why salient identity dimensions lead to the phenomena of ingroup bias and intragroup stereotyping (see Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Schneider and Northcraft, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1987). The social construction of race and gender are considered to be the root of inequality, and discrimination in employment is perpetuated by the dominance of particular social groups in work organisations. These dominant groups

use their positions to legitimise their social status and promulgate their ideologies (Sidanius and Pratto 2001).

Social identity theory asserts that particular social groups accept people whom they consider to be like them while excluding those they believe to be of a different group or social status. Tajfel (1978), and also Turner (1986), found that people tend to classify themselves into categories of social groups that have meaning to them and enable them to interact with 'others'. These social categorisations occur because individuals validate their social identity by showing preferential treatment to people with whom they share similar characteristics. Whether differences are functional (e.g., skills, educational, experience) or social (age, gender, race), diverse organisations tend to generate informal coalitions that inherently form collective barriers for those who do not share their values and interests. These "ingroup" "outgroup" categorisations bypass formal structures of organisational relations in favour of informal networks (Ibarra, 1993; Schneider and Northcraft, 1999). Other studies also conclude that members are motivated to maintain their social identities and so exhibit a favourable bias towards others who appear to have similar characteristics (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner & Haslam, 2001). Consequently, employees are excluded from networks and may therefore experience difficulty succeeding in the organisation.

The dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion is further complicated by the multiple dimensions of individual and group identity. Individuals do not view themselves as solely female, or black, or LGBT; our identities are complex and multi-layered. Advocates of racial and gender equality in organisations might fail to appreciate the complex interrelation between different forms of oppression because they seek to address only single-strand equality issues. Various strands of diversity other than gender also manifest as salient causes of difference in experiences of the work–life interface (Özbilgin et al. 2010). Theories

of intersectionality draw attention to this interface of multiple identity dimensions and evaluate the varying experiences of exclusion and subordination in organisations (Acker, 2006; Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 2008; McCall, 2005; Özbilgin et al. 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

2.7 The Concept of Intersectionality

The reception for the concept of intersectionality in the gender studies and social sciences appears as a success story as it stands as a more general approach towards the analysis of complex constellations of inequality and difference (Kallenberg, Müller and Meyer, 2013). McCall (2005) defines intersectionality as the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and social formations (p. 1771). This type of analysis demands attention to the complexities of historical and social processes and power relations. Intersectional analyses therefore concentrate on socio-cultural power orders and hierarchies within different discourses and institutions, and is used principally to examine the creation of power and processes between gender, race, class, ethnicity, etc. (Crenshaw, 1991; Yuval-Davis, 2005).

Intersectionality is relevant to this thesis because it highlights the limitations of existing theoretical approaches of gender and racial studies. The aim is not to theorise the paradigm of intersectionality but to apply intersectional insights to the research analysis. Theorizing gender has become much more complicated because of “intersectionality”, the idea that gendered processes do not stand alone, but intersect with and are shaped by race and class processes, as well as other forms of inequality and exclusion. By providing evidence of such ‘mutual reproduction of class, gender and racial relations of inequality’ (Acker 2006, p. 443), intersectionality shows how the fragmented view of gender plus race is

deficient and obscures the multiple and discrete forms of inequalities that shape people's experience in the workplace.

A small number of scholars address the intersections of race and gender (Bell et al., 1993; Nkomo and Cox, 1996; Proudford and Smith, 2003; Turner and Shuter, 2004) or race, class and gender (Acker, 1999a; Adib and Guerrier, 2003; Holvino, 1996, 2010; McCall, 2005, Munro, 2001). The difference among women is the central concern of intersectionality but black women have been the preferred representative of gender and race intersections (Crenshaw, 1991). The intersection of race, class and gender is accepted in the fields of women's studies and feminist theory as causing simultaneous processes of identity. Black feminists argue that the problems and experiences of black women could not be illustrated as the problems of black men plus the problems of white women. Hook (1981) states in 'Ain't I a Woman' that black women's experiences are obscured by the construction of blacks and women as separate groups. Hook argues that the black woman's experience differs considerably from that of white women. Similarly, Holvino (2010) speaks of her own experience as a woman of colour and highlights the different material and economic realities between white women and women of colour. She identifies herself as a woman of colour born and raised in Puerto Rico, educated in the USA and practising organization development research globally. As an academic, she noted that her power in the university is less than that of white women. In addition, she points out that her career success is interpreted in her minority community as a shift in social class and so she is now viewed as an "outsider within" by her fellow Latinos (Holvino, 2010: 266). Her experience as a woman of colour in the university illustrates how her gender becomes secondary to her racioethnicity.

Cronin and King (2010), in their use of intersectionality, demonstrate that older LGBT adults are positioned at the intersection of multiple identities and the effects vary depending on context. The intersecting dynamics of these differences will sometimes result in disempowerment but sometimes age, sexuality and socio-economic status intersect to empower. Taylor (2009) also illustrates that gender, class and sexuality intersect to produce multiple inequalities among working-class lesbians. For example, she reports that some women felt excluded from the LGBT 'scene' because of their class, whilst they also felt marginalized within their working-class communities because of their sexuality.

Crenshaw (1991) points out that non-English speaking women are barred from women-run shelters because Anglo women who are in charge of the shelters believe that these women would not be able to participate in support groups because of their language barrier. Such axes of disadvantages overlap with one another and mutually shape one another. This underscores the premise of intersectionality - race, gender and class are not autonomous categories; they cannot be understood separately from one another. The concept of intersectionality is therefore relevant for identifying and analysing the multiple effects of salient identity categories.

One of the key questions about intersectionality concerns its criteria for the selection of sets of differences. Kerner (2012) debates the 'what-question' of intersectionality and asserts that the normative and theoretical preferences as well as specific research interests determine which sets of categories are taken as most relevant for intersectional analyses. Such openness to 'what' constitutes sets of differences implies the continual opportunity to introduce new identity categories (Kerner, 2012 p. 207) or leads to an infinite process of dividing and combining social groups (Young 1994). This 'vagueness

and open-endedness' of the approach is deemed 'the very secret to its success' (Davis, 2008: 69).

The theoretical conception of intersectionality therefore requires an acknowledgement that individual and group identities are unstable and dynamic categories that modify each other (Young 1994; Wright 1997). The flexible and adaptable underpinning of this concept is not so easily transferred to organisational policies and strategies to address intersectional discrimination. Squires (2008) argues that the separate strands approach to equality and diversity can be problematic because groups are frequently held to be uniform and static in a manner that obfuscates the differences within and between groups. Intersectionality operates with groups as the subject of identity and thereby reproduces a notion of structural inequality. For instance, feminist researchers stress the race and gender categories, thus emphasising racism and sexism in society. A policy response to intersectional inequalities is therefore deemed too complex to be viable.

Working from an intersectional framework poses a number of research challenges. Leslie McCall (2005) has highlighted that intersectionality has produced new methodological problems which arise when the subject of analysis expands to include multiple dimensions of social life and categories of analysis. McCall outlines three approaches which illustrate the complexity implied in intersectionality: the anticategorical complexity, the intracategorical complexity and the intercategory complexity (Mc Call, 2005). The first approach, anticategorical complexity, involves a deconstructive stance which is connected to feminist post-structuralism and deconstruction. This approach "rejects" or destabilizes analytical categories such as race, class, sexuality and gender. This complexity has brought about great skepticism about the possibility of using categories in anything but a simplistic way (McCall 2005 p. 1773). "The primary philosophical consequence of this approach has

been to render the use of categories suspect because they have no foundation in reality: language (in the broader social or discursive sense) creates categorical reality rather than the other way around." (McCall 2005: 1777). The anticategorical complexity may therefore operate with several genders, sexes, sexualities and multiracialism to avoid fixed and normative structures and subjects.

The second approach, intracategorical complexity, is connected to feminists of colour, and categories are used strategically while remaining critical of categorisations. The researchers are "critical of broad and sweeping acts of categorization rather than as critical of categorization per se." (p. 1779). The intracategorical approach focuses "on particular social groups at neglected points of intersection" in order to reveal the complexity of the lived experience of such groups (p. 1774 with reference to Dill, 2002, 5).

The third approach, intercategorical complexity, is adopted in the current study because this approach takes on a provisional use of existing analytical categories but the focus is on comparison between groups. The categorical approach focuses on the complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories and not on complexities within single social groups, single categories, or both. The subject is multi-group, and the method is systematically comparative (p.1786).

The intercategorical approach is useful for the comparative analysis of diversity perspectives within and between different work groups in the police service. In this study, social groups are not viewed as a given, fixed identity constructs but also as consisting of individual differences and within-group variation (Litvin, 1997; Nkomo & Cox, 1996).

A number of diversity research findings are based on managerial perceptions (Jones et al., 2000; Litvin, 2002; Tatli, 2011; Zanoni and Janssens, 2004). The non-manager or employee perspectives and attitudes are rarely explored (Ivancevich & Gilbert 2000). The

next section engages critically with the fundamental issues about employees perceptions of the importance and value of workforce diversity, and their underlying paradigms and assumptions of diversity management. It also explores the context-bound nature of diversity management as embedded in existing organisational systems and power relations.

2.8 Diversity Perspectives and the Discourse of Diversity

A limited number of studies have focussed on what employees think about diversity and the possibility that the level of shared perspectives on diversity could influence work relations and performance outcomes in diverse work settings (Chen and Eastman, 1997; Dass and Parker, 1999; Ely and Thomas, 2001; Janssens and Zanoni, 2005; Kossek and Zonia, 1993; Mor Barak, Cherin and Berkman, 1998). These authors offer wide-ranging analyses on the issue of workforce diversity and conceptualise their findings in relation to the importance of diversity climate (Cox, 1991; McKay et al., 2007; Mor Barak, Cherin and Berkman, 1998), diversity discourse (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005; Tatli, 2011; Zanoni and Janssens, 2007), or diversity perspectives (Dass and Parker, 1999; Ely and Thomas, 2001) in organisations. Research suggests that when group members share common values and goals, diversity leads to more beneficial organisational outcomes (Cox and Blake, 1991; Ely and Thomas 2001; Mor Barak 2005, Morrison, 1992; Noon, 2007). What is of much significance to the present study is to understand how employee perspectives on diversity, anchored in a specific work context, shape the organization's approach to diversity management.

Theories on diversity perspectives have typically illustrated the stages of receptivity of an organisational climate for valuing diversity. In 1991, Taylor Cox put forward a framework on the monolithic, pluralistic, and multicultural organisation. Each of these organisations showed different approaches to the level of integration of minorities in the

organisational culture and structure, different amounts of prejudice and bias, and varying frequency of intergroup conflict (Cox, 1991). This premise of typifying organisational values and practices in managing diversity was also adopted by Dass and Parker (1999) and Ely and Thomas (2001). Dass and Parker hypothesised a sequential movement across four diversity perspectives - resistance; discrimination-and-fairness; access-and-legitimacy; and learning - in which each perspective improves on the inadequacies of its predecessor. Similarly, research by Ely and Thomas (2001) identified three diversity perspectives: the integration-and-learning perspective, the access-and-legitimacy perspective, and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective. This research builds upon their 1996 study to offer a social theory of how work groups make sense of their cultural diversity and how this shapes members identity, intergroup relations, and the conduct of work.

According to Ely and Thomas (2001: 234), the concept of diversity perspectives is characterised as the governing rationale that guides people's efforts to create and respond to diversity in a work group, their expectations about the kind of impact, if any, those differences can and should have on the group and its work, and their beliefs about what constitutes progress towards the ideal multicultural work group. The discrimination-and-fairness perspective is characterised by a belief in diversity as a moral imperative to ensure justice and fair treatment. It focuses on equal opportunities in hiring and promotion and uses diversity as evidence of just and fair treatment of employees. From this perspective, there is no instrumental link between diversity and the group's work activities. The focus is on protecting equality rather than promoting or valuing the diversity of different groups. This perspective bears a close resemblance to the monolithic organisation on Cox's (1991) framework. This organisation is tolerant of minorities so long as they accept the dominant culture. Likewise, organisations with a discrimination-and-fairness perspective provide

limited ability for individuals to express their cultural identity and so group functioning is often impaired by low morale (Ely & Thomas, 2001).

The second perspective in Ely and Thomas' framework is the access-and-legitimacy perspective. This view is based on the recognition that the markets and constituents of the organisation are culturally diverse and the organisation seeks to match that diversity as a way of gaining access to and legitimacy with those markets and constituent groups. This perspective can lead to an ethnically diverse workforce but it uses diversity only at the margins. Work groups with an access-and-legitimacy perspective do not incorporate the cultural competencies of the diverse workforce into core functions (Ely and Thomas, 2001: 243). Therefore, rethinking the organization's primary tasks, in light of its diverse workforce, is not considered. This perspective bears very close resemblance to the concept of a pluralistic organisation (Cox, 1991) which recognises the unique value that minorities offer, carefully selects workers as visible evidence of diversity, yet still avoids changing the structure of the organisation. The access-and-legitimacy perspective is also characterized by ethnic segregation in the workforce and 'gendered' or racially segregated work functions. Its work norms and standards are perpetuated by the dominant identity group and so intergroup tensions arise as a result of the lack of cross-cultural learning (Ely and Thomas, 2001).

The integration-and-learning perspective sees diversity as a resource for learning and adaptive change. Group functioning is seen to be enhanced by this perspective because it facilitates cross-cultural learning and constructive intergroup conflict. Therefore, the insights, skills and experiences of various cultural identity groups are valuable organisational resources. Groups that held an integration-and-learning perspective on diversity reported feeling valued and respected by their colleagues (Ely and Thomas, 2001: 254). Moreover,

organizations with an integration-and-learning perspective will rethink their primary tasks and processes and redefine their markets, products, strategies, and business practices in ways that will advance their mission (Ely and Thomas, 2001: 240). This perspective resembles the multicultural organisation in Cox's (1991) typology. A multicultural organisation values and fully incorporates minorities by modifying its structure and making any change necessary to take advantage of a diverse workforce.

By utilising demographic variables (race, ethnicity, sex, social class, religion, nationality, and sexual identity) which contribute to cultural identity, Ely and Thomas (2001) found mixed results based on different conditions and demographic composition of teams. They concluded that each perspective provides a rationale for why the work group should increase its diversity, yet only the third, the integration-and-learning perspective, was associated with what appeared to be sustainable performance gains attributable to diversity. Dass and Parker (1999) also concluded that a learning perspective could result in enhanced managerial control and argued, similar to Ely and Thomas (2001), that while equality measures are important as a starting point for increasing workforce diversity, they are not enough. It is argued that the major strength of the learning perspective is that it encourages the need to diversify work, rather than the people (Ely and Thomas, 2001; Dass and Parker, 1999). Both set of authors believe that diversity must be strategically linked to core organisational activities so that the alternative views can challenge normative assumptions about strategies and procedures which dominate the organisation's operation.

While these typologies and perspectives offer insightful conceptions of diversity, Lorbiecki (2001) warns that, even though the integration-and-learning perspective has the potential to develop a 'better' understanding of and value for diversity, it also has problems of political naivety. This is due to the fact that this perspective requires change to the core

work processes and strategies, which could lead to political implications and organisational tension. Janssens and Zanoni (2005: 312) further criticise the theory-driven perspectives of Ely and Thomas (2001) pointing out that it still considers diversity as a set of given socio-demographic characteristics rather than as an organizational product embedded in organizational power relations. Ely and Thomas's (2001) framework on diversity perspectives provides plausible grounds for why certain attitudes and perceptions prevail among employees in a diverse workforce. Understandably, diversity perspectives are not introduced to an organisation; they are perpetuated by its employees and agents of diversity who are also influenced by political and social processes both inside and outside of the organisation. It is therefore interesting to consider, in relation to the focus of this research, how employees perceive diversity and how their perspectives are influenced by the political and social tensions which may arise in the different policing contexts.

Cavanaugh and Prasad (1997) contend that the sociocultural context of workforce diversity determines the discourse on diversity. Johns (2004) suggests a similar hypothesis and provides empirical evidence on how the implementation of ethnic diversity policy in the NHS is impacted by the attitudes and perceptions of different groups of employees. When asked about the importance of workforce diversity, the common starting point for interpreting the value of diversity was based on proportionality (equivalent to the discrimination-and-fairness perspective), and eventually some employees shifted to a view of structural diversity (equivalent to the integration-and-learning perspective), but ultimately the respondents settled on a community representative model, which the author labelled as 'general needs-led' diversity. This 'representative' model or 'general needs-led' viewpoint, similar to the access-and-legitimacy perspective (Ely and Thomas, 2001), stresses the importance of visibly representing the organisation's diverse communities. Johns' study

highlights the negotiation of shared values among employees, based on the sociocultural context of the workforce and the nature of their work in the NHS. This study plainly illustrates the discrepancy between the diversity perspectives of the employees and the views that the NHS policy advocates. The gap between diversity perspectives and the practice of diversity suggests a coexistence of competing approaches. Tatli (2011: 244) also provided empirical evidence which demonstrates that there is "a gap between the discourse which represents diversity management as a business case driven approach inclusive of all differences, and the actual organisational practice which is shaped by group-based categories and legislation". The gap between policy and practice is discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis. Undoubtedly, policy advocates and front-line staff will experience different work contexts and so theorising diversity perspectives and diversity discourse become more complex when these different work contexts are taken into account.

A study by Janssens and Zanoni (2005) also shows that the way in which work is organized strongly affects the company's understanding of diversity as well as its approach to diversity management. From this theoretical perspective, the authors explain that employees' socio-demographic differences become relevant in a specific productive context only in as far as they either contribute to or hamper the organization of work and the attainment of organizational goals (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005). In two cases, Saint Mary's hospital and at InterCommunications, socio-demographic differences are valued because they represent competences which directly contribute to the service of the organisation. Diversity management in these work contexts focused on learning about the cultural differences of its customers and patients and so diverse personnel were brought in because of their difference. In contrast, the work context at TechnoLine and GlobalTrans conforms to the view that differences do not represent a source of value to the service process, cannot

be portrayed as skills, and therefore remain largely unacknowledged. Their approach to diversity stresses sameness rather than difference and diversity is managed through 'individual ad hoc solutions or general HRM activities' (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005: 326).

The empirical evidence in this study shows that contextualized understandings of diversity can impose a specific discourse of diversity anchored in a productive logic. Each organization's approach to diversity management, including its policy and related practices, are based on their understanding of diversity and its relevance to the achievement of organizational goals. Their study further inductively derived two dimensions of service work that play a key role in shaping contextualized understandings of diversity and diversity management. The first dimension refers to the degree of customers' physical proximity in the service delivery. The second refers to whether the modalities of the service provision are defined solely in terms of general professional standards or also match the characteristics of specific groups of customers sharing the same socio-demographic characteristics (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005: 327). Saint Mary's hospital and Inter-Communications call centre serve their patients and customers by providing 'diversity-customized' services. That is, their services need to meet not only general service delivery standards but also customers' culturally and linguistically differentiated demands (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005: 327). This approach to diversity is a strong 'monolithic' approach where cultural differences tend to be understood as well-bounded sets of normative prescriptions that ought to be followed in order to provide appropriate service to customers. The logistical companies provide 'profession-customized' services, that is, services that are tailored to clients' demands according to general professional standards such as quality, cost and flexibility (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005: 328). Through this theoretical lens, diversity

management is shaped by the kind of service being carried out and the relevance of diversity to the successful outcome of the service.

Arguably, the context of work plays an important role in the discourse of diversity which is functional in sustaining and reproducing the governing logic of diversity and the practice of managing diversity. A shared understanding of diversity can potentially amount to a powerful tool for managing diversity to attain organisational goals. A negotiated perspective comes about through the discourse of diversity which is entangled in the day-to-day processes of work. From this standpoint, discourses can be regarded as powerful resources (Fairclough, 2003), whereby different organisational actors construct different realities and negotiate their perspectives in relation to wider organisational practices. Fairclough (2003: 124) explains that "different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people".

Tatli (2011), in her examination of diversity managers as agents of diversity, demonstrates the twofold role of discourse in the construction both of the diversity management field and diversity practitioners' professional legitimacy. The empirical findings of her study illustrate the role of discourse as a component of the diversity management field alongside material practices and social agents. The analysis of diversity discourses is important because the discourse is not only one of the constituents of the diversity management field, but it also confers legitimacy for organizational diversity practices and constitutes an important strategic resource that diversity practitioners can draw on to justify the diversity practice. The notion of the discourse of diversity as a strategic resource for agents of diversity was previously highlighted by Kirton and Greene (2006) who adopted

a discourse-based analysis to examine the trade unions' understanding of and engagement with diversity management, in terms of their reflexive interpretation of the use of the term. Their research revealed the trade unions' engagement with diversity discourses as actual bargaining and negotiating positions in relation to diversity policy and practice (Kirton and Greene, 2006). In this way the union officers were advocating use of the diversity discourse as a rhetorical device to resist and challenge management-led policies.

The managerial influence in the discourse of diversity, coupled with the contextualised values for diversity, contributes to an already complex process of managing diversity. Zanoni and Janssens (2007), in a later publication, share further accounts from the subjects in their study who are defined by diversity discourses and who represent the primary target of diversity management. Their study shows that organizations manage minority employees through constellations of discursive and material controls. They purport that managerial discourses operate as control mechanisms through identity regulation, where minorities are expected to be and behave like a 'model employee' and are disadvantaged in as far as their difference affects their ability to meet these standard expectations (Zanoni and Janssens, 2007). For instance, at Saint Mary's Hospital, minority employees are managed through a combination of general and group-specific bureaucratic and discursive controls, and are expected to be and behave like their majority colleagues but also as members of a cultural minority when serving patients. They are disadvantaged in as far as they have to meet two sets of expectations at once, and are therefore 'doubly' managed (Zanoni and Janssens, 2007). Consequently, employees were either able to claim more power by virtue of their difference, or claim equality and respect by virtue of their sameness. Such constellations of discursive and material controls may be useful for understanding the diversity perspectives and practices in the policing context.

Research by Noon and Oswick (2012) demonstrates that the discourse of diversity has followed the same pattern as that of a management fashion; it underwent a period of growth and rendered the equality concept into a state of steady decline. Diversity is presented by practitioners, consultants and (some) academics as superior to and distinct from equality, and more recently inclusion is being distinguished as the new, progressive step from diversity (Noon and Oswick, 2012). The more fashionable concept of inclusion now challenges the dominance of diversity (Noon and Oswick, 2012). This progressive pattern of the diversity discourse bestows relevance to the hypothesised movement across diversity perspectives in which each perspective improves on the inadequacies of its predecessor (Ely and Thomas, 2001; Dass and Parker, 1999). The now fashionable concept of inclusion is equivalent to the integration-and-learning perspectives (Ely and Thomas, 2001) and a multicultural organisation (Cox, 1991) which values and fully incorporates minorities by modifying the organisational structures and processes, and making any change necessary to take advantage of a diverse workforce.

2.9 Chapter conclusion and implications for research

This chapter explored the literature on workforce diversity, focusing first on the equal opportunities framework and its role in propelling the concept of diversity management. The equality approach originally provided a narrow definition of individual differences (gender, race and disability), while diversity management offered a broader and more inclusive definition of individual difference and consequently took a strong hold in the equality discourse. The diversity approach gave prominence to multiple forms of individual difference and group identity dimensions. An understanding of this widened scope of diversity is important for studies which set out to explore individual and organisational

perspectives on managing diversity. The chapter also examined the debate on the intersections of social identity and the relevance of theories on intersectionality in understanding the complex interface of multiple identity dimensions and the mutual reproduction of inequalities. The intercategorical approach to intersectionality, with its focus on the complexity of relationships among and across multiple social groups, offers a multi-group and systematically comparative method for investigating individual perspectives on diversity and equality in the MPS.

Theories on diversity perspectives were reviewed in an attempt to understand how different groups perceive workforce diversity and how their perspectives on the value of workforce diversity might impact the process of diversity management. This review provided interesting insights on how different typologies of diversity and different perspectives on diversity influence intergroup relations and organisational practice of managing diversity. Social theories from Ely and Thomas (2001) and Zanoni and Janssens (2007), in particular, offer useful frameworks for evaluating diversity perspectives and diversity discourse in the policing context. The integration-and-learning perspective (Ely and Thomas, 2001), which requires that the organisation makes changes to its work processes and practices in order to take advantage of workforce diversity, may be the best of the three perspectives to achieve sustainable performance gains attributable to diversity but this theory neglects the political issues and social tensions that may arise during the implementation of organisational change. Constellations of discursive and material control mechanisms (Zanoni and Janssens, 2007) may help to manage such political situations in line with the primary interest of the organisation. Bearing this in mind, this research will examine how the MPS implements its diversity and equality strategies while limiting the

impact of organisational politics and social tensions at both senior and operational levels of policing.

Further exploration of the discourse of diversity (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005) demonstrated how the context of work influences employee understanding of diversity and the approach of the organisation in managing diversity. For the purpose of this research, understanding how police officers and staff perceive different contexts of workforce diversity in the MPS can be useful in determining the appropriate strategies and practices for sustaining and/or developing the governing logic in the field of diversity management. The discourse of diversity involves the micro-level perspectives of employees, which ultimately impact the macro-level practices and power relations in the organisation. The MPS diversity discourse is therefore essential to evaluating the impact and success of its diversity and equality strategies at the operational level of policing. The next chapter explores organisational structures, strategies and processes in managing diversity.

Chapter Three

Strategies for Managing Diversity

3.1 Introduction

The UK's antidiscrimination legislation can be credited with the development of formal approaches to Equalities policies in organisations (see discussion in Chapter 2). However, a formal Equalities policy is by no means a guarantee that the actual organisational practices, values and beliefs will be as stated. Hoque and Noon's (2004) evaluation of the substance of equal opportunities (EO) policies in the UK, based on the Workplace Employee Relations Survey 1998, imply that many EO policies are no more than "empty shells". Many EO statements are often used merely as 'window-dressing' and do not translate into proactive organisational practices for managing diversity. Tatli (2011) further highlights that many organizations comply with EO legislation but describe their narrow processes as managing diversity. She implores organizations to realize that statements of intent or 'being diverse' do not mean effectively dealing with workplace diversity issues in a way to promote equality, fairness and inclusion (Tatli, 2011: 250).

Diversity management strategies need to be developed through setting objectives, converting objectives into programmes and policies, performing reviews and measurement of outcomes. Well-managed diversity programmes can be beneficial to organisations in terms of employee benefits (for example, networking and mentoring, learning and professional development, and inclusion) and organisational benefits (for example, improved service or product development for diverse markets). The process also involves

various actors and stakeholders. Understanding the process of managing diversity therefore requires an examination of the importance of diversity leadership, the role of the human resource department, line managers, and other key organisational actors. The diversity literature provides limited guidance on how an organisation might comply with anti-discrimination legislation whilst treating people differently (Jewson and Mason, 1986; Miller, 1996). This implementation paradox is of interest to the researcher and so is explored as a recurring theme in this thesis.

This chapter discusses the human resource management (HRM) perspective on managing diversity, specifically, the development and implementation of diversity management practices which (1) increase the number of historically excluded groups; (2) empower the recruited diverse workforce to fully participate in organisational decision making; and (3) enables inclusion of diverse workforce in all aspects of the organisation (Kossek and Lobel, 1996).

3.2 Regulation and voluntarism in equality and diversity

Traditionally, EO policies tended to reflect liberal and minimalist legal requirements and so have involved the implementation of formal rules and procedures for equal treatment of employees (Kirton and Greene, 2010). The growth of the equality approach and the subsequent development of managing diversity approach have resulted in employers not just adhering to the law but proactively promoting equality and/or diversity. Some employers do more than just produce a statement of being an 'equal opportunity employer'; they develop an 'equality and diversity policy' with clear strategies for managing diversity. Diversity practices have now broadened to include the creation of diversity advisory committees, compulsory training, and targeted recruitment and communication

strategies (Jackson, 2002). These procedures are established with an aim to eliminate unfair overt or covert discrimination and to maximise the potential benefits of a diverse workforce.

Klarsfeld, Ng and Tatli (2012) argue that a firm's voluntary approach to managing diversity may not be completely voluntary. The regulation of diversity takes place in a spectrum between free will and constraint, where the external environment imposes constraints, and organizational decision-makers decide on whether and how to respond to these (Ng and Wyrick, 2011). Klarsfeld, Ng & Tatli (2012) call for an evidence-based approach and illustrate this by offering a context sensitive overview of workforce diversity debate and practice in three countries: France, Canada and the UK. In the UK context, the varied levels of enforcement and impact of employment equality legislation across public and private sectors illustrate the element of voluntarism in interpretation and implementation of control rules (Klarsfeld, Ng & Tatli 2012: 317). Greene and Kirton (2009) assert critically that voluntarism, without coercive regulation, may revitalize organisational efforts to proactively pursue workforce diversity and create inclusive and fair work environments. Conversely, proponents of coercive regulation suggest that, in the absence of legal requirements and sanctions, employers cannot be relied upon to prioritize equality and diversity issues over other business issues. In support of this argument, Özbilgin and Tatli (2008) examined the reasons why British organisations adopt diversity management approaches and found that coercion in the form of equality legislation was the strongest driver for an organization's decision to take up diversity management activities.

The leadership-based theoretical framework on diversity suggests that firms voluntarily pursue a diversity paradigm but only when business objectives coincide with the needs of workforce diversity (DiTomas and Hooijberg, 1996; Ng, 2008). From this viewpoint, the pursuit of workforce diversity should therefore be strategically integrated with the

organisational objectives (Richard, 2000). This approach is alleged to encourage support from various organisational actors and ensure that adequate resources are devoted to the implementation of diversity initiatives (Montjoy and O'Toole, 1979; Meier and McFarlane, 1995; Matland, 1995).

3.3 Equality and diversity programmes

Most equality and diversity programmes focus on the main functions of human resource management: recruitment and selection, training and development, mentoring, promotion and progression. The following sections discuss the use of these functions to promote equality and diversity.

3.3.1 Targeted Recruitment and Positive Action

The radical side to EO policies involves positive action initiatives which are aimed at increasing, for example, gender or racial diversity in the organisation. Although positive action is different from diversity management, its approach to recruitment, selection, development and retention of diverse employees is linked to the business case on managing diversity. The definition used in this study for positive action is a method of increasing the fairness and justice of organizational selection systems through its emphasis on the merit principle. Its primary aim is to decrease discriminatory barriers and restore equity to minority employees (Doverspike, 2000).

Well-run positive action programmes have been linked to effectiveness in attracting a diverse workforce (Wright, Ferris, Hiller and Kroll, 1995). French (2001), in evaluating effective equal employment implementation, identified positive action as a cause for the increases in women in management across all tiers in Australia. The success of positive

action is contingent upon the organisation conveying to prospective applicants from diverse backgrounds that it values diversity (Avery and McKay 2006; Doverspike 2000).

Cox and Blake (1991) similarly suggested that organizations that adopted a valuing diversity approach had greater marketing capacity because they were representative of their increasingly diverse markets. Richard and Johnson (1999) investigated organisational advantages of formal diversity practices and found that the implementation of formal diversity practices contributed to reduced employee turnover. Moreover, recruiting females or BMEs made subsequent hiring easier through the improved access to potential networks and talent pools (Cox 2001).

Positive action in the police service was due to a Home Office initiative to promote racial justice and to enable ethnic minorities to compete for jobs on an equal basis with the majority groups. The Home Office set a ten year national target of 7 percent for ethnic minority officers in England and Wales to be reached by 2009. Given London's 25 percent ethnic minority population, the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) was given a target of 26 percent of minority police officers by 2009. Alas, the targeted recruitment, special training and additional courses for educational tests were misunderstood as positive discrimination or reverse discrimination. This element of positive discrimination stigmatised black and Asian recruits as second class police officers (Holdaway, 1996). Incidentally, BME groups did not want to receive special treatment; they wanted to be recognised and valued for their potential and not the colour of their skin.

Despite the recruitment targets, only 10.5 percent of officers in the MPS were from ethnic minority backgrounds as at March 2013 (Home Office, 2013). This percentage of BME is twice as high as in 1999 yet it seems that the MPS has difficulties in recruiting BME candidates. Holdaway and Barron (1997) had brought to light that, in the early years of the

Equal Employment Opportunity policy, the police faced difficult challenges in attracting and retaining female and ethnic minority officers. Bowling, Parmar & Phillips (2008: 13) attribute this difficulty to their image and reputation as a white, male dominated colonial culture. Nevertheless, the British Crime Survey 2004/5 showed that positive attitudes were beginning to emerge both among white and BME groups. This could continue to improve as female and BME officers progress to visible leadership roles in the MPS.

3.3.2 Mentoring

Mentoring is another HR function that has been recognized as a powerful diversity management and HRD intervention that helps create learning organisations, assists employees in career advancement and supports aspiring leaders, and serves as a form of positive action for women and other minority groups (Hamlin and Sage 2008; Hegstad and Wentling, 2005). Mentoring is a diversity strategy which also targets change at the individual level. A senior employee is matched with a more junior woman or BME, with the aim of enabling under-represented groups to move through 'glass ceilings' or invisible barriers to career advancement. Ragins (2002) recommends a more informal mentoring programme which not only helps protégés to deal with their jobs but also helps them to deal with their lives. Also, firms are urged to design mentoring programmes not only to impart information but to include activities that enhance social interaction (Ragins, 2002).

Mentoring is a complicated social construct involving a special level of interpersonal exchange. Once this relationship is formed, it needs time and commitment for it to work for the benefit of those involved (Ehrich and Hansford, 2008). The main criticisms or negative perceptions of mentoring are generally associated with the effectiveness of mentoring relationships (Enrich and Hansford 2008; Hamlin and Sage 2008; McCloughen et al. 2009). It

is common for cross-racial pairings to be less successful because of poor cross-cultural communication (Thomas, 2001). This study will explore such issues by seeking employee perspectives on the quality and effectiveness of their mentoring relationships.

3.3.3 Diversity Training

While research suggests that positive action contributes to increases in workforce diversity, Rynes and Rosen (1995) found little evidence to support the notion that the implementation of diversity training correlates with increases in workforce diversity. Diversity training and education is recognised as playing an important role in avoiding the potential failure of diversity initiatives (Wentling, 2004). Ford and Fisher's (1996) review explains that training programmes aim to change employees' attitudes (affective and cognitive) and behaviours to 'value diversity' and to reduce subtle forms of discrimination and exclusion that may hinder effective working relationships. Training topics typically include prejudice, stereotyping, communication style and attitude towards positive action (Nkomo & Kossek, 2000).

However, even with its wide aims and topics, diversity training in some organisations tends to have a narrow emphasis on legal compliance (Foster and Harris, 2005; Wentling, 2004). Sanchez and Medkik (2004) argue that a narrow focus on awareness-level training (knowledge and insights) and the absence of behavioural coaching and experiential skills development inadequately equips the workforce in resolving differences in the workplace.

While diversity training might have demonstrated a positive impact on individual attitudes (Lobel, 1999), several drawbacks have been identified in conducting diversity training programmes. Practitioners caution that some diversity awareness training does not always achieve its objective of improved cohesion between people, but instead intensifies tensions, sharpens differences and increases competition and hostility within the

organisation (Lorbiecki, 2001; Roberson et al., 2001; Sanchez and Medkik, 2004). Swan (2009) further suggests that the 'verbal ideological texture' of diversity training is disruptive because it is seen to be about producing a highly charged space by generating anger, defensiveness and guilt.

Diversity training has been described by some researchers as a form of 'reprogramming' designed to intimidate and blame members of the majority group for historical segregation (Stewart et al., 2008; Holladay and Quinones, 2008). Rowe and Garland (2007) explain that diversity training in the police service emphasises community and race relations because of its history and its current challenge of being labelled institutionally racist. Community and race relations training was instituted in the MPS in response to the Race Relations Act (2000) and the recommendations from the Macpherson Inquiry Report (1999). The main aim of the diversity training was to sensitise police officers and staff to the diverse cultures and experiences of BME groups. However, a lack of strategic thinking in the implementation of diversity training in the police service has led to the perception that the programme was carried out as the new "flavour of the month" and there were no systems in place to sustain a systematic approach to diversity awareness (Rowe and Garland, 2007). Hite and McDonald (2006) also underscore problems linked to short and poorly devised training which ignores the issue of power in diversity management, and is run as a one-off activity rather than an ongoing systemic process.

This study explores employee perspectives on diversity awareness training in the MPS with an aim to understand the degree to which perceived episodic or systemic programmes affect attitudes towards workforce diversity.

3.4 HRM and diversity leadership

According to Shen et al (2009), diversity management is a responsibility of the HR department and this function falls in one package that ultimately is designed to introduce equal opportunity, inclusivity and talent management. Traditionally, the responsibility for devising and implementing equality and diversity policies fell in the domain of personnel practitioners (Kirton and Greene, 2010). HR still has an important role to play in probing the ethical and social impact of organisational policies and practices and liberating organisations from the dominance of privileged interests (McGuire, 2011: 173). This means that there is a need for the HR department to ensure that diversity is a cornerstone of organisational policy and to convince organisational decision-makers that a diversity and equality agenda is complementary to organisational goals.

Although in most organisations equality and diversity management has developed to become a responsibility of the HR department, the influence of the HR department at an organisational level is being questioned. Gooch and Blackburn (2002) argue that HRM has limited influence in the progress of diversity management. Research has shown that the role of HR in diversity management is regarded as that of merely compliance with affirmative action (AA) and EO policies and their role in promoting practices for valuing diversity is typically neglected (Blum et al., 1994; Rynes and Rosen, 1995). Goggin et al. (1990) contend that the perception that diversity is just another HR thing resulting from legalistic pressure can have a negative effect on how employees respond to diversity initiatives. Foster and Harris (2005) also point out that managerial thinking continues to be dominated by legal compliance through an institutional emphasis on demonstrable procedural fairness rather than the business case for diversity.

The fact that the strategic decision making falls to the hands of management, Dickens (1999) argues that diversity management should be a responsibility of strategic management instead of it being a matter for the HR department. Ng and Sears (2011) suggest that there should be direct and frequent communication on diversity by key executives instead of HR officers. Clear communication by organisational leaders is purported to improve credibility and the level of support from employees (Goggin et al., 1990; Shen et al., 2009).

People management is more than just an HR issue as HRM is practiced by more than just HR managers (Storey, 1995). Accordingly, the responsibility for diversity management should be shared by different organisational actors. A strategic partnership between line managers, top management and HRM is regarded as an effective collective approach to managing diversity. Ozbilgin and Tatli (2008) support this notion that multilevel organisational support for equality, diversity and inclusion is an important precondition for effective diversity management. However, the authors note that different departments have different levels of power and status in organisations and so this could influence the level of support for different diversity initiatives. For instance, if technical rationality and instrumental reasoning prevail at top management level, then diversity initiatives which focus on social justice and equality will be inherently difficult to 'sell' (Kersten, 2000). A recent empirical study in the UK found that diversity practitioners strategically drew on the business case discourse in order to increase the resources and support available to diversity management activities (Tatli, 2011: 242). Only through a strong business case was it possible to convince and engage different organizational actors. Kirton and Greene (2009) also found that diversity practitioners generally seemed to think like business managers, rather than like activists or campaigners. These diversity specialists would strategically link diversity

initiatives to issues which are important to managers in order to ensure support and commitment at all levels of the organisation. These findings support earlier claims that the demonstration of clear links between components of diversity initiatives and the organisational goals play a crucial role in the successful implementation of diversity policy (Mazmanian and Sabatier 1989).

Research has shown that without top-level leadership commitment, policies and legislations are limited in promoting workforce diversity (Dass and Parker, 1999; DiTomas and Hooijberg, 1996; Gilbert et al., 1999; Pitts, 2007; Ng, 2008). Top-down and bottom-up implementation research yielded a variety of conjectures and explanation for what 'works' in policy implementation (Pitts, 2007: 1581). While programmes should be implemented from top down, support should also be gained at all levels of the organisation from the inception stage (deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Goggin et al. 1990; Long and Franklin, 2004). Specifically, line-managers should be involved from the formulation stage so that they can get views from all types of employees. Shen et al. (2009: 245) also suggest that line managers should be more involved in the decision-making process in order to fully understand and effectively implement diversity management.

It has been argued that operational managers are often seen to be more powerful than HR managers. The context of the flattening of organisational hierarchies gives a greater degree of autonomy to line managers to either ignore or proactively manage diversity (Kirton and Greene, 2010). Line managers are seen to play a critical role in implementing diversity policy on a day-to-day basis (Cornelius et al., 2000; Foster and Harris, 2005) because the organisational strategies and practice for managing diversity can be more closely monitored at the micro level with line managers' increased involvement.

Part of the main problem with implementing diversity lies with the multiplicity of actors and their competing agendas. Line managers may well play an important role in implementing diversity initiatives, but their practical application of diversity management is based on their interpretation of diversity management and their perception of equality and fairness (Foster and Harris, 2005). Maxwell et al (2001: 480) found that the lack of clarity surrounding the concept of 'managing diversity' and the different mix of contextual factors meant that managing diversity became whatever was deemed to be the most practical to the operational manager. Consequently, HR practitioners need to provide support and guidance to line management who are expected to meet the regulatory requirements as well as satisfy the desired organisational and individual outcomes of equality and diversity (Foster and Harris, 2005). Many managers prefer the comfort zone of operating within clearly prescribed boundaries with standardised approaches to dealing with diversity (Foster and Harris, 2005). This indicates that, without a strong organisational consensus on diversity initiatives, the legal case will persist alongside the business case (Tatli, 2011).

3.5 Diversity and Equality Strategy in the MPS

The MPS Diversity and Equality Strategy 2009-2013 was launched on 1 December 2009 and provides a clear articulation of the diversity and equality ambitions of the MPS and how it proposes to achieve them. It provides a clear focus on four strategic themes – a fair and responsive service; community engagement; workforce and culture; and governance. Much of the diversity strategy goes beyond mere legislative compliance as its priorities are planned and delivered in a way that upholds the five guiding principles of the MPS: Presence, Performance, Productivity, Professionalism and Pride. In identifying the themes and objectives for the strategy, the MPS has taken account of the Association of Chief Police

Officers (ACPO) Equality, Diversity and Human Rights Strategy for the Police Service; the Mayor’s Equality Framework; Equality Standard for the Police Service; the government’s Equality Bill; and the strategic outcomes and objectives for the MPS as outlined in the Policing London Business Plan (MPS, 2009). The strategy was modified in 2011 to take account of the MPS Equality Policy (2010).

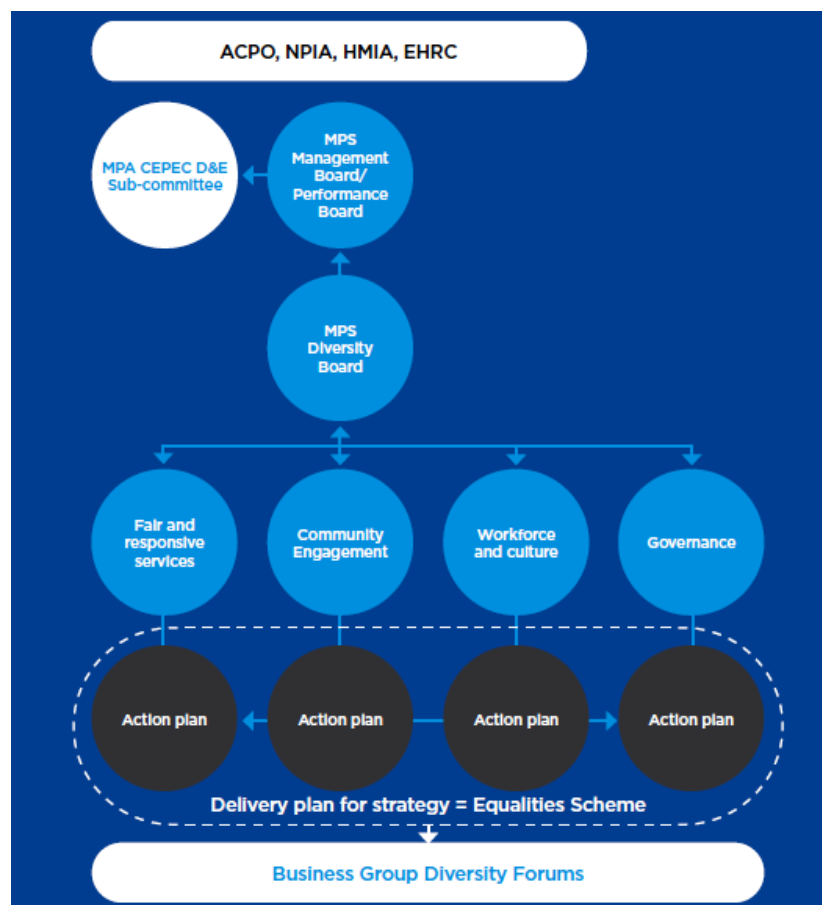


Figure 3.1 Governance structure for delivering diversity strategy (Source: MPS, 2009)

The framework for governance and delivery of the strategy (illustrated in figure 3.1) ensures accountability at the highest levels of the MPS. An ACPO-ranked officer or member of police staff takes strategic responsibility for each of the themes and drives forward its actions, while reporting to the Deputy Commissioner through Diversity Board. The 'action

plans' is the MPS Equalities Scheme which sets out how the aims of each strategic theme will be achieved. The Equality Standard for the Police Service provides a tool for measuring and monitoring outcomes and performance for continual improvement. Close oversight and coordination of the action plans are achieved at the operational command units (OCU) and business group level through the diversity forum and local business planning mechanisms. Individuals at all levels are held to account for their actions through performance review processes. There is also external input through consultation and engagement with communities and MPS staff, which informs their actions and work.

Despite these apparently balanced strategic themes identified by the MPS, it has been reported that the efforts to address operational policing were not matched in dealing with the internal work environment (MPA, 2010). The Race and Faith Inquiry Report, published by the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA) in July 2010, stated that the police service has made significant progress in areas of service delivery, policing approaches and practices, and first aid training in response to the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. One would presume that the lack of emphasis on internal workforce diversity initiatives could be owing to the fact that the MPS diversity initiatives emanated from the key recommendations of the Macpherson Report (1999) which mainly focussed on issues related to operational policing and community race relations. The Macpherson Report came about as a result of an inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence, a black British teenager, in April 1993. Lord Macpherson of Cluny reported that the failed investigation into Stephen's murder was linked to broader issues of poor race relations in policing. The Report contained seventy recommendations, sixty-seven of which the Home Office declare have been implemented fully or in part in the ten years since his report was published (House of Commons, 2009). The recommendations generally included stipulations

about improvements in the investigation of race crimes and of its dealings with members of ethnic minority communities. It also highlighted the issue of police leaders in showing a clear commitment to increasing awareness of race as an issue throughout the police service. Recommendation 2 and 64 addressed issues around Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) recruitment, retention and progression.

Now, post-Macpherson, the MPS's increasingly diverse workforce has become a focal point. The opening affirmation of the MPA inquiry states that “diversity – in all its manifestations – is not something 'exceptional' or something that police officers and staff encounter 'now and then'; it is woven into all their encounters with each other and with the public”. The inquiry panel urges the MPS to strengthen its commitment to tackle internal inequalities in the organisation (MPA, 2010). The MPS subsequently created its Equality Policy in 2010 (revised 2013) and associated standard operating procedures (Equality Standard Operating Procedures; Fairness at Work Standard Operating Procedures; Transgender Standard Operating Procedures; Disability Standard Operating Procedures) which are designed to promote fair treatment and equality within the MPS working environment.

For the purpose of this study, only the third theme of the MPS diversity and equality strategy (workforce and culture) will be investigated. This strategic theme concerns the internal work environment, which is the main focus of this study. 'Workforce and Culture' was modified in 2011 to include the final three initiatives which take into account the MPS Equality Policy 2010.

THEME 3: Workforce and Culture

AIMS: Develop a working and organisational culture that is inclusive and recognises, respects and values diversity. Do more to equip staff so they have the confidence to deal

with issues of diversity and equality, while acting professionally, treating people fairly and with respect. Continue our work to make us more reflective of the communities we serve (MPS, 2009). OUTCOMES: A workforce that is more representative at all levels and across specialisms, and is more understanding of the people we serve. Staff feel more satisfied and feel they are treated fairly and with respect.

This strategic theme is pursued through the initiatives outlined in table 3.1:

Initiatives	Responsibility	Key Actions
Delivery of agreed recommendations arising from MPA Race and Faith Inquiry.	DCFD; OCU (diversity forum)	Designating the Deputy Commissioner as the lead for diversity and chair of Diversity Board; Directorate of Citizen Focus and Diversity (DCFD) under the Deputy Commissioner's direct command; closer governance of Staff Support Associations (SSAs); build and develop the relationship between MPS and the Met Black Police Association (MetBPA).
Deliver training and development programmes that increase knowledge and equip our staff to value and respect difference and achieve cultural change.	HR Directorate; DCFD; OCU (diversity forum)	HR Diversity Awareness Training Programme
Continue our work to develop a workforce that reflects the diversity of London, building on the progress already made.	HR Directorate; DCFD; Career Management Unit	MPS People Development Policy; Workforce data report – to analyse recruitment, strength, wastage, resignations, promotions/progression by protected characteristics
Implement the Equality and Diversity Occupational Standard Assessment via the MPS PDR process.	DCFD; OCU (diversity forum)	Developmental workshops for Chairpersons and Executive members of the Staff Support Associations.
Support staff, in particular those from under-represented groups, to realise their potential, to enable the MPS to make best use of the skills and talents its diverse workforce.	DCFD; Career Management Unit; OCU (diversity forum)	Flexible working arrangements; Springboard and Encompass - schemes aimed at encouraging personal development in female employees. Mentorship schemes - Gay Police Association; MPS People Development Policy.

Improve the progression of staff from under-represented groups, with a particular emphasis on specialist roles.	HR Directorate; DCFD; MPS Promoting Difference team; Career Management Unit	BME promotion study group networks; Positive Action Leadership Programme; Neuro-Linguistic preparatory course to overcome barriers to promotion; MPS People Development Policy.
Improve the confidence of all staff in our discipline and Fairness at Work processes so they are seen to be proportionate and fair.	HR Directorate; OCU	Designating an ACPO lead for grievances and ET decisions. Discipline outcomes and Fairness at Work cases - proportionality for protected characteristics against MPS overall demographics.
Utilise the staff survey to understand and address any disproportionality in levels of satisfaction between groups.	HR Directorate; DCFD	Staff survey - 'Your Views Count'
Ensure that staff at all levels of the MPS understand their responsibilities in relation to the Equality Act 2010.	DCFD; HR Directorate	Diversity awareness training; Positive Action Leadership Programme
Support the implementation of the People and Culture elements of the Equality Standard for Policing.	DCFD; OCU (diversity forum)	Equality Standards for the Police Service – monitoring the MPS standards for diversity and equality and ensuring compliance across the organisation.
Ensure Equality Impact Assessments are undertaken for every organisational change programme and that effective steps are taken to address any identified adverse impact.	DCFD; OCU (diversity forum)	Equality Impact Assessments – how many are completed

Table 3.1 Workforce and Culture strategy: summary of initiatives

The MPS seems to have adopted a systemic approach to managing diversity.

According to Dass and Parker (1999), a systemic approach is adopted when there is high pressure for diversity and organisational leaders view diversity management as a strategic imperative. Diversity initiatives are thus linked with existing systems and core activities of the organisations and are typically monitored by line organisational positions, coupled with

sanctions and rewards. The MPS diversity strategy falls under the stewardship of the Deputy Commissioner, each theme is led by a senior police officer or member of police staff who has responsibility for driving change within the organisation whilst ensuring that the principles underpinning each theme are embedded into the organisation's way of delivering its business (Skelton, 2011). Top-down and bottom-up implementation research is found to yield a variety of conjectures and explanations for what 'works' in diversity implementation. While programmes should be implemented from top-down, support should be gained at all levels of the organisation from the inception stage; specifically, line-managers should be involved from the formulation stage so that they can get views from all types of employees (Pitts, 2007: 1581).

The formulation of the MPS diversity and equality strategy involved a consultation process with key stakeholders such as the community, politicians, police officers, civilian staff, and police associations. The strategy implementation involves a rigorous performance management approach with the use of PDRs and Equality Impact Assessments at OCU level. Diversity action plans are managed through the Senior Management Teams (SMT) in all OCUs and outcomes are monitored by the Diversity Citizenship Focus Directorate (DCFD) and then reported to the Diversity Executive Board headed by the Deputy Commissioner (Skelton, 2011).

Feedback from the consultation process on the MPS Draft Equality Objectives 2012 - 2016 stated that many of the "objectives needed to be more specific around the measurable element" (DCFD, 2012). Measuring the outcomes of the range of diversity and equality initiatives outlined in table 3.1 can be challenging if specific targets are not set and acknowledged by the responsible party or parties. For instance, activities aimed at improving the confidence of staff in discipline and Fairness at Work processes are

supposedly achieved by designating an ACPO lead for grievances and employment tribunal decisions. The measurable outcome in this case would be the proportionality for protected characteristics (e.g. confidence of female or BME officers) against the confidence of the MPS overall demographics. However, while staff feedback and official statistical data can indicate a small level of 'improvement', the lack of specific targets could limit proactive involvement from leaders at OCUs.

3.6 Chapter conclusion and implications for research

This chapter discussed organisational strategies for managing diversity, with a focus on the HR related functions of recruitment, positive action, mentoring and diversity training. The role of HRM in diversity leadership was also considered. HR departments play a vital role in ensuring that diversity and equality forms a central part of organisational policies and strategies. The diversity and equality initiatives in the MPS may not be led by traditional personnel practitioners but are clearly linked to the HR Directorate which owns the MPS Equality Policy and associated standard operating procedures. Even though human resource practitioners remain the guardians of equality and diversity policy, it is argued that coalitions of operational management and other organisational actors are necessary for the effective implementation and management of workforce diversity strategies. It will be interesting to investigate how police officers perceive the MPS diversity and equality initiatives which are directly and/or indirectly linked to the HR department, and how these initiatives fit into their day-to-day work contexts.

In order to evaluate the outcome of the MPS diversity strategy for 'workforce and culture', this study moves beyond the organisational rhetoric to consider the lived

experiences and perspectives of the police officers and civilian staff. Several points that emerged from this review shape the focus of this study. Close attention is paid to the individual experiences and perspectives of police officers and staff as their organisational narratives can be used to craft future approaches to managing diversity.

Chapter Four

The Context of Policing

4.1 Introduction

The institutionalisation of diversity in the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) is a strategic workforce change that has provoked considerable uncertainty and complexity, not only for the human resources function but also for police officers and civilian employees. Research has shown that BME police officers face race-related barriers to advancement, experience social isolation, and perceive that they have less discretion in their jobs (Chow and Crawford; 2004; Fielding, 1999; Murrell et al., 1994). Studies have also shown that female police officers have to cope with discriminatory work experiences (Fielding and Fielding, 1992; Leishman, Loveday and Savage, 2000; Malcolm Young, 1991; Martin and Jurik, 2006; Westmarland, 2001; Davies and Thomas, 2008; Loftus, 2009). The complicated normative issues and varied policing contexts pose real challenges for the effective management of the MPS's changing workforce.

This chapter provides a review of the issues relating to workforce diversity in the MPS. The first section discusses the incidents which led to the increased recruitment of female and Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) officers in the MPS, and also examines the current literature on gender and racial diversity in the police service. The review also provides a brief background on the archetypal British Bobby and the various attempts at modernising the police organisation. The third and final section discusses the notion of

police culture, with the aim of understanding how the 'changing' police culture might impact diversity management.

4.2 Diversity in the police workforce

The British policing landscape has transformed radically in recent years. The changes in London's population show that 41 percent of residents are non-White British and more than 300 different languages are spoken in the city (Office of National Statistics, 2012). This has put the police under enormous pressure to increase the number of female and BME officers and to find new ways for managing its increasingly diverse workforce (Loftus, 2008; Holdaway, 1997).

The MPS is London's biggest employer, with 31,000 police officers and 14,000 professional and support staff working behind the scenes to provide the organisational capabilities for policing the city. The reality of 'global cities' (Sassen, 1991) gives rise to two very distinct challenges to contemporary understandings of policing – the vast and multifarious forms of criminal activity and the rising need for workforce diversity and cross-cultural competence in policing (Bowling, 2009). The hiring of ethnic minorities in the MPS is of fairly recent origin, occurring during the 1980s. Official statistics show that minority ethnic groups serving in the MPS in 1981 accounted for only 0.3% of the total police strength (MPS, 2008). The Scarman Report (1981) underscored that the erosion of police confidence and professional standards were as a result of failing strategies in the recruitment and training of employees from diverse backgrounds. The continued under-representation of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) officers prompted positive action and proactive policy from the Home Office to increase recruitment among minority ethnic groups (Holdaway, 1991). By 1992 this figure slowly increased to 2.2%; minority ethnic

groups were 8.3% in 2008; and as of March 2013, the figure stood at 10.5% of the total police strength (Home Office, 2013). The Home Office had set a ten year target of 26% of minority police officers by 2009, but have faced tremendous difficulty in attracting and retaining BME officers. Holdaway (1991) asserted that without a clearly positive stance, ethnic minority recruitment rests on ambivalence, or good intentions which are not translated into principles of action to underpin policy. The slow increase in recruitment of BME officers is intertwined with a wide range of HRM policies and practices for Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO). However, the Macpherson Report (1999) is considered to have played a pivotal role in increasing the momentum of BME police recruitment. There has also been some progress in relation to retention and progression of these groups of employees.

The Chief Executive of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, Trevor Phillips, stated that the MPS should no longer be accused of institutional racism due to the progress it has made in addressing internal and external race relations (Wolfenden, 2009). However, the Race and Faith Inquiry (2010), commissioned by the Mayor of London, reported that more attention needed to be given to improving the experience of BME officers inside the organisation. The MPA (2010) reported that corporate leadership was weak in relation to equality and diversity with no clear management board lead. This matter has since been addressed with the recent implementation of MPS diversity strategy which falls under the stewardship of the Deputy Commissioner (Skelton, 2011). The MPA report (2010) also flagged up that the processes and practices for recruitment and progression pose unofficial barriers for BME officers, and the informal cultural values of the MPS were considered harmful to BME retention and progression in the service. The MPA called for new strategies and practices for managing diversity, with the involvement of all levels of the organisation.

The MPS diversity strategy 2009-13 is due for review shortly and figures show that, due to increased senior management support, BME progression has made marked improvement above the rank of Inspector (Wolfenden, 2009).

Even with this slow and gradual progress, the demographics of policing remain a predominantly white, heterosexual, male-dominated occupation (Heidensohn 1992; Walklate 2000; Brown 2007). Research has shown that BME officers face race-related barriers to advancement, and perceive themselves as being less accepted, having less discretion in their jobs (Chow and Crawford; 2004; Fielding, 1999; Murrell et al., 1994). When the ethnic minority officers enter the MPS, they are viewed as the under-class in the midst of 'insiders'; they become internal 'outsiders' (Holdaway, 1996: 21). These officers are subject to exclusionary practices which are embedded in the police culture at both the lower ranks and the top levels of the police organization (McLaughlin, 2007). BME officers have time and again described their experiences of isolation and discrimination within the police service (Holdaway and Barron, 1997; Cashmore, 2002). The use of banter, with explicit racist language, has been plainly documented in the literature (Holdaway 1983; Smith and Gray 1985; Young 1991).

BME officers describe a work environment in which forms of discrimination are pervasive but subtle, what researchers term 'stealth' or 'covert' racism (Foster et al. 2005; Holdaway and O'Neill 2007; McLaughlin 2007). Holdaway and O'Neill (2007) explain that the nature of discrimination in the service is rather elusive and so BMEs will experience challenges if they wish to make a complaint against colleagues. This obscure nature of racist and abusive language plays on individual perception, and could cause ethnic minority officers to contextualise and reinterpret these actions as a kind of 'test' or trial (Cashmore, 2001). BME officers can prove their loyalty to the group if they pass these 'tests'. Holdaway

(1996: 31) also points out that the sense of loyalty among colleagues averts any concern about the acceptability of racial jokes and banter. Loftus (2008) similarly alludes to these manifestations of discrimination occur in trusted circles, what the researcher calls 'white spaces'.

There is a profound sense of insecurity amongst white, heterosexual, male officers who construct a condition of white victimhood and view equality and diversity as a threat to a 'dying breed' (Loftus, 2008). There is stark resentment towards the 'special treatment' of minority officers, and as a result, BME officers face 'white backlash' from their white colleagues (Hewitt 2005; McLaughlin and Neal 2004).

This notion of 'special treatment' is also affixed to the recruitment and promotion of female police officers. However, far from being treated as 'special', women have encountered considerable difficulty not only in gaining acceptance within the police service but also in dealing with discriminatory promotion practices and sexual banter. Research has shown how the 'cult of masculinity' has encouraged discrimination and various forms of sexual harassment against women (Brown, 1998; Heidensohn, 1992; Martin, 1990). The 'macho' and sexualized nature of the jokes and banter affirm male dominance within the organization (Brown, 1992; Fletcher, 1996). This form of social relation operates to exclude women and to discourage them from working in specialist departments such as Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and Traffic (Balkin, 1986; Flynn, 1982; Young, 1991). Brown (1998) investigated the experience of sexual harassment among 1802 policewomen and civilian female staff, and found that 65 per cent of the women had 'heard comments about their own physical appearance'. Plainly, this experience was extremely common although not universal among women in the research sample.

Malcolm Young (1991: 193) observed that policemen were overtly and consistently hostile towards women in 'the job'. His study showed that some women were briefly tolerated as 'honorary men', but they still maintained a low status on the pecking order. These discriminatory experiences of female police officers persisted throughout the years (Fielding and Fielding, 1992; Leishman, Loveday and Savage, 2000; Westmarland, 2001; Davies and Thomas, 2008; Loftus, 2009). Studies have shown that the 'cult of masculinity' (Smith and Gray, 1985) and the taken-for-granted masculine culture of the police service continues to marginalise women. The work culture promotes 'crime fighting as men's work and social service as women's work' (Fielding, 1994, p. 61). This is owing to the emphasis on physical strength and the perception that women are best suited for emotional labour (Fielding and Fielding, 1992). Female officers are therefore deployed to tasks that are stereotyped as 'female tasks', such as dealing with children, domestic violence, victims of sexual crime, or welfare office-based tasks (Brown, 1998; Brown et al., 1993). Female officers find themselves in uncertain positions regarding their careers as they are encouraged to take on 'specialist' roles in departments dealing with supposedly gendered issues. Loftus (2009) found that women faced prejudice in the CID, which is seen as entailing tasks of 'real policing' and so more suitable for the traditional white, male police officer. The masculine police culture marginalises women and thereby limits their policing practice and their prospects for promotion (Morash and Greene, 1986). Ridgeway and Correll (2004) argue that when women enter a particular field and that field is seen to become feminised, it subsequently becomes devalued. Therefore, those who choose to pursue 'appropriate feminine roles' might well be limiting their career prospects because feminine roles are associated with lower performance values or 'recipe knowledge' (Dick and Jankowicz, 2001).

Policing is labelled as a 'gendered' occupation (Davies and Thomas, 2008; Westmarland, 2001) and its gendered organisational practices work to the disadvantage of women (Martin and Jurik, 2006). The work hours, in particular, are not viewed as family-friendly. Studies on burnout among police officers have shown that female officers tend to experience higher levels of work-related stress (Berg et al., 2003; He et al., 2002). The distressing work schedule is coupled with the expectation to partake in off-duty drinking and after-hours socialising, which are important and prevailing aspects of the police culture that influence group cohesion.

Female officers experience intense pressure to 'prove themselves' and, in doing so, they sometimes adopt the characteristics of the prevailing masculine police culture so as to avoid differential treatment from their male colleagues (Martin, 1980; Young, 1991; Heidensohn, 1992). Research suggests that female officers do not necessarily resist the apparently 'masculine' culture, but, like men, emphasise the importance of physical strength and crime fighting (Heidensohn, 1992).

Westmarland (2001) criticises the notion of genitalia being the definitive sign of masculinity or femininity and questions the ambiguous career positionings simply based on gender. Interestingly, some female LGBT officers identified an advantage of their sexual orientation as being able to minimise the disadvantage of gender hierarchy in the police service. Research shows that these individuals are able to 'undo gender' (Chan et al., 2010; Deutsch 2007) because they are not as confined to the boundaries of femininity as heterosexual women are. Some LGBT officers are therefore able to assimilate the masculine police archetype without threatening the masculinity of police officers to the extent that heterosexual women do (Miller, Forest and Jurik, 2003: 376). Nevertheless, Miller et al. (2003) reported that all of the "out" and "closeted" gay/lesbian officers in their study

indicated that they had heard or been the target of antigay or lesbian jokes or derogatory slang. Similarly, Colvin (2009) found that the majority of the lesbian/gay officers in the police service said that they experienced social isolation, “outsiderism,” and were subjected to homophobic verbal abuse. This is owing to the ethos of a heterosexual masculinity which establishes boundaries between themselves and LGBT officers through social exclusion or verbal intimidation (Belkin and McNichol, 2002; Burke 1993; Colvin, 2009; Lyons et al., 2008; Miller et al., 2003). The potential for challenging this prejudiced behaviour remains a concern among researchers and practitioners alike.

The police is under enormous pressure to find new ways for managing issues around workforce diversity (Loftus, 2008; Holdaway, 1997). Contemporary generations of police are expected to improve the way the police interact with their diverse colleagues as well as with the public. However, policing values and practices are rooted in a professional and organisational identity. The experiences of females, LGBT and BME officers hinge on the flexibility and resilience of police culture. The next section explores the traditional police identity and reviews the debate on the changing police culture.

4.3 The Archetypal British Bobby

The Bobby is one of Britain’s most famous icons, along with Big Ben, double-decker buses, and red telephone boxes. The first police commissioners, Rowan and Mayne, strove to develop an image of the British Bobby as the impartial embodiment of the rule of law and the ethic of public service (Reiner, 1992). Today the Bobby epitomises the democratic consensual model of policing which exists in England. Reiner (1992) explains that PC George Dixon in the TV programme 'Dixon of Dock Green' was the embodiment of the ideal Bobby during the ‘golden age’ of policing in the 1950s. Dixon’s character was a unique cultural

phenomenon and a heroic English figure. The erosion of Dixon's image suggests that there is a fundamental transformation of social structures and culture.

While the locus of the 'community model' of policing is held by the Metropolitan Police, its origin is of Anglo-Saxon traditions with the medieval office of parish constable and Watchman. Throughout time, this community model has been continually updated and following the Scarman Report (1981) on the Brixton riots the 'community model' was modernized with greater emphasis on the importance of order maintenance. Furthermore, this model has been adjusted to include aspects of the watchman style and intelligence-led model of policing (Reiner, 1992). This is as a result of the new peril of terrorism and gun crime in the UK. People now have to choose between their civil liberties and a more intrusive model of security. Hence, the traditional Bobby has received a facelift in order to endure the changing social conditions in the UK.

New Public Management (NPM) is concerned with injecting business-like practices into public agencies with the expectation of improved effectiveness and efficiency. Police work is increasingly affected by the focus of NPM on performance targets, culminating in the 1994 Police Magistrates' Court Act that gave the Home Secretary powers to set national police objectives, supported by performance indicators. Hallman (2000) suggests that performance targets have shifted the police focus on 'crime that gave the greatest yield in detection such as domestic violence or violence on street'.

Notwithstanding the extensive reform efforts, change within the police appears to be slow and uneven (Loftus, 2008). In its 2004 report, 'Modernising the Police Service', the Home Office presented plans to further expand the number of civilian personnel within the police. Research has shown that the police culture denounces civilian staff as simply a cost-cutting measure intent on undermining the multi-skilled sworn officers of the police service

(Loftus, 2008; Loveday, 2007). Civilianization is seen by senior management as a vehicle for recruiting greater numbers of women and BMEs into police service. The role of the Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) is to complement and support the work of regular police constables. It is a unique role designed to tackle local anti-social behaviour and these officers do not have the same powers as Police Constables or Special Constables. Frontline police officers describe PCSOs as 'plastic police' (Loftus, 2008: 767).

These developments in the policing landscape have raised fresh questions about the changing police culture and identity. There is a need to explore the continuities and inertia of police values and practices in order to evaluate how the new structure and practices might be affected.

4.4 Changing Police Culture

The notion of 'police culture' is generally used to understand the way of the world of policing and broadly refers to its set of shared informal norms, beliefs and values that underpin and inform police outlooks and behaviour towards the citizenry they police as well as their fellow officers (Reiner, 1978; Ericson, 1982; Holdaway, 1983; Young, 1991; Chan, 1997; Loftus, 2008). Police culture may be a convenient label for a range of negative values, attitudes, and practice norms among police officers, but not all police practices represent police culture (Chan, 1996). Police culture is derived from two principal sources; the first being the assumptions that leaders, managers, and officers bring with them to the organization, and the second being from the actual experience of the police officers within the organization as they adapt to the internal and external environments (Harlow, 1994). The organization is a subjective construct and its employees will give meaning to their environment based on their own particular cultural programming (Trompenaars and

Hampden-Turner, 1998:157). Therefore, it is important to carefully assess how the individual “mental programmes” of police officers influence their behaviour on the job, and consequently, police culture.

Contrary to arguments that police culture is influenced by individual “mental programmes”, Sackmann (1991) sees cultural cognition as being held by groups and not individuals; these cognitions, she argues, are socially constructed. Waddington (1999) also suggests that the police organisation possesses a distinct pervasive occupational culture. Chan (1996) on the other hand argues that police culture is not monolithic, universal nor unchanging. In her study of “changing police culture” in the New South Wales Police Service, Chan detects cultural differences between officers holding different functional duties. She concludes that there exist multiple cultures within a force and variation in cultures among police forces (Chan, 1996).

Chan (1996), as a result of her finding, asserts that managers, including police managers, should know how organizational culture can be managed to improve organisational outcomes. “Modernists interpret knowledge about culture as a tool of management, and culture itself as a variable to be manipulated to enhance the likelihood of achieving desired levels of performance from others within the organization” (Hatch, 1997: 231). A similar assertion is made by Slawomir Magala (2005) that “managers see culture either as an instrument for making sense of the world in general and organizational activities in particular, or as a set of core values reflected in norms and patterns of behaviour” (Magala, 2005: 98). He further declares that whether managers have an instrumental view of culture or a non-instrumental view of culture, creating cross-cultural competence depends crucially on being able to understand ethical choices and ways in which values do make a difference in individual and group behaviour (Magala, 2005: 99).

Therefore, it is fairly endorsed that managers require a certain level of awareness and understanding in order to manipulate culture as a tool of management.

Culture as a tool of management is supported and influenced through “managerialism” (Magala, 2005). Managerialism among professional managers allows them to make sense of organizations as spaces of managerial intervention. Culture is viewed as a management tool that does not standardize individuals, but standardize certain practices and educational inputs (Magala, 2005: 106). There are different professional standards of behaviour and qualifications for different occupations. These professional standards are designed to control values, ethical reasoning, and practices within organizations. The police organization is not excluded from such managerial intervention since police officers, even in Britain, are required to complete specific training at Police Staff Colleges and adhere to general occupation codes. Brogden and Nijhar (2005) outline that at the command and management level, police officers are sent overseas for advanced training and tuition. Some examples include the Fijian and Caribbean police officers attending COP courses at the British Bramshill Police College, and Russian police officers undertaking tuition at police academies in the United States. This substantiates claims that police practices and procedures are standardised and traded as a commodity (Brogden and Nijhar, 2005: 3-5).

Police culture is also believed to be guided by a rule-based model of action. Manning (1989) claims that police culture is ‘sort of’ rule guided as constituting a ‘recipe knowledge’. Scheering and Ericson (1991) provide a counter argument that rules are seldom congruent with police actions. In their attempts to explain how culture shapes action, Scheering and Ericson identify rules as an important cultural resource but questions whether the rule-based model of action is correctly attributed to police culture. They argue that decisions taken by those engaged in the ‘craft of policing’ are developed on a moment-to-moment

basis; therefore competent officers know what to do. Hence, “managerialism” may not influence police culture as much as it does other sectors because the work that police officers confront is too diverse and complex to be reduced to simple principles. Thus, experience, and not rules, is the source of their knowledge about policing (Schearing and Ericson, 1991). Chan (1996) also argues that the manipulation of police culture through education, laws and regulations does not automatically lead to change in police practice. Much depends on the nature of the rules and how they are interpreted by police, given their ‘feel for the game’ or level of experience. This may have implications for the implementation of MPS policies and strategies mentioned in Chapter 3 which could be open to different interpretations in different policing contexts.

Schearing and Ericson (1992) argue that police culture should be accepted not as a book of rules, albeit informal cookbook rules, but as a story book (Schearing and Ericson, 1991). They claim that culture is conveyed metaphorically through stories, myths and anecdotes. Schearing and Ericson (1991) further explain that officers tell anecdotes because they cannot readily state the principles that they use to simplify the situational complexities they face. They however warn that though police stories provide officers with the tools they can use to get them through the business of police work, officers differ in their competence in using this “cultural tool-kit”. Brown (1998) also underscores that stories have long been recognised to be an integral feature of organisational life. People tend to tell stories not just because the performance is itself enjoyable, but in order to influence other people’s understanding of situations and events, to illustrate their knowledge and insight into how their organisation works. As these stories are told and retold within an organisation, the common themes of different individual accounts of the story create and reinforce cultural preferences for certain types of action and decision (Brown, 1998: 13-15). The influence of

managerialism is thus sustained through stories which perform a vital control function in organisations. They are not just indicators of culture, but guardians of them as well (Brown, 1998: 13-15), especially with the current changing demography of the organisation.

Waddington (1999) views such police stories as “canteen talk” and argues that talk and action are consonant. He concludes that there is a gap between canteen talk and action on the street. This gap is evidence that values of police culture may be conveyed through stories, myths and anecdotes, but the real police culture is the action on the street. From a management perspective, the correlation between values and practices is also considered important for explaining complex situations involving organizational culture. Magala (2005: 111) argues that “we had all been wrong in assuming tacitly that if individuals espouse some values, then their behaviour would reflect them”. If values are not always reflected in practices, then leaders are required to manage cultural practices in a way that reinforces cultural norms and reduce the gap between values and practices.

It is claimed that “every organization expresses aspects of the national, regional, industrial, occupational and professional cultures in and through which it operates” (Hatch, 1997: 200). Likewise, police culture results from the interaction between the socio-political context of police work and various dimensions of police organizational knowledge (Chan, 1996). Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) view the police ‘precinct’ or organisation as a distinctive or distinct social system, contrived by a particular occupational culture and controlled through its own set of rules and procedures (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni, 1983). They describe the organizational culture of police as an organic pattern of relationships with shared ethos that unifies the departments. Marenin (1998) also claims that police are guided by organisational cultures and norms.

Some scholars argue that the development of organizational culture is a natural sociodynamic process which occurs regardless of the intent of executive leadership, although it may be influenced by management (Schein, 1985; O'Neill, Beauvais, Scholl, 2001). Again, such claims of diminished managerial control support the notion that culture is exceedingly complex and unrestrained by managerialism. Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) purport that it is the immediate work or peer group and not the larger organization that motivates and controls the individual's behaviour. Chan (1996) also suggest that police culture has its primary allegiance to the job and the peer groups but not to the organization.

Sonja Sackmann's (1991) cognitive perspective of culture provides for the existence of multiple cultures within a police organization. These cognitions, she argues, are socially constructed. Fielding (1988) suggests that individual officers select from the various aspects of the sub-culture those elements they find acceptable (cited in Waddington, 1999). Peter Manning (1989) defines police sub-culture as 'accepted practices, rules and principles of conduct that are situationally applied, and generalized rationales and beliefs' (Manning, 1989: 360). However, some organization cultures require conformity to widely shared ethos.

Individual police organizations are accused of developing their own distinctive culture (Waddington, 1999). Handy (1993) points out that strong pervasive cultures turn organizations into cohesive tribes with distinctly clannish feelings. The way of life is enriched in rituals so that rule books and manuals are almost unnecessary; customs and traditions provide the answer (Handy, 1993: 183). Malcolm Young (1991) presents ethnographic data on the culture of the Tyne City police in Britain:

"From 1958 to 1963 I went through various initiation rites, learned the values of the institution, and underwent the training all new constables were then required to follow. As a uniform constable, my boundaries were very clearly demarcated and my peers in the city centre division set out the parameters of my social reality...They quickly set out markers to define who was one of us and who was not...others were

dismissively described as 'mere uniform carriers'...There was an all encompassing behavioural ideology which in turn determined our action... The police was 'peculiarly tribal by nature'. Divisional boundaries in the amalgamated force mirror the old, small force boundaries and men define themselves in relation to their early experience with perhaps an inner city ethic, a large-town police style, or in the framework of a more rural situation...I spent all my previous service on the 'other side of the river'. At one point a uniform sergeant listening to me discuss some tactics, gloomily pointed out that my style was not theirs; but then, he rationalised, 'how could it be, you're from the north side of the river'" (Young, 1991: 65-69, emphasis added).

The melting pot in 1969 in England didn't regard the differences in practice of the police forces (Young, 1991). After amalgamation employees have to work together with others who do not share their routines, their intuitive grasp of 'the way we do things around here'. Magala (2005) theorises cultural due diligence as an instrument for determining compatibility of cultures of relevant merging organizations (Magala, 2005: 116). Challenges are however relative to the experience and adaptability of the officers.

Janet Chan (1996) employs Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' and 'field' to emphasise that culture does not exist in a vacuum. Police culture is to be understood in terms of the specific structural conditions of the work (field) and the cultural knowledge accumulated by police officers which integrates past experiences (habitus). She believes that a sound theory of police culture should recognize the interpretive and active role of officers in structuring their understanding of the organization and its environments. Habitus generates strategies which are coherent and systematic, but they are also ad hoc because they are 'triggered' by the encounter with a particular field. If the rules of a game or physical marking on the 'field' have been changed, an experienced player may be able to adjust quickly to the rules and hence shows no sign of changing his/her performance (Chan, 1996).

There are different ideas about what policing is and should be. Accountants view policing as a service industry where taxpayers are customers; Criminologists define police organizations as street managers, part of a system of defining crime and criminals; Political Scientists suggest the police is a conflict manager, the mechanism by which the state exercises its monopoly of legitimate force in the domestic arena; Sociologists see policing as part of the system of social control (Tupman and Tupman, 1999: 18). The nature of policing, regardless of how it is defined, is mainly depended on the society in which it exists and the nature of its constraints in that society.

The changes and developments in the structure and processes of the MPS have been linked to numerous social and political factors. Loftus (2008) demonstrated that the police organization is an environment in which alternative cultures are emerging to challenge old ones. Nevertheless, the stubborn patterns of police culture indicate that demographic, structural and functional changes are being embedded with its traditional values and practices. This sedimented nature of change therefore poses significant challenges for managing workforce diversity

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the incidents which led to the increased recruitment of female and BME officers in the MPS and found that the issue of diversity management has become even more complex as the demography of the police continues to transform. The literature suggested that the traditional police identity is being threatened by government reform as well as by the contemporary values and practices of the new cohort of police officers, who are largely female and BME officers. The resilience of the police culture was demonstrated in the review of the debate on the changing police culture, which showed that the

unrelenting characteristics of the British Bobby have resisted much of the new structures and processes that are being adopted by the MPS.

The experience of female and BME officers in the MPS will be impacted by the police occupational culture and subcultures. Despite the implementation of policies and standard operating procedures in the MPS to improve the experiences of protected groups of individuals, female and BME officers still face challenges in relation to diversity and equality in the police service. In analysing the prevailing perspectives on diversity and equality in the MPS, this research will consider the influence of police occupational culture and subcultures. It will also explore how the discourse of diversity may influence cultural change in the MPS.

Chapter Five

Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter revisits the aims and objectives of the study and discusses the methodology adopted in carrying out this research. Chapter One introduced the research problem and established the research aims and objectives (see Table 5.1). This chapter begins with a discussion of the research philosophy by considering the nature of the research aims and positioning them in the ontological and epistemological perspective of critical realism.

Area	Note
Research Problem	Workforce diversity is considered to be both beneficial and detrimental to organisations. Identifying the prevalent perspectives on diversity will help in understanding the significance of different categories of diversity in the MPS and help to identify ways for improving its implementation and management.
Research Aims	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. To identify the prevailing perspectives on workforce diversity in the MPS;2. To identify how these perspectives are reflected in the organisation's day-to-day work processes;3. To determine strategies that might be used to improve diversity management in the MPS.
Research Objectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. To understand the characteristics of diversity perspectives in the MPS;2. To identify the factors that may influence different perspectives on workforce diversity;3. To determine how the different perspectives in the workforce affect the various diversity initiatives in the MPS;4. To identify the underlying processes and mechanisms of workforce diversity at the group and borough command levels;5. To determine how the MPS might moderate the impact of organisational conditions on employees' perspectives and attitudes toward diversity.

Table 5.1 Research Outline

The research strategy and methodological principles are discussed in an attempt to provide a justification for claiming that the findings in this research are warranted. This is followed by a section on the research design, where the author offers an account of how research access was sought and how access limitations impacted on the research questions and methods. There is also a section which discusses the range of data collection methods employed in this study. The methods are discussed in relation to critical realism, and demonstrate a multi-method approach aimed at achieving different angles of interpretation. The process of data analysis is then described and the chapter concludes with a self-reflexive account of the research process.

5.2 Research Philosophy

Debates about how research should be carried out relate directly to philosophical questions about nature and what forms of knowledge can be obtained, and how one can sort out what is to be regarded as 'true' or 'false' (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Alternative views of reality (ontology) have led to different methods of understanding what is real (epistemology). This means that the adopted research philosophy guides the way in which knowledge is developed and justifies what kinds of knowledge are legitimate. The three prominent epistemological paradigms in social science; positivism, interpretivism, and critical realism are considered in terms of their fit to the nature of the phenomena of interest.

5.2.1 Positivism

Positivist epistemology is built upon a belief that one can only know something through independent observation (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002). Positivists hold an objectivist view of

reality, emphasising that the world exists independent of our knowledge of it. They adopt the philosophical stance of natural science in which the natural and social worlds are viewed as operating within a strict set of laws. Findings from empirical inquiry are therefore presented as objective facts and established truths (Crotty, 1998).

According to the principles of positivism, the researcher plays the role of an objective analyst who collects data in a value-free manner and employs a highly structured methodology which facilitates replication.

Based on the research questions, the inherent ontological assumption is that the individual perspectives of employees will be sought in order to provide insight into the organisational processes and employee experience of diversity management. Arguably, the dynamics of diversity management cannot be independently observed in a controlled environment. Nor can the complex organisational/social realities be reduced to simple statistical variables without making assumptions about cause and effect.

The aim of the present study is not to produce generalisable findings but to generate in-depth understanding of the phenomena of interest. Consequently, the principles of positivism are not considered appropriate for addressing the research questions.

5.2.2 Interpretivism

For interpretivism (subjectivism), all knowledge of the world, if the world exists in an objective sense is filtered through the knower and thereby is powerfully altered by cognition and or social and cultural forces (Hatch, 1997: 47-48). Interpretivism is often associated with the term social constructivism. These paradigms assert that natural reality and social reality are different and so require different methods of inquiry. Social constructivism emphasises that we do not have any direct access to an objective, independent reality, but by trying to describe it we create a particular version of it (Gray, 2009). Therefore, reality is neither external nor objective; it is socially constructed.

From a social constructivist stance, knowledge is contextually bound and truth is derived from a process of human interpretation, negotiation and construction (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2009). Social constructivism provides a potential route for understanding the social realities through examining, in detail, how people make sense of their experience in organisations and society. Burrell and Morgan (1979) posit that the social world is essentially relativistic and can only be understood from the point of view of the individuals who are directly involved in the activities which are to be studied. The dynamics of diversity management occur at the organisational/social level and so exist in the sphere of a socially constructed phenomenon. In order to understand the dynamics of diversity management, the researcher would need to examine the subjective meanings that employees attribute to this phenomenon.

Criteria	Positivism	Interpretivism
Research interests	Science is value-free	Science is driven by human interest
The observer	Must be independent	Is part of what is being observed
Results	Must demonstrate causality	Aim to increase general understanding of the situation
Research approach	Hypothesis and deductions	Derive theories from rich data from (induction)
Methods	Operationalise concepts so that they can be measured (quantitative)	Use mixed methods for multiple views (qualitative)
Sampling	Large numbers from which to generalise to population	Small numbers for in-depth research
Units of analysis	Data reduced to the simplest form	Retain richness of the 'whole' situation and meanings

Table 5.2 – The distinction between positivism and interpretivism (source: Adapted from Easterby-Smith et al., 2002).

Easterby-Smith et al. (2002) offer a comparison of the positivist and interpretivist research approaches (see table 4.2). If we examine the subjective-objective dimension, we realize that the philosophical perspective informing this study falls into the subjective dimension (interpretivism paradigm). The interpretivist approach engages the researcher's personal involvement in disaggregating the mass of qualitative data into meaningful and related parts. This is owing to the fact that what is researched cannot be unaffected by the process of the research because reality is dependent on the mind (Collis and Hussey, 2003). Thus, although the data represents the participant's own frame of reference, the researcher's analytical approach will affect the meanings attributed to phenomena of interest.

Although the interpretivist approach is somewhat aligned with the aims of this study, there is one particular limitation that would constrain the inquiry. This limitation is linked to the stance of the interpretivist paradigm that social reality is dependent on cognition and so

does not exist up until the act of cognition (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). This research cannot adopt an approach that limits the inquiry, which is aimed at identifying a cause and effect rationale that employees might or might not be aware of. Therefore, as an approach for achieving the research aims, interpretivism is not considered the right fit.

5.2.3 Critical Realism

Fairclough (2005) argues that the value of research on organisational discourse is restricted by its commitment to postmodernism and extreme versions of social constructivism. The author argues that a critical realist social ontology offers potentially greater value to organizational studies. Critical realism is increasingly suggested as an alternative to interpretivism or social constructionism (Bhaskar 1986; Archer 1995; Sayer 2000; Danermark, 2002; Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009). This approach is mainly associated with the work of English philosopher, Roy Bhaskar who explains that the socially constructed nature of reality does not exclude aspects of it which human beings may have no or limited knowledge of. Accordingly, critical realists endeavour to highlight deep structures and underlying mechanisms that are independent of human beings and which are taken to generate empirical phenomena.

The critical realist's notion of reality is explained as consisting of three domains – the 'real', the 'actual', and the 'empirical'. The 'real' is the domain of mechanisms that are associated with 'causal powers' of different events that produce 'surface phenomena'. The 'actual' are events and processes which occur independent of the researcher or observer. The 'empirical' is the part of the real and the actual that can be experienced or observed. Critical realism seeks to explain social processes and events in relation to the causal powers of both structures and human agency (Sayer 1992).

Critical realists assert that ontology must be distinguished from epistemology in order to avoid an 'epistemic fallacy' where the nature of reality is confused with our knowledge of reality. The key epistemological process used by critical realists to acquire knowledge is known as retrodiction or abductive reasoning. This process involves a mode of inference in which events are explained by postulating mechanisms which are capable of producing them (Sayer 1992; Danermark, 2002). The approach is similar to that used in criminal investigations where the initial suspects of a crime are identified via their means, opportunity or motive to commit the crime. This practice posits "a mechanism which, if it existed and acted in the postulated manner, could account for the phenomenon singled out for explanation" (Bhaskar, 1989).

Alvesson & Sköldbberg (2009) contend that qualitative data is not evidence for a claim; it is abductive reasoning that converts data into meaningful conclusions. Abducing a plausible hypothesis could, for example, involve examining the processes and mechanisms in relation to human action in order to derive causal powers or plausible objective probabilities. Theoretical explanations are developed during the data analysis stage where the researcher insightfully generates ideas about the meaning of the data. These abductive inferences, although based on empirical observations, are mediated by existing theories yet remain non-deductive in its approach. Therefore, in keeping with this logic, abductive inferences about diversity management could be obtained through identifying the mechanisms and processes that shape employees' diversity perspectives and applying existing theory to mediate the resulting explanations for correlations or causal powers.

Danermark (2002) argues that a division of the theoretical part of scientific work from the empirical and methodological aspects is detrimental to social science. This is

because theorising is an inherent and vital part of research method and so cannot be treated as separate entities of social research practice.

Critical realism thrives on a multi-method approach, incorporating characteristics of both deductive and inductive reasoning. Nevertheless, its general rationale is induction – the inquiry for new contextualised truths. This study ultimately aims to uncover new perspectives on workforce diversity; accordingly, the radical vein of critical realism underpins the research design in that it seeks to understand but also to challenge these 'truths' (Johnson and Duberley, 2000).

Therefore, from an epistemological point of view, that is, “the nature of an explanation, what methods are used to arrive at an explanation, what logical structure must it have, what proof are required” (Craib, 1992: 18), the research aims are arguably best achieved with a critical realist approach.

5.3 Methodological Approach

In the first part of this chapter, the ontological and epistemological approaches were discussed and critical realism emerged as the general philosophical guide for this study. Nevertheless, the research adopts a pragmatic outlook (Pierce, 1998) in that it does not adhere slavishly to any philosophical rules but focuses on the research problem and the available means of inquiry. Still, as outlined below, the methodological development sticks within the realm of critical realism in order to inductively derive new and contextualised perspectives on workforce diversity.

In this section, the methodological principles are discussed based on the strategy for tackling the research problem. The fundamental task of this research is to understand the dynamics of workforce diversity by revealing the individual perspectives and organisational

structures and mechanisms which produce the diversity climate in the MPS. Following the principles of abduction, this research adopts critical methodological pluralism by incorporating a careful mix of deductive and inductive approaches. Theory therefore acts as an integral part of the methodology instead of being subordinate to empirical findings.

Danermark (2002) argues that there are serious consequences for the separation of the theoretical part of scientific work from the more practical and empirical methodological aspects. Such divisions jeopardise the sometimes difficult but necessary effort to link empirical research with theorising. Research that adopts an 'either-or' attitude may result in empirical descriptions lacking in theory. In this study, method and theory are not treated as two separate entities of social inquiry; theory is viewed as an inherent and vital part of the research method.

Eisenhardt (1989) points out that this identification is necessary for ensuring research focus and avoiding being overwhelmed by large volumes of data. Data for this study is gathered with an aim to access the in-depth perspectives of the actors and agents of workforce diversity. In an attempt to preserve the richness of the qualitative data, detailed empirical descriptions are presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. Alongside the detailed empirical descriptions, the researcher employs abductive reasoning by drawing on other theoretical perspectives and secondary data in order to critically analyse the relationship between the identified themes, structures and causal mechanisms of diversity perspectives in the MPS.

Research practice characterised by an 'either-or' approach often turns out limited results for generating theory or helping to reduce the gap between philosophy and practice. For instance, Cashmore (2001) carried out an inquiry into the experience of ethnic minority police officers in Britain which resulted in partial conclusions. Similar to the present

research, Cashmore's study used data from in-depth interviews in which ethnic minority officers spoke about their experience with racism and gave their opinions on the chronic under-recruitment of BMEs in the police service. The first sets of interviews were used to develop themes for further investigation in successive interviews. In the end, the study raised awareness of some important issues and opinions but provided no pattern or regularities in relation to religion, length of service, ethnic or gender identity. Arguably, an abductive approach could have enhanced the research strategy and strengthened the resulting empirical descriptions through triangulation and critical evaluation.

Even though the present research is guided by theory, the reliability and validity of the study is dependent on the degree to which the methods of data collection yield consistent findings as well as the depth and credibility of sense making of the raw data. A mixture of complementary research methods is believed to offer greater opportunities for a rigorous inquiry. This is referred to as mixed methods research, in which the researcher uses quantitative and qualitative research techniques and data analysis procedures in either a parallel or sequential format (Saunders et al. 2009).

This pluralistic approach was applied, for example, in Holdaway's Home Office commissioned study in 1991. The research administered a series of questionnaires in order to identify ethnic minority recruitment patterns in the different forces. In-depth interviews were subsequently carried out in three police forces which were shortlisted based on profiles derived from the initial survey data. While the study presented rich contextual data, the analysis also revealed that without a clearly positive stance, ethnic minority recruitment rested on ambivalence or good intentions which were not translated into principles of action to underpin policy.

Harriott (2000) also obtained research data from a combination of sources and techniques for his study on reformation of the Jamaica Constabulary Force. Analysis of police records and official statistics, interviews with key informants, focus group discussions, probability survey of the members' opinions, and observational fieldwork in community settings were used to explore the central issues of police reformation. His mixed-methods approach supported a rigorous analysis and provided pragmatic justification for the stated hypothesis.

This is not to say that only mixed-methods can yield useful results for social research. There have been successful ethnographic studies on the police which yielded rich qualitative data and provided meaningful illustrations of police work and culture (see Davies and Thomas, 2008; Marks, 2004; Young, 1991) and which evaluated important policy issues in the British police (see Holdaway, 1983).

Some diversity researchers are also of the view that methodological pluralism is more conducive to studying deeper structures of power and diversity when compared with purist methodologies of positivist or interpretivist tradition (Özbilgin et al. 2010). This research adopts a pragmatic mixed-methods approach that draws on multiple data sources for making careful abductive inferences. In what follows, the research design is discussed outlining the process for research access and data collection methods.

5.4 Research Design

This research takes the format of a traditional research process including a critical review of literature, methodological considerations, field study, analysis of findings, and writing-up.

Although the process commenced with the literature review, the different stages often intertwined and were revisited whenever new insights were gained at successive stages.

Nevertheless, this section discusses the research design in a sequential order, while attempting to highlight the periodic ebbs and flows in the research processes.

5.4.1 Literature Review

This research began with an aim to investigate transcultural competence of British expatriates working in the public and private sectors of Third World countries. This topic arose from an earlier study carried out by the researcher on the experience of British ex-police officers serving in the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF). However, after six months of focussing on cross-cultural and international HRM literature, the research idea shifted. This shift came about during a routine research supervisory meeting which discussed the practicability of the proposed research. The main issue was resource limitations and the anticipated amount of overseas travel that would be required to carry out fieldwork. A more local subject was favoured and so, after some thought, the idea to research cultural and racial diversity in a British police service was considered a viable option. A number of police services were considered, however the MPS was chosen due to its convenient locations across the city in which the researcher resided.

Upon deciding on a new topic of interest, a review of the literature was carried out in order to gain awareness of the existing level of knowledge in the subject area as well as to

generate research ideas. Exhaustive keyword searches included multiculturalism, policing London, police culture, workforce diversity, diversity management, implementing diversity, affirmative action, positive action, equal employment opportunities, racial diversity, gender diversity, among others. This was supported by other search tools such as bibliographies and a reference list consisting of 316 literatures from the National Police Improvement Agency (NPIA - a police organisation aimed at building capabilities and professional expertise in police forces and authorities). This gave a clear indication of the police's specific areas of interest pertaining to research on workforce diversity.

Despite the police's clear focus on race and faith issues as well as ethnic minority and female progression in the police service, the wide-ranging diversity literature stimulated interest in many other areas. The initial parameters of the research proposal would widen as additional literature on 'sexual orientation' and 'deep-level diversity' were taken in. This was eventually narrowed during the methodological consideration which brought to light some potential limitations on time and other resources for the research.

In an effort to taper the research topic and redefine the parameters of the study, the literature was re-evaluated to identify gaps that could potentially be filled through empirical research in the police service. As discussed in Chapter Two, the diversity literature has focussed mainly on the business case in justifying positive and negative outcomes of implementing diversity. Knowledge about the actual practice of implementing and managing diversity is sparse. Still, the existing body of literature served as a good starting point for the research journey. Specifically, theory from Ely and Thomas (2001) on diversity perspectives was used as a basis for exploring the discourse of diversity in the MPS. It is important to emphasise that interview questions were not organised around the theorised diversity perspectives, rather a general discussion on the value of workforce diversity

provided narratives which support existing theories. In the analysis process, the researcher is able to identify perspectives which were common among and across different groups of interview participants.

Although the majority of the literature review was conducted during the first stages of the research, new themes (such as how rank or work roles influence employee's perspective on diversity) arose during the fieldwork and analysis stages. As patterns and regularities were revealed during the analysis of findings, the literature was again consulted on the emerging themes. Hence, new keyword searches continued to be added to the literature review up to the final stages of the research. Interview participants also recommended government publications, police reports, and Master's theses from senior police officers. These primary sources provided important information about the policies and practices as well as recent outcomes of the MPS diversity initiatives.

5.4.2 Securing Research Access

Obtaining research access in the police service was envisaged as a daunting task. Very few independent studies have been carried out on the MPS and such researches faced stringent rules in relation to the length of access, data collection and data protection. In 2001, Ellis Cashmore carried out the first independent study on the police service; Cashmore had been rejected on three prior occasions. Perhaps the timing of the research around the immediate aftermath of the Macpherson Report impelled the police to allow scholarly investigations into their race relations.

Easterby-Smith et al. (2002) identify three categories of concerns that organisations have about granting research access – sensitivity about the topic, time or resources that would be involved, and confidentiality and anonymity. Sensitivity about the topic of this

research was an issue. Over the years, the MPS had endured tremendous public scrutiny in relation to race and equality. Even at the time of presenting this research proposal to the MPS in 2009, there was a high profile case of race discrimination claims against the MPS in which their most senior Asian officer, Assistant Commissioner Tarique Ghaffur won an out of court settlement of £300,000.00 and his full pension after 34 years of service. This case received vast media attention and further inflated anxiety about the sensitivity of the research topic.

In light of the presumed sensitivity of the research topic, attempts were made to identify appropriate personnel for a suitable and strategic route of entry. The use of existing contacts is believed to ensure successful access negotiations (Saunders et al., 2009) so, a brief research proposal was sent to existing police contacts in order to test the level of interest in the research and to seek their guidance. These leads proved to be unsuccessful as persons were either reluctant or unsure of the appropriate persons to pass on the research proposal to.

Further efforts were made to utilise police links through external professional and academic networks. This route turned out to be slow and hopeless as emails bounced back and forth with the four contacts and resulted in no potential way of entry. After five months of failed attempts with the professional contacts and affiliates, cold canvassing was considered for next entry attempt. Packages including a cover letter and a brief research proposal were mailed to eleven of the thirty-three police boroughs in an effort to elicit interest in the research. Four of the eleven police boroughs responded positively by expressing interest in the research. Two boroughs responded to say they were unable to take part, and the remaining five boroughs were unresponsive. Follow-up calls were made to the outstanding boroughs but to no avail.

Meetings were held with the four interested boroughs in order to discuss the project in greater detail and to negotiate physical and continuing access. The proposed level of access (see table 4.4) attracted a great deal of scrutiny from the respective borough commanders and/or senior officers. The two main concerns were about the time and resources that they were able to devote to this exercise and the clarification of confidentiality issues.

Each borough agreed to complete a background questionnaire, to allocate up to 25 employees for interviews, and visitors pass to use the canteen and other general facilities for observational fieldwork. The interview dates were spread over 3-4 consecutive weeks in each borough. This ensured adequate time for reflection before moving on to the next borough.

With regard to issues of confidentiality and anonymity, the researcher pointed out that the study was guided by the University's code of ethics for research. Also, a clear assurance for anonymity and confidentiality had been communicated in the introductory letter and research proposal. This assurance was reiterated in the meetings and copies of the information sheet and consent form outlining the rights of the participants were discussed and approved. The list of participants and consent forms would be stored separately from the interview transcripts in order to protect the identities of participants. These interview transcripts would also be handled solely by the researcher.

Along with the above guarantees, the researcher was urged by the organisation to maintain caution during writing-up of the research (Bell, 1999). This was linked to concerns about attribution or accidentally revealing the identity of the participant, for example, by referring to an Asian Chief Superintendent when there are only two such persons in the organisation.

Once the ethical principles were clear and the interview dates were agreed, the time had come to commence data collection.

5.4.2.1 Access revoked?

After the first month of carrying out interviews (September 2009), the researcher received a letter from New Scotland Yard advising that the research project had not received authorisation and should cease from further data collection. Their knowledge of the research came about when one of the previous internal contacts passed on an earlier draft of the research proposal to personnel in the central command. This rejection was not linked to the recent cold canvassing of boroughs but was a clear dismissal from the central command which superseded the authority of the local boroughs. A response letter was sent to clarify that the research had already started with the support of four borough commanders. The researcher also requested a meeting with the 'gatekeeper' in order to discuss the research project and clarify any concerns. A second letter arrived in the post instructing the researcher to cease all data collection. The researcher was told to book a meeting with the 'gatekeeper', if desired, but to be warned that the decision would remain the same as the MPS was already taking part in numerous surveys.

As the researcher was not prepared to abort the project, a new phase of access negotiation ensued. The researcher turned up at New Scotland Yard to convey the potential value of the research to the MPS. The meeting felt like an interrogation. The researcher presented the research proposal and tried to assure the gatekeeper that the motive of the inquiry was purely academic. After thirty minutes of petitioning, the decision remained unfavourable.

In a final attempt to win their trust and reverse the decision, the researcher spoke about a previous research project which involved four British expatriates who served more than 20 years in the MPS. To the researcher’s surprise, the gatekeeper was close friends with one of the officers who had participated in the research. They were former work colleagues and also shared season tickets for their favourite football club, seeing as the ex-Met officer now lived overseas. An instant ray of hope emerged as the researcher continued to talk about her work with this ex-Met officer and highlighted the level of confidentiality and anonymity that was exercised in that research. The said research was never published, as requested by the participating officers.

Planned Methods	Outcome of Planned Methods
Home Office statistics on Female and BME strength in the MPS workforce	Obtained statistics for 2009
Background Questionnaires – distribute to 33 Police Boroughs	Proposal sent to 11 boroughs. Questionnaire completed by 4 boroughs
Interviews – with 90 respondents across 6 boroughs	Interviews carried out with 85 respondents across 4 police boroughs
Attitude Scale Survey to be distributed to 180 police officers across 6 boroughs	Attitude Scale Survey Abandoned
Field observation in 6 boroughs	Field observation carried out in 4 boroughs

Table 5.3 – Comparison of planned field access and actual research access.

The gatekeeper’s demeanour slightly changed as he warmed up to the researcher during the discussion about her previous project. After further consideration, and a long quiet contemplative pause, the gatekeeper told the researcher to continue the existing research but to limit it only to the four boroughs that had already agreed to take part. The researcher was also urged to restrict participant numbers to the minimum so as to avoid using up the time of too many officers. Another restriction related to the publication of

findings; all results had to be sent to the MPS and they reserved the right to alter the formal report from the thesis. The researcher agreed to the terms and was able to proceed with the data collection.

5.4.3 Fieldwork

This research employed a multi-methods strategy for data collection. The combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon ensures rigour and potentially cancels out method inefficiencies (Denzin 1978: 291). This, in a basic sense, is the concept of triangulation which embodies the main rationale for doing multi-methods research.

However, for this research, it is more about upholding the principle of critical realism which advocates that different research methods serve in the process of exploring the multiple layers of social reality.

Research Aims	Data Source(s)
1. What are the prevailing perspectives on workforce diversity in the MPS?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Literature review ➤ Questionnaire ➤ Interviews
2. How are these perspectives reflected in the organisation's policies and its day-to-day work processes?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Documentary Analysis ➤ Questionnaire ➤ Interviews ➤ Observational notes
3. What strategies might be used to improve diversity management in the MPS?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Interviews ➤ Observational notes ➤ Documentary Analysis

Table 5.4 - Research questions and data source

The choice of methods has been determined by the nature of the phenomena being investigated. The above table illustrates the key research questions and the chosen methods for collecting data. The following sections outline each method of data collection and evaluate its efficacy in answering the key research questions. First, the selection of sample is discussed below.

5.4.3.1 Selection of Sample

Prior to conducting interviews, sample selection was considered and agreed with the police service. The practice for selecting samples in social research depends on the aim of the study and the methods chosen for data collection. Questions about appropriate number of subjects to include should take into account the degree of uncertainty that will be acceptable in the findings. Qualitative research sometimes relies on a sample of one (Saunders et al., 2009). This study, however, aims to identify a range of diversity perspectives in the MPS and so required a representative sample in order to obtain rich data on the phenomena of interest.

Stratified sampling was used in order to account for various diversity strands of the workforce. This ensured that the study did not focus on the perspectives of only female and BME officers; the perspectives of white males were also important for carrying out a comprehensive evaluation of the underlying mechanism of workforce diversity. The research sample includes 85 subjects from a variety of races, ranks, a range of ages and lengths of service, and mix of genders.

Gender	Number of participants	%
Male	46	54%
Female	39	46%
Total	85	

Table 5.5 – Gender profile of interview respondents

Age range	Number of participants
20-29	13
30-39	23
40-49	38
50-59	11

Table 5.6 – Age profile of interview respondents

The research aimed to achieve a representative sample in terms of age range. The gender mix does not match the current makeup of the MPS workforce but this sample was intentionally sought by the researcher with the aim of accessing a balanced number of genders for comparative analysis of their perspectives on workforce diversity.

Racio-ethnicity	Number of participants
White British	54
White Other	8
Asian	7
Indian	2
Black British	7
Black African	4
Mixed Other	3

Table 5.7 – Racio-ethnic profile of interview respondents

The majority of the participants were white British. The police boroughs endeavoured to schedule interview participants based on their availability during the weeks of data collection in the respective boroughs. Although the research was in favour of accessing a larger number of BME participants, this sample gave a more realistic proportional representation of the MPS's workforce diversity.

Length of Service	Number of participants
3-11 Months	1
1-2 years	4
3-5 years	14
6-9 years	18
10-15 years	9
16-20	15
21-30 years	21
31-37	4

Table 5.8 – Profile of interview respondents' length of service

The research achieved a fairly representative spread in the 'length of service' of the interview participants. The mass of participants served between 3-30 years in the MPS.

Rank	Number of participants
Chief Superintendent	5
Superintendent	2
Chief Inspector	6
Inspector	9
Sergeant	15
PC	26
PCSO	9
Staff A	2
Staff B	4
Staff C	5
Staff D	2

Table 5.9 – Rank profile of interview respondents

The interview participants were not asked to state their sexual orientation but during the discussions, four of the respondents stated that they were lesbians. Although disability was discussed with some respondents, none of the participants identified themselves as disabled.

5.4.3.2 Questionnaires

A general questionnaire was designed for the first stage of fieldwork. The purpose of this data collection tool was to obtain specific information on the 33 police boroughs in order to select appropriate case studies for further investigation. As discussed in section 5.4.2, the limitations in gaining research access meant that this questionnaire became somewhat redundant. Still, the questionnaire was utilised as a means of gaining background information on the participating police boroughs. All four boroughs completed the background questionnaire.

The first section of the questionnaire focussed around female and BME recruitment policies and practices. Specifically, questions were asked about special recruitment initiatives, mentoring programmes, and employee retention statistics. This data collection method provided comparative data on the different contexts in which certain outcomes might arise. Although there were no differences in recruitment initiatives, the questionnaire highlighted some distinct approaches to implementing the diversity policy and initiatives at the borough command level. The findings from this method are discussed further in Chapter Seven.

5.4.3.3 Semi-structured Interviews

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews offered the researcher an opportunity to explore the range of perspectives on workforce diversity based on the respondents' own beliefs and experiences. The interviews were carried out over a period of six months (September 2009 to February 2010) with 85 police officers and police staff. Interviews lasted 45-60 minutes with a maximum of five interviews per day. The initial interview timetable from the MPS listed six consecutive 30-minute interviews each day. The researcher immediately requested a revised timetable with 1-hour slots and at least 30-minutes break between the interviews in order to facilitate note taking and reflection after each session. An average of 4 interviews was carried out each day.

The interview sessions were recorded using a discrete digital voice recording device, which was acknowledged at the start of each interview. All interview participants agreed to being recorded. Note taking was also used to record important body language, appearances, demeanour or key points to probe.

As discussed in section 4.4.1, the literature review provided some background knowledge on the topic; therefore questions were prepared in advance as a general guide for the interviews. The explanatory aspect of the research involved testing the theoretical propositions in an iterative manner (Yin 1994). Consequently, the interview schedule was altered after the first week of interviews in order to include emerging topics of interest. This 'open discovery' strategy was upheld throughout the interviewing process as new themes surfaced even during the final month of interviews. This means that not all interview questions received a full response rate.

This method of data collection sought to explore the respondents' personal opinions and beliefs about workforce diversity. The interview questions were designed to help develop a

coherent discussion on the key research themes. The first section of the interview inquired about the background of the respondents. Each participant was asked to describe their racio-ethnic background instead of merely stating a general category of race. Questions were also asked about their socio-cultural background, in terms of their level of interaction with persons from diverse racial or cultural backgrounds. The respondents spoke about their school and community diversity as well as their social circles outside of work. This provided data for analysing the possible conditions under which individual perspectives might develop.

The second section asked about their individual perspectives on workforce diversity. The participants were asked to describe their observations concerning workforce diversity in the MPS. This resulted in many respondents speaking about their view of how diversity had changed over the years as well as the current state of workforce diversity on their immediate teams or boroughs. The respondents were then asked for their opinion on the main value of having a diverse police service. Respondents who simply stated the general ethos of the MPS or publicly acceptable answers were prompted to give further description so as to ascertain their innate perspectives on the value of workforce diversity.

The third section inquired about the respondent's day-to-day work processes in the MPS. To start out, the interviewees were asked whether they considered the MPS work environment to be positive and inclusive of diversity. Subsequently, to link their views to their processes, participants were asked if and/or how their identity impacted their work activities. They were asked to explain whether the distinct identity of any members of their team impacted their work in positive or negative ways. To further classify the salient dimensions of diversity in the MPS, the respondents were asked to identify which diversity dimensions enabled them to exert influence on their work teams. This provided useful

insights into the relative strengths of different identity groups based on the core work processes of the MPS.

The fourth section expanded the discussion to explore the respondents' perspectives on the MPS's diversity policies and strategies. In order to evaluate the efficacy of the MPS diversity programmes, the respondents were asked to express their personal views about the diversity training and awareness initiatives that they participated in. They were asked to explain whether they felt diversity awareness was either systemic or episodic. The interviewees were asked to disclose their views on positive action, targeted recruitment, and the mentoring scheme. These questions generated data which aided in the evaluation of the MPS's strategies for managing diversity.

5.4.3.4 Documentary Analysis

Documentary analysis is suggested as an important source to cross-validate interview data (Bryman, 2001; Saunders et al, 2009). This exercise did not only serve for triangulation purposes but also provided important evidence of the gap between policy and practice. Official reports, publications and statistics were collected in order to evaluate the trends in diversity management. The MPS Diversity and Equality Strategy 2009-2013 was examined to identify the general areas of focus. The periodical Diversity Reports of the 4 participating boroughs were also reviewed in order to identify the specific diversity strategies and initiatives that were adopted and implemented at the local level.

The Freedom of Information Act allowed access to the minutes of Senior Management Team meetings. An inspection of the minutes from the bi-weekly meetings held between September 2008 and March 2010 was carried out in order to ascertain which diversity matters and how often they were discussed at the senior management level. Documentary

analysis was also carried out on Home Office reports, government publications, and a recent thesis that was done by an existing police officer. The Race and Faith Inquiry (2010) was reviewed and some of the key findings mirrored those of the current research. These are discussed in Chapter Seven.

5.4.3.5 Observational Fieldwork

Observational fieldwork was used to gain direct insight into the social and professional environment at police stations and at other authorised off-site locations. This data collection method involved unstructured observations where the researcher wrote down descriptions of the social setting and employee behaviour which were later analysed and interpreted alongside other research data (similar approach used by Davies and Thomas, 2008; Marks, 2004). The researcher took on the role of a non-participant observer as there were opportunities to patrol with groups of officers as well as occasions when the researcher could observe employees without interacting with them.

Opportunities for field observation arose from the very first visit to the different police stations. The researcher made notes about any observable indicators of workforce diversity. The field observation started from the reception areas, up to the borough commanders' office, in hallways and the canteen, and even in the ladies restrooms. Generally, observations were restricted to periods immediately before, during, and after the daily interview sessions. There was also a 1-hour lunch break each day and this time was spent in the canteen eating and conversing with whoever made casual contact. The researcher could be described as an eavesdropper as there were occasions when the researcher ate alone but could observe the different social groups seated close by. The researcher endeavoured to observe the overt actions or surface indicators of the subjects in

an unobtrusive manner. From all these instances of non-participant observation, the researcher made inferences about the diversity climate in the MPS.

Another opportunity for field observation was at the operations control centre for the Notting Hill Carnival. The researcher joined a group of officers on patrol as well as in the central control room. All the police officers were in full uniform attire while the researcher wore plain clothes. The researcher was conscious of the limitations attributed to fieldwork where the observer is easily identified as an outsider or stranger to the group (Agar, 1980). However, in this particular setting, the work atmosphere was more relaxed and there were stewards and other community volunteers also dressed in plain clothes at the control centre. Aside from participating in street patrols and remote monitoring at the control centre, the researcher accompanied a group of officers to the local Mosque where they were invited for supper.

The field observation provided useful data about some of the processes and day-to-day activities of the MPS. This method enabled the researcher to learn about the subjects through exposure to their natural organisational setting. The observation notes provided methodological triangulation for the analysis of the research findings. The next section discusses the approach to data analysis.

5.5 Data Analysis

The organisation and analysis of empirical data can be an onerous task. The analytical approach for this study is based on the aim to obtain rich qualitative data about workforce diversity in the MPS. Therefore, the methods of analysis seek to preserve the richness and meaning of the qualitative data.

The first issue was to collect data in an open yet systematic manner in order to generate a manageable form of raw data. The research interviews followed a general structure, with the schedule of questions being arranged according to key topics of interest. As discussed in section 5.3, the literature review informed the research design and construction of the research instruments. These theory informed categories and themes ensured some form of structure to the data collection process.

The researcher adopted a combination of middle-range and grounded approach to coding the raw data. The middle-range approach sought to integrate theory from Ely and Thomas (2001) in coding some parts of the empirical data. Other predetermined categories were also used to categorise a priori patterns and regularities in the data as well as to isolate new and emerging categories (see table 5.10). The researcher carried out pattern matching throughout the different stages of data analysis in order to test the adequacy of the theoretical frameworks.

Research Questions	Categories
What are the prevailing perspectives on workforce diversity in the MPS?	Discrimination-and-Fairness Perspectives Access-and-Legitimacy Perspectives Integration-and-Learning Perspectives Hybridised Perspectives
How are these perspectives reflected in the organisation's policies and its day-to-day work processes?	Diversity Climate – Level of inclusiveness Recruitment and HRM practices Public Perception Management Cultural understanding and competence
What strategies might be used to improve diversity management in the MPS?	Policy implementation Local leadership in diversity management Perception of meritocracy and fairness Increased social integration

Table 5.10 - Preset categories for coding derived from theory

The grounded approach was based on the coding procedure developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998), which involves reducing and abstracting the raw data through three series of coding. The level of abstraction is increased as you move from open coding, to axial coding, and finally to selective coding. The aim at the open coding stage was to identify broad themes and categories. This started from the first set of interviews where the researcher took time to get to know the data by listening to the interview recordings while commuting to and from the various police stations. During this cursory analysis, supplementary interview notes were made regarding emerging themes as well as pattern matching for the predetermined categories.

By the end of the interviewing process, the researcher had collated the data in Microsoft Excel format, listing all the interview participants and inputting their profiles, perspectives, key points on the preset categories, and any important experiences or perspectives that informed new themes (see appendix A for profile of interview participants). At this stage the main purpose was to simplify the data, record variables and organise them into general coherent categories. Even during this data reduction procedure, there was a conscious effort to use 'in-vivo' codes in order to capture the true sentiments of the interview participants (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

A more detail-oriented style was adopted during the axial coding stage. By now the researcher had transcribed the first 50 interviews and the next task was to read and re-read the transcripts to identify relationships between and within the categories that were generated during open coding. A 'cut and sort' technique was employed for organising the interview quotes into the different categories. There were no "piles" of papers with quotes in this 'cut and sort' technique as the researcher utilised electronic means for sorting the data.

NVivo 8 was initially used for sorting and analysing the interview transcripts. This qualitative data analysis software provided a good systematic tool for classifying and managing vast data. However, after coding the first 8 transcripts, the researcher decided to revert to the traditional manual approach which was viewed as less time consuming and more familiar.

The researcher read the interview transcripts in electronic format and highlighted important quotes which were then copied to separate MS Word documents. Similar quotes were saved in the same document and sorted into folders for each category. Once the data was sorted, cluster analysis was used to identify subthemes (Jehn and Doucet, 1996). Therefore, categories from the open coding stage became principal categories (parent folders) and subcategories were developed by dissecting these principal categories (creating multiple data files in parent folders) (see table 5.11).

Question	Categories
How are these perspectives reflected in the organisation's policies and its day-to-day work processes?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Diversity Climate – Level of inclusiveness <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Race, gender, age, sexual orientation, rank, and length of service; ▪ Team dynamics ▪ Police Culture ▪ Changing police archetype ➤ Recruitment and HRM practices ➤ Public Perception Management ➤ Cultural understanding and competence.

} Subcategories

Table 5.11 – Codes divided into subcategories

As the folders became populated with subcategories, the researcher fed the subcategories with new quotes from the additional 34 interview transcripts. The pile-sorting technique became more laborious as the subcategories grew substantially. It was at this point that the researcher saw the potential benefits of the coding and organising the data in NVivo. Alas, the process was well underway so the researcher geared up for navigating the mounting 'piles' of data.

The cluster analysis involved partitioning the research sample into segments in order to better understand the perspectives of the different identity groups. All the quotes from each subcategory were scrutinised and mind maps created to illustrate the emerging patterns and relationships (see Chapter 7). The Microsoft Excel worksheet was also used to calculate the responses and classify the data according to demographic perspectives as well as other relevant variables. Following the cutting, sorting and cluster analysing, an interim summary was prepared to take stock of the research findings so far.

The final stage, selective coding, involved a higher level of abstraction as the procedure aimed to conceptualise the relationships identified during axial coding. The interpretations were refined using abductive reasoning to derive explanations for the diversity perspectives based on the causal powers of various structures and mechanisms identified within the organisation. Multiple data sources were employed for comparative analysis of key variables and relationships. This allowed the researcher to systematically explore multiple layers of the phenomena in order to abduce plausible explanations.

5.6 Reflexive account of the research process

This section examines how the researcher's identity might have implicated the production of knowledge. Matters for concern could include the disposition of the researcher as well as

her visible identity as an ethnic minority female. The researcher is Jamaican, twenty-nine years old, and able bodied. Her academic background is in the field of International Management and Business Administration.

Studies have shown that the identity of the researcher may affect how respondents react to them (Easterday et al., 1982; Burgess 1984; Punch, 1998). They claim that the ethnicity, race, age and social status of the researcher can create an instant impression of the interviewer which could restrict the role of the interviewer. In the present research, the researcher did not sense any apprehension as a result of her identity; interviewees from all backgrounds behaved in a receptive manner. The only cases of apprehension involved two female participants who expressed major concerns regarding confidentiality. One was a black British female and the other was Polish female. They both had prior cases regarding discrimination in the MPS and were dreadfully guarded at the beginning of their interviews. After receiving credible assurances from the interviewer, their shields eventually subsided and the discussions flowed in a normal manner.

The interview with the Polish female turned out to be an intensely emotional session as the respondent broke out into tears at several points. She told stories about her experiences and seemed to struggle at certain points. The researcher paused the recording device at the first instance and attempted to console the interviewee. She was reminded that she could stop and leave if she felt uncomfortable (as was outlined in the consent form from the onset). The researcher also encouraged her to share her experience as this could help other females, if the research is able impact relevant organisational policies. Warren (1988) points out that there is a belief that female interviewers have superior communication skills and so are better equipped to access the feeling of respondents than male researchers. The researcher tried her best to be attentive and to show compassion

towards this respondent. Perhaps her gender aided in this unique circumstance but there is no evidence to suggest that the respondent would not have opened up to a male interviewer who was patient and willing to listen.

Burgess (1984) recommends that, where possible, the interviewer should reflect the identity of the interviewee in order to encourage openness. This assertion found some merit in the research process as the researcher experienced distinctly affable relations with two interview participants. The interviewees were female, of mixed Caribbean backgrounds, and were the same age range as the researcher. These two sessions went overtime and pushed the boundaries of the interview topics to include casual chitchat about their experiences outside of the MPS. Still, the information yielded from these interviews was in line with the quality of responses received from other less sociable participants.

There are potential limitations regarding reliability of the research data and the potential bias of the interviewer (Saunders et al., 2009). The researcher was brought up in an Anglican belief system and was exposed to a homophobic culture where discussion about sexual orientation was generally viewed as taboo. Hence, the researcher had a predisposition to evade this topic. There were no specific questions on the interview schedule targeted at Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) respondents. Nevertheless, the researcher came face to face with LGBT respondents and, instinctively, evaded the topic. The first encounter occurred during the first week of interviews when a female respondent stated that she was lesbian and that she had been treated differently because of her identity. The researcher made no attempt to probe the issue but instead proceeded to ask general questions about her experiences as a female officer. The respondent spoke briefly about her sexual orientation, then moved on to focus on gender and racial issues.

After the session the researcher felt that she had wasted a good opportunity simply because she felt awkward discussing matters relating to sexual orientation. In an attempt to reconcile this loss of data, the researcher checked the respondent's story in subsequent interviews by asking other members of the same team if they had observed any tensions related to race, gender or sexual orientation. This tactic corroborated and extended the brief story from the original respondent as some interviewees referred to her incident in their responses. After discussing LGBT issues with other heterosexual interviewees, the researcher became more at ease in exploring this topic. Nevertheless, succeeding interviews with other LGBT respondents showed varying perspectives and experiences in relation to sexual orientation.

Reliability is also related to bias by the observer. Observer bias may result from calculated interpretations of responses and behaviours observed in the field (Easterby-Smith et al, 2002). The researcher's knowledge of the police came from the media as well as academic sources. The researcher also had close relations with retired members of the MPS who participated in an earlier research project. In spite of the mixed public views on the MPS, the researcher entered the field with a principle of openness. Impressions were noted down as they were observed but no final interpretations were made until additional data sources were sought. This methodological triangulation would help to enhance the credibility and validity of the research findings.

Due to access limitations the researcher was unable to discuss the preliminary findings with focus groups in order to develop a better view of their world. It was also not possible to clarify or confirm the interview transcripts with the interviewees as many were nameless (for the sake of anonymity) and were randomly selected based on their shift and availability during the time of the research interviews. The findings were therefore

corroborated using a range of diversity reports and literature on policing to better understand the issues being explored.

5.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter started with a discussion of the research philosophy and situated the study in the ontological and epistemological perspective of critical realism. The research strategy was explained to show how the research problem would be addressed. The aims and objectives of the research took on both an explanatory and an interpretive purpose as the perspectives and experiences of the workforce were explored in order to understand the processes and mechanisms of workforce diversity.

The principle of abduction was adopted, which involved the use of methodological pluralism through a mix of deductive and inductive approaches. The research design took the form of a traditional research process, including a critical review of the literature, methodological considerations, field study, analysis of findings, and writing-up. The research employed a multi-methods strategy for data collection in a bid to explore multiple layers of the phenomena of interest and compensate for method inefficiencies. The range of data sources included secondary literature, questionnaire, interview, field observation and document analysis.

Theory acted as an integral part of the methodology as a middle-range approach was combined with the grounded approach to data analysis. The grounded approach was based on the coding procedure developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998) which included stages of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. This process was carried out with an aim to preserve the richness and meaning of the qualitative data.

Finally, the chapter provided a self-reflexive account of the research process by discussing how the researcher's identity may have implicated the production of knowledge.

Chapter Six

Employee Perspectives on Workforce Diversity

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the meaning and significance of workforce diversity as expressed by the interview respondents. The analysis is carried out with an aim to develop a nuanced and in-depth understanding of the value that employees place on diversity and how their different work contexts might influence their diversity perspectives. This investigation, therefore, draws heavily on narratives from the interview respondents in order to examine the range of perspectives that are represented in the discourse of diversity in the MPS.

The interview respondents were asked to share their viewpoints on the main value or benefit of having a diverse police service. Overarching themes that pervade the research data are examined in relation to relevant theoretical propositions. The literature suggests that there is a sequential movement across four diversity perspectives: resistance; discrimination-and-fairness; access-and-legitimacy; and integration-and-learning (Dass and Parker 1999; Ely and Thomas 2001). The analysis does not seek to standardise or homogenise the perspectives and experiences of police officers but is concerned primarily with emphasising the nuanced but dominant narratives that emerged from the interview responses. The responses are coded according to the categories used in the diversity literature. Only categories that were explicitly identified in the empirical data are included in this analysis. Consequently, the resistance perspective is excluded as none of the respondents expressed such a view.

Although the analysis is primarily based on evidence from 85 semi-structured interviews, it also draws on data from field observations, statistical reports, official MPS documentation, reports and publications. The key variables considered in this analysis include age, gender, sexual orientation, race, rank, and length of service. The profile of the interview participants can be found in Appendix 1.

The order of the analysis does not in any way reflect the strength or prominence of a particular diversity perspective. The findings are presented according to the sequence used in the literature, which purportedly matches the natural progression of diversity perspectives in organisations.

6.2 Discrimination-and-Fairness Perspective

The discrimination-and-fairness perspective is characterised by a belief in the moral imperative for recruiting a diverse workforce. This perspective, which lays emphasis on the notion of justice and fair treatment, was mentioned by only eight (6) of the eighty-five (85) interview respondents. This viewpoint took on a reminiscent form rather than an active perception; the interviewees indicated that this type of perspective on diversity served as an impetus for the organisation's initial efforts to diversify its workforce. This perspective was expressed by participants who had more than 15 years of service in the MPS and so had witnessed what they explained as external social pressures to implement the Equal Employment Opportunities policy:

“I consider the Met to be very much changed from when I joined. I consider it to be much more inclusive and much more positive, with people taking diversity much more serious than they have done. The trigger for that was the Lawrence Inquiry. I worked on the Lawrence Inquiry with Bob Quick and John Greaves when I was a

sergeant back in 1999. I am aware of how that changed attitudes in the Met, quite brutally and over a short period of time.” (Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

Some white male respondents spoke about even earlier instances which resulted in external pressures to ensure equality and inclusion in the police service:

“1979, if you go back to the Brixton riots, one of the things that came out of the Scarman report said what I thought – the Met was made of whites and was not representative of the community it served. Between then and now, there have been extensive recruitment and now there is a massive increase in BME and female officers. The Met has changed its attitude and has become more inclusive to the point where people feel that they want to join because there is less fear of discrimination.” (Met055 - male, 51, White British)

Diversity management is arguably built on the legacy of equal opportunities (Cassell, 2001; Liff, 1996) and efforts to diversify the workforce were traditionally framed within the legal and moral imperative to promote justice and fairness at work. The interview respondents highlighted that the main focus of the MPS was on 'equality in hiring' in order to comply with the Sex Discrimination Act (1975); the Race Relations Act (1976, amended in 2000); the Equal Pay Act (1979, amended in 1983). Therefore, like most organisations, the MPS's original approach to diversity is considered to have been externally initiated and legally driven (Kandola and Fullerton, 1998).

Aside from equal employment practices, the respondents identified no links between diversity and the practice of work in the MPS. The interviewees expressed that even though there was a remarkable increase in the hiring of female recruits, this moral and legal measure did not protect them from the inequitable treatment that they faced once they had joined the organisation:

“When I joined, the service was typically white, male and middle class. Women were seen as doing some of the lighter stuff in policing; always like walking around, not

driving cars, there was no part-time working for women, and if you had a baby you had to give up the work. Now, the system is much fairer to women because of legislative rules.” (Met029 - male, 50, White British)

A female officer recalled some of the prejudice that she faced during her early years in the MPS:

“I think things have improved a lot. Back then they were recruiting a lot of females. I can remember when I joined there were about 16 people and there were about 6 females which was quite a high proportion then compared to how many females were in the job. So at training school I felt I had a lot of female support around. However, when you get out onto teams there are much less females and you are dealing with officers with a lot more service, it gets difficult. It’s harder because they automatically assume that you are not going to be as good as a man and they will actually tell you that. We used to get called ‘PLONKS’- ‘Person with Little Or No Knowledge’. It was normally said in a humorous way but it was a word that was used a lot, particularly by the older males when describing female officers. After a while gender wasn’t such a big thing. I would also say that people are changing and the values are changing from what the older officers had. They were very much into the notion that ‘this is a man’s job’ and women should make the tea and answer the phones. Now it’s just a case on ‘get on with it’ really. Women are accepted more now; we are more part of the team. Back then we sort of felt separate because it was a boy’s club. Now, everyone is treated more equally.” (Met025 - female, 43, White British)

Many of the recollections of how female officers were treated illustrate a discrimination-and-fairness perspective (Dass and Parker 1999; Ely and Thomas 2001) which focuses on equal opportunities in hiring and promotion and uses diversity as evidence of just and fair treatment of employees. The aim is preventing discrimination and disadvantage of social groups rather than promoting or valuing the diversity of these groups. The early experience of female officers plainly demonstrates the principle of neutrality that underpinned the 'sameness of treatment' of the equality framework (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000). The equality paradigm typically perceives individual difference as a liability and so

minorities are tolerated so long as they accept the dominant culture (Cox, 1991). From this perspective, there is no instrumental link between diversity and the group's work activities.

The experience of Met025 was echoed by several senior-ranked female respondents who spoke of other pejorative terms that were used to describe them during their early years as police officers. Their experiences illustrate the lack of tolerance that is associated with the discrimination-and-fairness perspective. This diversity perspective, although not the current or prominent perspective of the respondents, was interpreted as a predecessor of the current approach to valuing diversity. This corresponds with the general view that diversity builds on the legacy of EEO (Cassell, 2001; Liff, 1999) and each diversity perspective improves on the inadequacies of its predecessor (Cox, 1991; Dass and Parker 1999; Ely and Thomas 2001). The following sections discuss the successive diversity perspectives and the more current and active perceptions of the respondents.

6.3 Access-and-Legitimacy Perspective

Access-and-legitimacy was the most prevalent perspective among the interview participants, with 69 of the respondents (81%) identifying the need for the MPS to be more visibly representative of its diverse communities in order to offer 'better service' to the public:

“I think the value of it is pretty simple, really, and that is, without it [workforce diversity] we can't police by consent and that is a fundamental principle on which policing across the civilised world is built on. Unless you are in a dictatorship, we police by consent. If we are not reflective of the community that we serve then there has to be a gap in how effective we are and how the community perceives us. So for me, it is a fundamental principle that we reflect our community.” (Met015 - male, 45, White British)

The practical and operational benefits of diversity were proclaimed by interviewees from all ranks and all backgrounds. A senior-ranked officer provided examples of how she had observed workforce diversity engender better communication and interaction with different groups in her constituency:

“I think we’ve got to be reflective of the community we serve. And again, cheesy but truthful. There have been some moments when I’ve seen some of my PCSOs, the one I’m talking about is an Italian speaking Nigerian who just chats away with certain people in the street because they identify with him for those two reasons, language and culture. He’s got a very strong Nigerian accent and just to see that engagement is heart warming. I’ve only had about 3 of these moments in the job where I just stop and think ‘wow this is excellent’. Another incident last week, I went downstairs and one of the station PCSOs who is relatively new, he is quite nervous, quite quiet. He was over the moon that he was taking a CRIS report in some sort of native tongue; I can’t remember which language it was, some kind of Somalia type. The woman who was reporting was just overwhelmed that the officer spoke her native tongue and made it so much easier for her to give her report. I think that’s what diversity is about and if people can’t see the value in that, then it’s such a shame.” (Met013 - female, 38, White British)

The arguments and examples given by the interview respondents are generally consistent with the theories of Ely and Thomas (2001) and Dass and Parker (1999) which characterise an access-and-legitimacy perspective as valuing diversity as a resource only at the interface between organisation and markets/clients. Berg (1999) also found that the role for ethnic minorities in the police remained restricted among the lower ranks where their natural cultural links to the community would re-establish both the police role and image in specific communities. The interview respondents in this study similarly highlighted the importance of having a wider representation of female and BME officers at the lower ranks for the purpose of improved interaction with the community:

“There’s a large number of ethnic officers in the Met, most of them are PCSOs, less are PCs and a few are sergeants and so on. I think the distribution at other ranks could be better but, right now, we are doing something good because PCSOs are

closest to the communities in terms of visibility and interaction. A lot of PCSO's are well educated because they come into the Met as mature students. I think the mix is very balanced at that level and that's good for the variety of work we have to do in communities." (Met069 - female, 34, Black African)

The access-and-legitimacy perspective prevailed as the primary rationale for diversifying the demographic composition of the police service simply because it ensures "greater public confidence". According to McKay et al. (2011), customer satisfaction in highly pro-service organisations is moderated by workforce diversity and is most strongly positive among ethnic minority customer bases. The opinions and satisfaction level of BME communities are regularly monitored by the MPS. Each year they employ an independent market research firm to conduct public attitude surveys in each of the boroughs. In 2002 and 2003, the results for two of the boroughs in this study showed that less than 40% of BME respondents felt that the police had a good understanding of their local community. However, a recent Public Attitude Survey (June 2010) shows that 74.4% of BME respondents said that they were satisfied with the police service. The MPS attributes this increased level of BME community satisfaction to its improved workforce diversity and its diversity training and awareness programmes.

The respondents asserted that public confidence is crucial, and also quite instrumental in helping them do their job better. This, they stressed, is not simply about being legitimate to those diverse communities, but about gaining deeper access and better engagement with the people. This notion of 'access' was that of genuine cooperation from the community which enabled better intelligence gathering and quicker crime solving for the police. Senior ranked officers tended to draw comparisons between prior and current experiences of policing BME communities and one such officer illustrated an instance where crime prevention was more successful because of enhanced community engagement:

“In the run up to Diwali, this is the Indian festival of lights, similar to Christmas; in the run up to Diwali we get a rise in residential burglaries where the victims are Indian. They get their gold out of the bank to celebrate the festival; they leave the gold at home and their house gets burgled. Police intelligence picks up this pattern and we try to get into the temples to educate the people, including my own mother who took her gold out the bank and left it in her home. Access to the temples is crucial; we used the Hindu Association and our BME officers to address this. Like it or not, some people are intimidated by the police and so using ethnic officers helped to make them less suspicious of the police’s intentions. They give the presentations in Gujarati, Hindi and any language that makes it easier for these people to understand the issues. We also ask people with information to come forward; the response was tremendous. These people would never have phoned up Crime Stoppers to give information but they are confident talking to officers they believe will understand them. That’s how the Met uses diversity for intelligence led policing.” (Met078 - male, 34, Asian British)

A white female officer spoke about her experience in certain parts of the community and pointed out that there were some limitations to the level of access she received in comparison to her BME colleagues. She believed that no matter how much she tried to connect with different groups in the community, it would always be easier for BME officers to win the trust and confidence of certain groups:

“Public confidence is about community engagement and diversity allows that. We’ve done focus groups with the council and some of the basic complaint is that they just don’t know who we are and where we are. It’s about getting the right people in the right places to reflect the society that we’ve got. People identify with them so I think they have it much easier on the street. I used to police an area that had mostly Middle Eastern people and it took me ages to get an officer on my team who spoke Arabic so that they could wander round and integrate with the community. There is a balance there where I would go into the Arab coffee shops and they would enjoy opening me up to their world, showing me stuff and having me taste their sweet minty tea and biscuits, and telling me when they eat what. They enjoyed delivering their diversity to me. Still they may or may not trust me more or less than a colleague who shares their cultural identity. I think it takes more than just the uniform.” (Met013 - female, 38, White British)

This multi-level engagement was also noted during observational fieldwork in one of the police boroughs. While patrolling with a group of officers (all of which were white males), we were regularly greeted in the streets by people from all backgrounds. The interaction seemed effortless and positive from both sides. Later that evening, we were invited for supper at the local Mosque. Upon arrival, the police officers appeared to be very familiar with the people at the premises as they greeted individuals by name. I was the only female present. I was introduced to several individuals as we made our way to the kitchen where we ate delicious Asian food and enjoyed witty and light-hearted discussions about the weather, ethnic foods, and the joys of living in London. There was a sense of genuine appreciation and positive social exchange, not just from the officers but also from members of the Mosque and the Imam (leaders of the Mosque).

A Muslim police officer had arrived during our meal and he also appeared to be very familiar with the people and the surroundings. He took off his shoes and went to pray in a different room before joining us in the kitchen. When we were ready to leave, the BME officer decided to stay behind to help clean-up while the rest of us thanked them for their hospitality and went back to the police station. As we departed, I observed the BME officer's rapport with the group and it was at that point I noted the distinction between their relationship with the white officers and the Muslim officer. This distinction demonstrated the different levels of engagement that Met013 made reference to. Her notion of access involves more than just the superficial pleasantries and social interactions that white officers received; she believed that the MPS could achieve better community engagement through BME officers who were better able to forge connection with these communities because of their shared identity.

Some respondents pointed out that, although there is a need for the MPS to be representative of its communities, being merely visibly representative does not bring about better access or legitimacy in certain communities. Instead, access and legitimacy is said to be reliant on having officers who are genuinely dedicated to the people in these communities:

“A lot is lost in interaction with the community because of language barriers and the lack of cultural understanding. I can see the wrongs of having people from outside coming in to police a community. But the solution is not simply to put blacks to police black communities. If a black British officer gets placed in Brixton but has no knowledge of the Jamaican culture, then the colour of their skin alone won't help them in that community. I think officers who live in the community that they police will care more about how they do their job in that community because there is a special link. That element of care is there.” (MET007 - male, 44, White British)

While the majority of the respondents highlighted the importance of BME officers in providing effective policing, some officers called attention to the general image of the police service. They argued that the MPS needed more than female and BME quotas to change public perception of the police. Met013, at the end of her statement about the levels of 'access', also made reference to the police uniform being a source of access-and-legitimacy. The notion of legitimacy in the literature refers to the authenticity of shared identity and/or cultural understanding which affords an organisation the desired social acceptance. Legitimacy, in this sense, is unrelated to the rational-legal authority of the police which does not guarantee genuine access to people (Berg 1999; Young, 1991).

According to interviewees, access and legitimacy could be gained through the development of a favourable public perception in relation to multiculturalism. One BME officer emphasised that workforce diversity in a quantitative sense does not guarantee

'access' to communities which have an unswerving negative perception of the police service:

"We have got to get to a point where the police is not seen as 'them or us'. The police service was always made up of members of the public who are given some extraordinary powers and a uniform but they were just ordinary members of the public. If you are policing diverse communities, then people will want to see members of authority thinking like them. That's not to say that if you are black you will want a black officer coming to see you. Well, in some respects, when we'd lost public trust and confidence in black or Asian communities, they actually see black and Asian officers as turncoats. I've had lots of officers tell me that they get much more abuse from members of their own community because they are seen as traitors." (MET033 - Male, 41, Asian British)

Other BME officers, and white officers, spoke about the challenge of being viewed as the stereotypical 'bobby' by people in certain communities. While BME officers often found it easier to interact with specific ethnic groups, they also admitted that the police image sometimes overshadowed their own cultural identity:

"There is no respect for my uniform; it's more of a grudging acceptance from some of our communities." (MET008 - male, 46, White British)

"For some officers the uniform makes them feel invincible. You become 'the law'. It's like they transform to a new person. The uniform doesn't help me; the uniform is the worse. People talk to you easier when you are not in uniform. Still, a lot more Asian people will speak to me about their problems because I am Asian. I can see why this would happen on street because they want an officer they can relate to." (MET083 - male, 22, Indian British)

A female LGBT officer also spoke about the challenge of getting people to see past the police uniform. She indicated that people are disinclined to see past the police guise but once they realise that there is "someone behind the uniform" they become more responsive:

“Having BME officers help. I was out patrolling with a female Sri Lankan and there were some youths mouthing off in their language and she suddenly talked back to them. They were shocked because they didn’t realise she could speak their language; all they saw was the uniform. They never see past that. Afterwards they just chilled out and she talked to them and everything was good. These things help, that’s why I wear my LGBT badge hoping that the rainbow flag will catch people’s eyes and they will see that there is actually someone behind the uniform. In the past the gay community hadn’t been treated well and there was a lot of fear of reporting anything to the police. I just hope that people will see from my LGBT badge that their issues will be treated sensitively. And there is a language barrier for example an ordinary male officer might not get what they mean when someone says they wear costumes. They would probably miss the point.” (MET021 - female, 37, White British)

Field observations support this notion of a perceptual barrier constraining public confidence and engagement with the police. For instances, members of the ethnic minority community displayed an equal level of contempt towards BME and white police officers on duty at the front desk of the police stations. Each day, I would turn up early for the research interviews and so would wait in the main reception of the police stations. This time was spent observing the duty officers’ interaction with the general public. Each day there was a new officer on duty at the front desk; there was no significant difference in the demeanour of each officer; white male officers, female and BME officers; all seemed to receive the same type of attitude from the public each day. In particular, I noted one incident where a male BME officer challenged a young black male who was making demands about a ‘dangerous dog’ that was taken from him by the police. The police officer endured the incessant rant and rage from the young man and then responded in a strong ruthless tone. His formal talking was surprisingly replaced with a form of colloquial speech common among certain socio-economic groups. This behaviour, unlike anything I had previously observed, somehow compelled the young man to drop the issue and sign the papers that he

was being asked to complete. It is possible that the distinctive approach by this BME officer may have forced the man to realise that there was in fact “someone behind the uniform”.

In the London riots of August 2011, there were myriad press articles on public perception of the police and its approach to managing the widespread public disorder. One of these articles connected with the notion of shared identity as a mediator for public reaction to the police. In the excerpt below, Russell Brand talks about his involvement in public disorders and how his shared class identity with police officers helped to shrink the perceived barriers between them:

“I should here admit that I have been arrested for criminal damage for my part in anti-capitalist protest earlier in this decade. I often attended protests and then, in my early 20s, and on drugs, I enjoyed it when the protests lost direction and became chaotic, hostile even. I was intrigued by the anarchist "Black bloc", hooded and masked, as, in retrospect, was their agenda, but was more viscerally affected by the football "casuals" who'd turn up because the veneer of the protest's idealistic objective gave them the perfect opportunity to wreck stuff and have a row with the Old Bill. That was never my cup of tea though. For one thing, policemen are generally pretty good fighters and second, it registered that the accent they shouted at me with was closer to my own than that of some of those singing about the red flag making the wall of plastic shields between us seem thinner.” (Brand, 2011)

The interview respondents acknowledged that the MPS faced serious challenges in developing a favourable perception of the police in some communities but they also underscored the importance of workforce diversity in alleviating some of these challenges:

“The Met is to be representative of every group we serve. London is incredibly multicultural and the police should reflect that. The Met knows that, the politicians know that, and they’ve been saying it for ages. Problem is they are trying to make it a quick fix. We know the image of the Met affects the work of its officers but as we become more and more diverse, we will gradually change the stereotype of the police.” (Met018 - male, 27, White British)

This view is also anchored in the popular notion that as the face of the MPS changes to become more representative of its communities, it will improve its level of access and legitimacy in these communities. This legitimacy is also expected to mediate the perceptual set associated with the police and encourage better relations with both white and BME officers.

In general, the empirical evidence illustrates a widely held perspective that by reflecting the community's diversity the MPS will achieve better organisational outcomes. Whilst this popular rationale suggests a strong police ethos for the access-and-legitimacy perspective, the diversity literature conversely proposes that organisations should pursue an integration-and-learning perspective because this approach will reduce the negative consequences of diversity and further enhance organisational performance.

6.4 Integration-and-Learning Perspective

The integration-and-learning perspective, in its strictest form, is concerned with diversifying the practice of work and challenging normative assumptions about the organisation's strategies and core activities. The respondents who expressed this perspective linked the value of workforce diversity to the insights, skills and experiences that police officers are able to gain as a result of working with people from diverse backgrounds.

A quantitative overview shows that only 13 of the interview respondents (15%) exclusively held an integration-and-learning perspective, while 37 (44%) expressed an access-and-legitimacy perspectives, and 3 respondents said that they did not view diversity as having any impact on policing (these participants are classified under 'neutral' perspective). The remaining 32 respondents (38%) expressed dual perspectives. So, 38% of

the participants identified both access-and-legitimacy as well as integration-and-learning perspectives as equally essential. Therefore, a collective set of 45 respondents (52%) expressed an integration-and-learning perspective on the value of workforce diversity (see figure 6.1).

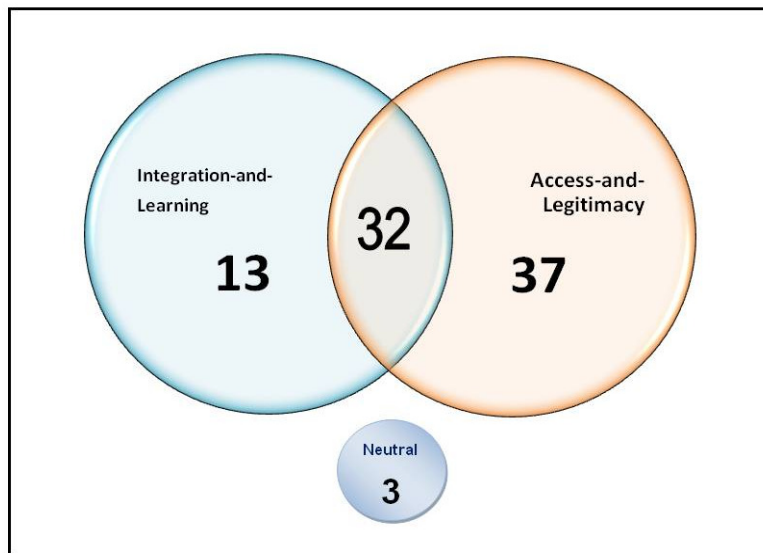


Figure 6.1 - Diversity perspectives of interview respondents

Although the integration-and-learning perspective was not the most prominent perspective among the interview respondents, there were patterns in the empirical data which illustrate some factors and conditions that might shape the different perspectives. The integration-and-learning perspective was strongest among respondents who had less than 10 years service, with 62% of these respondents identifying integration and learning as important benefits of workforce diversity:

“In this job, it is very helpful to have colleagues from complete different backgrounds who can share their knowledge and experiences. London is a big city and is as diverse as it can get. Whatever happens outside, we always discuss it in the office so that next time a member of the team has to deal with something similar, regardless of their own background and experiences, they will have a pretty good idea what to do based on the experience of others.” (MET036 - female, 46, Russian)

From the sample of BME respondents, 71% expressed an integration-and-learning perspective. Gender difference appeared to be inconsequential with 53% of female and 52% of male respondents expressing an integration-and-learning perspective. In terms of age, 69% of participants aged 20-29 believed that integration-and-learning is the main value of having a diverse workforce. Education also presented a possible variable for diversity perspectives with 48 % of participants with higher education expressing an integration-and-learning perspective. It is worth noting that the majority of the respondents with undergraduate qualifications were lower-ranked and younger police officers.

Diversity perspectives were also consistent among officers at the same rank or those who shared similar job roles and functional backgrounds. The integration-and-learning perspective was expressed by 78% of PCSOs and 56% of respondents who worked on safer neighbourhood teams (SNT). These officers had a high degree of interaction with the community as well as with their work colleagues. These smaller teams facilitate an integration-and-learning perspective possibly because of the higher frequency of interaction in a more cohesive environment, which makes it easier for diversity to influence social processes within such group context (Cavanaugh, 1997; Prasad, 1997; Jehn et al. 1999; Pelled et al. 1999). For example, an SNT officer spoke about the level of sharing and integration that is casually experienced on her team and illustrated how it helps officers in their work performance:

"You tend to get to know the people you work with. We all work in one office; there are two teams and we police the same area. When someone is not around we can deal with their cases because we all talk about what is happening so we are all familiar with what's going on. All the calls come into the same office and we answer each others call. Someone would, for instance, come off the phone after speaking with a Polish woman and comment about how rude the woman was on the phone. Through that open discussion, there's a Polish female officer on our team so we

would explain that we've also spoken to the same woman and she is actually not rude; it's just a manner of speaking. It sounds rude to others because it's a different structure of the language; we do not use 'please' and 'thank you' as much in our language. So people can wrongly assume that someone isn't polite or nice because of they use the language a bit differently." (Met036 - female, 46, Russian)

From the sample of respondents below the rank of Sergeant or band D staff, 67% expressed an integration-and-learning perspective, while only 30% of senior-ranked officers and staff perceived such value from workforce diversity. There was also evidence that individual perspectives are influenced by their social background. Officers from homogeneous backgrounds generally expressed an access-and-legitimacy perspective; only 33% of such respondents expressed an integration-and-learning perspective on diversity. Interestingly, 63% of respondents who expressed an integration-and-learning perspective were from heterogeneous backgrounds. Many of whom were born and bred in London or grew up in a multicultural environment. What was more interesting about these respondents was that, even though they expressed an integration-and-learning perspective, they also viewed diversity as "nothing special" because it was considered a normal part of their lives:

"Yes, it's important for the Met to have a diverse workforce because we have to reflect the communities we serve. But diversity doesn't really impact my team, we are used to it so don't really notice anything special. We are very used to it and we understand how to adapt to different situations in the community." (Met074 - male, 25, White Other)

Other 'Londoners' expressed parallel viewpoints that their level of familiarity with people from diverse backgrounds made it a commonsensical part of their job. In contrast, the few respondents from homogeneous backgrounds who expressed an integration-and-

learning perspective also spoke of their unfamiliarity with the demography of London and emphasised the importance of learning from their work colleagues:

“In terms of diversity, I was certainly thrown into the deep end. I worked in a borough that has the largest Asian community in Europe. You needed an interpreter almost all the time or a support staff who understood that environment. It was interesting working in that area. I’ve found the same problems working in other boroughs but at least I could learn from my colleagues’ experiences and knowledge. For instance, investigating domestic violence in any Asian community is very difficult because there is a cultural stigma attached to it; it’s considered that it should be kept within the family. I was out taking a statement from a victim using an interpreter and there was a uniformed officer there who spoke Bengali and he took me aside and said that our interpreter was telling the victim not to dishonour her family by giving evidence to the police. These interpreters are vetted through the Home Office but they still have no allegiance to the Met. Having minority ethnic officers with the language skills is very important for us to do our job better. I’ve also benefited from the wide experiences and different points of view of people on my team. Therefore, the more diverse the police service, the more resources we have to draw on.” (Met011 - male, 29, White British)

The evidence suggests that the level of familiarity with a multicultural society may influence the perceived value of diversity. This data clearly indicates that a higher level of familiarity with diversity has had a positive influence on the adoption of an integration-and-learning perspective. Therefore, employees from homogeneous backgrounds might adopt a similar perspective if their work groups facilitate social interaction with individuals from diverse backgrounds. This supports arguments in the diversity literature that the sociocultural context and makeup of workforce determines the discourse of diversity in the work place (Cavanaugh, 1997; Prasad, 1997; Janssens and Zanoni, 2005; Johns, 2004).

The integration-and-learning perspective is ultimately aimed at leveraging diversity as a resource for learning and adaptive change. This perspective, despite being identified in the MPS, is still ineffectually entrenched in the organisation and so the results attributed to this perspective might not be fully realised by the MPS.

6.5 Hybrid Diversity Perspective

The analysis reveals dual perspectives on diversity, an indication that the MPS is somehow wedged in transition between the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the integration-and-learning perspective. The external market orientation of the police service gives prominence to the access-and-legitimacy perspective yet a significant number of respondents also spoke about the importance of learning from each other's cultural competencies in order to improve the work of the MPS:

"I think it's absolutely vital. We still talk about policing by consent where we've got the public on our side. Also, with the ever-changing population of London where you are dealing with people from diverse cultural backgrounds, I wouldn't have any understanding of their needs or individual requirements. Okay, I could read a book but it doesn't give you the same information. So it's absolutely vital to have a mixed workforce that reflects as much as possible who we are dealing with. Females and minority officer also bring vital skills to the service which everyone can learn from." (Met001 - female, 38, White British)

Other respondents shared similar dual perspectives about increased access to communities as well as the need to promote social learning among police officers:

"I think given what we have to do in the job, our diversity should be as broad as possible. In this borough, there is no particular ethnic group that is predominant; there is just a vast mix of nationalities and sexualities. For instance, we have officers who are members of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) group and they are able to go on jobs at gay clubs because of their background. However, recruiting people from various backgrounds doesn't mean that they will be placed in areas where their knowledge can be readily utilised. This is where it is important for internal learning so that the police service develops a better understanding and appreciation of diversity." (Met006 - female, 44, White European)

While access-and-legitimacy is clearly the most popular perspective, the numbers in figure 6.1 indicate that a transition process is in effect. The intersection shows 32 respondents torn between the two perspectives; however, the analysis suggests that this

overlap is not just a transition through the sequence of perspectives but instead is an atypical development of a hybrid perspective. The interviewees emphasized persistently that the success of the MPS was dependent on its public image, not only through increased numbers of female and BME officers but also through a greater perception of tolerance and cultural understanding. Their fundamental view was that diversity should be utilised to engender better engagement with the community. This enduring external orientation of the MPS, arguably, delays its full progression to an 'integration-and-learning' perspective.

The hybrid perspective takes values from the final two stages of the diversity perspectives continuum. The respondents who argue for the dual value of diversity have created a new 'access-and-learning' perspective which puts emphasis on different elements of the original perspectives that were used to categorise the data. This dichotomy is grounded in the unique policing contexts. For instance, the 'integration' element of the integration-and-learning perspective was less prominent among respondents who worked on large territorial response teams. The value of integration was mainly expressed by respondents who worked on smaller safer neighbourhood teams (SNT) which had high levels of community interaction:

“The level of diversity on teams varies; my team is fairly diverse but other less diverse teams don't get a chance to integrate with us because they are on different shifts. There is a brief 1-hour cross-over time between shifts but you still won't get a lot of meaningful interaction then. Smaller teams such as Safer Neighbourhood Teams can integrate more because they have better schedules. Response teams, on the other hand, are large and sort of isolated because of the shift structure. You could easily work on a borough with a vast pool of skills and not know what they are.” (Met023 - male, 31, Asian/Pakistani)

Another respondent went on to speak about the quality of relationships that she is able to develop with her teammates:

“I consider the people on my team as family; real friendships are developed here. I like working on SNT because the experience is so much more rewarding. The interaction with the community is very personal and you also get a chance to know the people you work with.” (Met043 - female, 27, Polish)

The dichotomy of the integration-and-learning perspective becomes quite obvious when respondents from the larger territorial response teams bluntly downplayed the value of integration. They declare that social integration is not significant because officers can acquire relevant knowledge and skills through formal channels:

“The Met is not big on socialising per se while at work. Integration is usually at the association level, we have cultural groups that organise meetings and activities. Teams will go out for beers after work but you won’t hear people discussing cultural differences there; we have a skills database at work for that!” (Met019 - male, 49, White British)

Another officer spoke about the Cultures Communities Resource Unit (CCRU) which is "utilised throughout the MPS as a diversity resource for teams that might not have Eastern European officers or other BME officers on their teams" (Met004). The CCRU identifies officers from the relevant racio-ethnic background and sends them on secondment to work with a team for a few weeks. It is expected that this officer will teach some basic do's and don'ts and help the team to gain access to the community they are interested in. Met004 also explained that "these officers go on regular patrols with the team in order to help break down barriers between the police and the community". Once the team acquires the basic cultural knowledge and gains access to different community groups, the CCRU officer then returns to his/her normal post.

A Muslim respondent illustrated how a lack of knowledge and understanding can be detrimental to the MPS and goes on to substantiate the need for these formal channels for acquiring knowledge and guidance pertaining to cultural diversity:

"After the Forest Gate shooting, the police went out at 3:00am one morning in the middle of August assuming that everyone would be fast asleep; as you would assume in any ordinary home. They know that Muslims pray 5 times a day; the early-morning prayer is just before sunrise. But what they didn't take into consideration was that there is an additional prayer called the Tahajjud prayer which is offered while it is still pitch black. My parents do that every morning and the house that the police was about to raid was the home of devoted Muslims so they were up praying at that time. Their plan was to smash the door in, run up the stairs and find everybody in their beds, point their guns etc., detain them there, and everything is honky dory. But they were awake! Of course, they heard the door being smashed in and as the poor little officer ran up the stairs he saw someone running down towards him. He panics and shoots the man. Thankfully he didn't kill him but he shot him! Now, had the Met known about that prayer they would have planned a better time to go in, maybe 1:00 am or 2:00 am. The next time they had a raid in a Muslim area they contacted someone from the Association of Muslim Police and received specific guidance. They made their arrests and none of the neighbours heard anything." (MET075 - male, 50, Asian British)

This is significant because these large response teams account for a large segment of the police workforce. Therefore, the dominant perspective held by these groups could endure for a very long time if its structures and social processes remain unchanged. This disconnected structure and external market orientation is a misfit for the integration-and-learning perspective which emphasises the experience of a social and adaptive work process.

The 'learning' aspect of the integration-and-learning perspective was identified by a significant number of officers, including some on large teams. These officers had frequent interaction with the public but also emphasised the need to integrate with and learn from their work colleagues:

"I think the knowledge and understanding is an important part of having a diverse police service. Not only is it important with each other in the office but I think better understanding and awareness will improve the quality of service to our diverse communities. My interaction with people on my team gives me a much better understanding of some cultures. This understanding helps in our customer service,

especially in the witness care unit with vulnerable or sensitive people.” (Met081 - female, 50, White British)

There are clear indications of a thriving integration-and-learning perspective in some parts of the MPS but somehow it has not managed to filter through the espoused tenets of some other core groups within the organisation. The key factor seems to be that of social work context in which integration and social learning is facilitated (Cavanaugh, 1997; Prasad, 1997; Janssens and Zanoni, 2005; Johns 2004). The context of work in small work groups (such as SNT) seems to facilitate the mechanisms for an integration-and-learning perspective, but such mechanisms are quite limited in the work context of larger groups (such as TSG response teams). Research by Janssens and Zanoni (2005) shows that the way in which work is organized strongly affects the discourse of diversity and employees' attitudes towards diversity management initiatives.

The dichotomy of diversity perspectives in the MPS supports the viewpoint of a discursive shift from equal opportunities to diversity management (Kelly and Dobbin, 1998; Litvin; 1997). This 'critical turning point' (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000) towards a valuing diversity approach requires a shift in the practice of managing diversity in the organisation (Tatli, 2011). Chapter Eight discusses how equal opportunities initiatives are used to complement the managing diversity initiative in the MPS (Maxwell, 2003), thereby making the two models mutually compatible in managing diversity in its different work contexts.

6.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter evaluated the diversity perspectives of 85 police officers and staff. The analysis could not identify a single collective diversity perspective in the MPS. Instead, the evidence

showed hybrid and competing perspectives, which were influenced by the participants' own identities and experiences in the organisation.

Access-and-legitimacy was the most prominent diversity perspective in this study. This perspective was particularly associated with participants who worked on large teams and so had limited opportunity for social interaction. Also, social background was found to influence the diversity perspectives expressed by the respondents; the integration-and-learning perspective was dominant among respondents from heterogeneous backgrounds. Other variables such as length of service, rank, and job roles demonstrated strong correlations to the diversity perspectives held by the respondents.

The integration-and learning perspective appeared to be incommensurate with the existing processes and mechanisms in the MPS. The attitude of officers on response teams illustrated a stern resistance to a general integration-and-learning perspective. Nevertheless, this perspective shows developmental potential in other parts of the MPS structure.

Many of the perspectives expressed in this chapter are particularly relevant to Chapter 7, which examine how the prevailing diversity perspectives influence the diversity climate and the organisation's strategies for managing workforce diversity.

Chapter Seven

Identity, Status and Inclusion in the MPS

7.1 Introduction

Social identity theory highlights the important role that perception plays in the organisational diversity dilemma. This chapter draws attention to the interface of multiple identity dimensions in evaluating the varying experiences of inclusion and perceptions of social status in the police service. Various strands of diversity other than gender also manifest as salient causes of difference in experiences of the work-life interface (Özbilgin et al. 2010). This analysis utilises intersectionality theory (Acker, 2006; Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 2008; McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006) to develop a deep and nuanced understanding of the lived experiences of workforce diversity in the police service.

The interview participants were asked to identify the aspects of their individual identity which allow them to exert influence at work. The chapter is sectioned according to the socio-demographic identity categories that emerged from the empirical data (gender, age, racio-ethnicity, rank/job role, education, and sexual orientation). These salient identity dimensions by no means represent finite social groups as the research evidence illustrates great heterogeneity even within these easily distinguishable social categories. The analysis explores the simultaneous and dynamic interaction of the different identity dimensions in the underlying power relations in the MPS.

The interview participants were also asked whether they felt that their work environment was positive and inclusive of diversity. Part two of this chapter provides detailed narratives of their individual experiences, which illustrate varying perspectives within and between different identity groups and in different work contexts.

7.2 Gender Status

When asked about the role of gender in the level of influence or success they had at work, female interviewees generally responded that being female did not contribute to their status at work. The respondents identified a range of deep-level identity dimensions that were considered to be influential in their work processes and social relations:

“Being female does not affect my performance on team. I have 18 years service and so my colleagues respect me for this.” (Met030 - female, 30, White British)

“My personality is what makes me good at my job. I think I am a compassionate manager, very approachable, fair, and respectful of my workers. I am younger than some of my staff but my age is not an issue because of my experience and knowledge.” (Met048 - female, 34, White British)

“My knowledge in my role, life experience, and age are important but not my gender.” (Met041- female, 50, White British)

Many of the respondents attributed their status and influence to the level of work experience they had compared to other colleagues. Those with significantly less years of service made reference to people's general perception that they lacked competence in policing. Respondents who were younger in service said that they were very preoccupied with proving themselves to their team. A female respondent who, at the time, had less than three years of service, said that she felt very conscious about her small size and relatively

poor physical strength. She felt that this affected people's perception of her level of competence as a police officer and so she sought to compensate for this shortcoming:

“I think my colleagues behave different towards me because of my size and small stature, not because I am female. I guess it’s to do with the nature of the job; you can’t be out with an incompetent colleague because if something happens you need back up or a strong teammate to rely on. Anyone as small as me would be looked at in a similar way. I felt less of myself in violent situations. I’ve since become a level-2 public order trained officer so that I can compensate for any perceived shortcomings. I actually took on this intensive training to prove to myself that I was just as capable.” (Met028 - female, 27, Mixed British)

This respondent wanted to prove her practical competence despite her visibly small stature. While physical prowess (Heidensohn, 1992) was arguably not their strongest suit, female respondents identified other feminine characteristics as being valuable to the police service (Davies and Thomas, 2003). The quote above from Met048 made reference to traits that are typically associated with females. These traits are shown to be useful in various police settings:

“We work in a people environment. Female officers bring a different way of policing and I’ve seen it even in the prison service. You need that variation sometimes. Their knowledge is just as good but their distinctive approach can be very useful at times.” (Met080 - male, 41, White British)

Gerber (2001) posits that men and women only appear to have different attributes because men have higher status than women. Males typically take on leadership roles because of the status attributed to their social category and so will seem to be more assertive, while females play the role of a subservient follower (Alvesson and Billing, 2009). Gender-stereotyped personality traits (Martin, 1994) were described by the respondents as being ideal for certain situations or policing functions. They explained that the salience of

different identity dimensions is dependent on the context within which they were seen as valuable:

“Different personalities are required in various situations. An officer who is very good at public order might not be as good at child services. The small community where I work at the moment is populated by white people so racial diversity on my team is not that important. The officers just have to be competent at policing. Some days it might be useful being female and other days it’s useful being white or gay, depending on who you are dealing with and how you are able to ease the interaction.” (Met014)

Gender was directly identified by eight (21%) of the female respondents as having a significant impact on their performance. The data shows that these respondents tended to be female officers who served on large response teams and so would utilise their gender identity for special functions during public stop-and-search tasks, rape incidents, and domestic or child abuse police calls. These 'gendered' policing functions (Davies and Thomas, 2008; Martin and Jurik, 2006; Westmarland, 2001) certainly aid the efficacy of policing but do not necessarily impact on the eminence or reputation of the female officers.

Some female respondents spoke about the problems they faced in exerting influence on their work teams. These difficulties typically involved proving their competency and developing a good reputation as a female officer:

“There is a pecking order on team. As a female recruit I find it very difficult to exert influence on my team. My opinion is very insignificant. Male recruits seem to have more influence in a shorter space of time probably because they don’t have to prove themselves as much as we do.” (Met065 - female, 32, white British)

Prokos and Padavic (2002) found that the apparently gender-neutral curriculum of the police actually had a hidden element where some recruits were taught that women had lower status and so their authority could be disregarded (Prokos and Padavic, 2002: 454).

The 'pecking order' that was frequently referred to by the interview respondents illustrates a dichotomous and hierarchical construct of gender in the police service (Young, 1991; Leishman, Loveday and Savage, 2000; Westmarland, 2001; Davies and Thomas, 2008; Loftus, 2009; Alvesson and Billing 2009). Female officers in dealing with the challenges of gender hierarchy found power and influence in other dimensions of their identity. The respondents reiterated the importance of practical experience (Gerber, 2001) and having a good reputation in terms of competence and productivity levels:

“If you are in a response role, you are judged on your productivity, how much you are actually getting done, how proactive you are being, and the fact that you can be relied on. So if you are judged well on these things, then people will always want you around. It’s generally about being a team person. I think when you move to different departments it gets a bit different because they will look at standards of work and so on. I don’t think it has anything to do with being female; it’s more about being a new probationer and proving yourself. You make the teas etc. It has nothing to do with your personally. My team was glad to get a female, for practical reasons. The boys just prefer to have you about in certain situations.” (Met032 - female, 32, White British)

A male officer lauded one of his female colleagues for her competence and significant contribution to their team's performance. He made reference to the role of her racio-ethnicity as well as particular skills and attributes that impacted the work carried out on the team:

“There’s a female BME officer on my team and she is very useful with black youths. I have never been able to get through to them the way she does. She can speak 'street' and she also has a very strong personality. She talks to these kids who are from various backgrounds, not just black or Asian, and she gets them to join youth clubs and so on. She’s one of the best officers I’ve worked with. We actually won a community project in our borough because of her work with youths.” (Met008 - male, 46, White British)

This officer worked on the safer neighbourhood team. Respondents from these smaller teams mainly spoke about the personality traits and interpersonal skills of their teammates. The officer to whom Met008 made reference was also interviewed in this study. Her competence and productivity in her role were said to be as a result of multiple dimensions of her identity - she is a PCSO with only two years service; she is also considered a mature employee at the age of 42 and has previously worked in the prison services; she grew up in Brixton and stated that her background and life experiences have helped considerably in her job performance; she also pointed out that PCSOs do not have powers to arrest civilians and so they have to rely on alternate forms of influence when they are policing the streets of London. Her "strength of character", "street experience", ability, and competence were said to be her main source of influence at work.

The salience of the gender status was illustrated only by female officers who worked on large territorial response teams and were required for specific 'gendered' policing functions, such as searching female suspects, dealing with children or victims of sexual crime (Brown, 1998; Brown et al., 1993). This is in line with the prevailing access-and-legitimacy perspective on diversity (identified in the analysis in Chapter Six), which demonstrates that the police values diversity mainly as a resource for the organisation's effective interaction with the public (Dass and Parker, 1999; Ely and Thomas, 2001). Gender was not incorporated into their core functions but was instrumental only in distinctly gendered work contexts. Despite the initial challenges faced by some females, they argued that, upon serving enough time on a particular team, gender became less important as other individual competencies were revealed. Status and influence for female officers were generally associated with their respective years of experience, competence, reputation, age,

rank and/or personality traits. Gender inclusion in the MPS is explored further in part 2 of this chapter.

7.3 Racio-ethnic Status

BME respondents identified both surface-level and deep-level identity dimensions as having an impact on their status and influence at work. Only six (27%) of the BME officers saw race or cultural identity as being influential in their day-to-day work processes.

"Being black helps when dealing with youths in the community. I understand more about their background, their family issues and so on. I feel like I can be a role model for these kids. A lot of them are scared of me but they don't care so much for other officers. If I give them a look they will react; I'm like an uncle to them. It's good to know that I can have that influence because of the shared background." (Met024 - male, 33, Black British)

All of the other BME respondents who identified their racial or cultural identity as being important were from SNT and so had high levels of interaction with the public. Again, this is in line with the access-and-legitimacy perspective which values workforce diversity as a visible representation and a resource for carrying out work in its constituencies. Janssens and Zanoni (2005) also point out that socio-demographic differences become relevant in work contexts only in as far as they positively or negatively impact the attainment of organisational goals. The specific productive context on SNT creates a strong monolithic approach to diversity which draws on the intercultural competencies of its staff in serving the community. In this policing context, BME officers are highly valued for their racial and cultural attributes.

BME officers in other areas of the police service typically highlighted the significance of their personality traits, skills and socio-economic backgrounds as opposed to merely their visible racio-ethnic identity:

“I am from a ‘street’ background so can easily engage with kids on this borough. They are not only able to identify with me as a black person but I also understand them and know how to relate with their kind. Just being black isn’t enough. It’s my ‘street’ experience that allows me to connect with the community. What makes me effective in this job is my strength of character. I am very strong-willed; I relish in a challenge. In his absence, my supervisor leaves me in charge because of my drive, ability and competence.” (Met009 - female, 42, Black British)

'Street' is used as a euphemism to describe contemporary, urban British Afro-Caribbean culture. The 'street' identity of Met009, as opposed to racio-ethnic identity, is a deep-level identity dimension and was considered to be influential because of its interactive effect with her surface-level identity. Another BME respondent who is bi-lingual said that his racio-ethnicity impacted his work, but he also identified deep-level attributes as being significant factors in his level of competence and influence as a PC:

“I think my race helps with my performance on the job because I am able to help break down language barriers between the police and the Asian community. Besides that, I am mostly effective in my job because of my level of competence, confidence, and interpersonal skills.” (Met023)

Conversely, a BME officer who did not speak a second language expressed that racio-ethnic identity had no effect on his level of competence or work relations. He identified mainly deep-level identity dimensions as being useful to his team:

“This is a figures job and you have to do what counts. My race does not provide any added advantage because I do not speak a second language. I might look Indian but I am British. What’s useful to my team is my many years of experience and my interpersonal skills.” (Met078 - male, 34, Asian British)

In general, the salient dimensions identified by BME officers were mainly deep-level attributes such as personality traits, language or interpersonal skills, level of competence in policing, and length of service. Racio-ethnic identity provided enhanced status only in the contexts of community interface, especially on SNTs. This evidence reflects the premise of Jehn et al. (1999) that information and social category diversity positively influence work processes. Lorbiecki (2001) suggests that different values are attached to different identities and individuals should focus on difference in power relations instead of merely difference in identity. Research has shown that BME officers perceive themselves as being less accepted and having less discretion in their jobs (Chow and Crawford; 2004; Fielding, 1999; Murrell et al., 1994). Holdaway (1996) also found that BME officers are viewed as the under-class in the midst of 'insiders'. These and other exclusionary experiences are discussed later in part 2 of this chapter.

7.4 Age and status

Broad age ranges were included in the sample of interview participants. Very few of the interview respondents identified age as having an impact on their status or influence while at work. Only eight (16%) of the respondents between the ages 38-54 said that their age positively impacted their level of influence at work. Five of these respondents were female senior-ranked officers. This is interesting, considering that the research sample includes a total of nine senior-ranked female officers. Therefore, of the 9 senior-ranked female officers, 56% saw their age as a means for exerting influence on their respective teams:

“As a female Inspector I am often asked my age because officers perhaps want to further justify my authority. I think my age and experience helps male colleagues to accept me more as a senior office.” (Met025 - female, 43, White British)

Male respondents generally viewed age as inconsequential to the level of influence they had on their teams:

“My age has no impact on my work. People don’t respect you because you are older. I am able to influence my team because I am good at my job and people know that I have a lot of experience.” (Met066 - male, 42, White British)

Interestingly, male police officers who joined the MPS and were above the age 35 expressed that their age and life experiences were not valued by their teams:

“I found it hard to fit in as a PC at my age; I was treated like a kid. Respect is based on rank and experience on the job so once I passed the probation period and established myself on team, that’s when others respected my age. Experience in the service is key.” (Met064 - male, 43, White British)

The three male respondents who identified age as a factor spoke about age in work contexts which were external to their internal team relations. One officer illustrated how his age impacted on his authority in situations where members of the public assumed he was of a lower rank because of the comparative age between him and his subordinate officers:

“My age brings attention because at times I was in a position of seniority on teams where the average length of service was 20+ years. So I would go to a victim’s house with one of my constables, I was a Detective Chief Inspector, and we would go out dressed in suits so people wouldn’t really know our ranks. Now of course as soon as the victim opens the door they’d start talking to my constable, the white, male, grey haired constable in his 50’s because the young Asian officer couldn’t possibly be in charge. You can sort of see the look of surprise on their faces when my colleague politely says that they need to speak to the boss. I have had that a lot in my service at every rank.” (Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

This officer was also part of the high potential scheme for graduates and so spoke mainly about his team's perception of his level of experience. His age was only seen as significant in external relations but internally, he felt that officers respected him because of his range of experiences and competence in policing:

"I was on the accelerated promotion scheme for graduates. I've done all jobs; I am not unique, 3-4 years in every rank, long enough to experience some serious policing." (Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

One respondent argued that the MPS benefited from recruiting officers from a range of ages because these people brought different experiences into the police service. This, he says, enhances the work of the MPS because, as a mature staff, his life skills proved to be instrumental in his competence and influence as a police officer:

"I didn't do well in school. I can't imagine joining the police at that age and being as good as effective as I was joining it later in life. You actually see it now with the younger officers who join without any life skills; they don't interact with the public as well as other mature officers who probably worked in other jobs before or attended university. Of course there are positives to gain from people joining at an age of 18 or 19 but I just think I would have been terrible at that age. Not that I was fantastic when I joined in my thirties! But life experience comes in very handy in this job. I guess the younger person is easier to mould but an older persons might be harder to change or manage. Then again, if we were all from the cadets, then you wouldn't get the level of diversity you find now in the Met." (Met080 - male, 41, White British)

Female respondents who worked as police civilian staff identified factors such as experience and skills level as being important for the level of influence they had at work. A staff manager echoed these sentiments briefly, "Age is not an issue; it's all about your relevant experience and knowledge." (Met081 - female, 50, White British)

While the impact of age varies in the different policing contexts, and among different identity groups or individuals with different mix of identity dimensions, the evidence shows that age acts as a source of influence for some female officers who occupy a senior rank in the MPS. Particularly, those who benefited from the accelerated promotion scheme rely on visible signs of maturity and experience to offset perception of any deficiency in service length.

7.5 Rank and Job Role

A rank structure stipulates the powers that officers have relative to other members of their teams. Only eight (9.5%) of the respondents viewed rank as significant to their status or the level of influence they had at work. This finding is interesting considering the notion of legitimate power which prevails in the policing occupation (Loftus, 2008; Loveday, 2007).

Rank was seen as significant mainly to female officers who experienced challenges in ascending the 'pecking order' on their teams:

“I feel more respect as a female inspector maybe because the rank justifies my influence. I feel less of a need to prove myself compared to when I was on team. There is a pecking order and females don't necessarily have a lot of influence on team, unless you have a really strong personality or outstanding reputation.”
(Met044 - female, 34, White British)

Vocational skills are essential for boosting a police officer's professional identity and influence in the organisation. However, female officers usually struggle in this regard. Dick and Jankowicz (2001) found that membership to a supervisory rank had a significant impact on how female officers were judged in the organisation. The status of this female respondent (Met044) is compounded by other factors besides gender. She is on the high potential scheme for graduates and so ascended the ranks at a faster rate than her white male counterparts. At age 34, she is also the youngest Police Inspector included in this study, with an average of 9 years difference between her and other officers at the same rank. Officers on the receiving end of positive action are generally perceived as having less experience and so they tend to rely on rank as a legitimate defence against anticipated cynicism from their subordinates and white male counterparts.

Gerber (2001) suggests that power and status are designated according to gender and work experience; men are typically attributed higher status, with or without the

generally acceptable years of experience. Females, on the other hand, are already at a disadvantage and so, in a policing context, rank is identified by females as a key source of status, particularly if they are lacking in experience or perceived negatively because of their accelerated promotion. The issues in relation to positive action in the MPS are discussed in the Chapter Eight.

Contrary to Met044's reliance on rank authority, a white male Chief Inspector argued that rank does not signify influence. He suggests instead that it is experience and reputation that engenders respect:

“Rank gives you authority but respect and influence is secured based on service, attitude and reputation. If you progress too fast without serving adequate time at each level, this will affect the amount of influence you have on your team.” (Met055 - male, 51, White British)

A senior-ranked BME officer echoed a similar viewpoint that status and influence are attributed to deep-level dimensions of individual identity:

“I am able to get the most out of my team because I take time to get to know each officer, I listen to their views and they respect my decisions because we arrive at these as a group. I think they respect more than just my badge; the person behind the badge is more important.” (Met076 - male, 42, Black British)

This BME respondent also benefitted from the accelerated promotion pathway for graduates. While he did not identify rank as his main source of influence, he went on to talk about the age ranges and lengths of service of his subordinates and explained that his participative leadership style compensated for his relatively shorter service.

Another element of job role and rank authority pertains to the relationship between police constables (PC) and Police Community Support Officers (PCSO). The PCSO was introduced in 2002 as a support role to front-line community policing. These uniformed non-

warranted officers occupy the lowest rank on the MPS structure. The interview respondents who served at the PCSO rank spoke about some of the challenges and disregard they felt while working with PCs. A respondent attempted to explain why there are tensions between PCs and PCSOs:

“There is a tension because the PCSO is a very different role. Police officers will wonder why someone who is not trained as well as they are, don’t have as much protection for themselves, don’t have as much responsibilities, and yet they are paid pretty well. They have 30 days annual leave, PCs have 23. A PCSO’s job is not as socially disruptive; PC’s have serious responsibilities and have to follow-through with everything even if it means doing overtime. A PCSO doesn’t have as much to do; their role involves primarily talking to people. (Met028 - female, 27, Mixed British)

Another officer explained that PCSOs did not feel accepted and were often ignored by PCs because PCs did not understand the purpose of PCSOs:

“PCSO’s are seen as plastic police because we don’t have any powers, we can’t do much. We are part of street policing. Our uniforms basically deter people from crime; we are the eyes and ears of London. When I was a PCSO, I’d find cannabis on someone but couldn’t do anything because we don’t have authority do the paperwork. I then have to call a PC to come down and do it. They are more responsive now than they were when I just joined. They’ve changed a lot since I started. I think the new officers understand PCSOs more; the older generation still find it hard to fully accept PCSO’s.” (Met083)

Frontline police officers have described PCSOs as 'plastic police' (Loftus, 2008: 767). Davies and Thomas (2008) reported from their ethnographic study on the British police that innovative forms of policing were underappreciated and many officers tend to distance themselves from what they considered to be a 'pink and fluffy' feminised image of community work. PCSO's are not considered 'real' police officers, not just because of their limited powers but because of the welfare, feminised role they are seen to carry out, which

does not support the aggressive, macho, 'thief-taker', 'door-kicking' identity of 'real' policing (Davies and Thomas, 2008).

Some PCSO respondents spoke about being given menial jobs such as making tea for the team and being ignored on the radios when they called for a PC's attention or assistance:

"There is resentment towards PCSO's earning similar salary but doing supposedly less than PCs. PCSO's are generally unhappy because not all of them are treated with respect. You hear it on the airwaves. It happens a lot on the safer neighbourhood teams; PCSO's are asked to make the tea. I wouldn't do it; I will say no." (Met040 - female, 47, Mixed Caribbean)

"When I was a PCSO I felt bored initially; I was too educated for this. There was the usual joke about people in blue shirts making tea and doing nothing. PCSO's now have their own federation so they can strike and a lot of them don't tolerate the banter anymore. There are PCSO's who are more qualified than some PC's and so will not want to take orders from a PC. There is generally a tension but on SNT you won't notice it so much because there is less difference in terms of rank or role; we are all in one office serving the public in the same way. We also have a closer relationship but on response team they don't work with PCSO so they see them differently." (Met036 - female, 48, Russian)

Ranks authority appears to be part of the reason why PCSOs are seen to be treated as substandard police officers (Newburn, 2003; Loveday, 2007). Their treatment could also be linked to issue of role ambiguity (Davies and Thomas, 2008), especially on the larger territorial response teams. Those who serve on SNTs are evidently treated with less resentment but some respondents still spoke about poor relations on SNT. PCSOs are able to exert influence based on their experience, personality, competence, and the value of their racio-ethnic identity or language skills to their team. This is evident, for example, in the case of Met009 who was lauded by her SNT members for her unique competences and strong character.

Police civilian staff are not part of the rank structure and so are unable to exert influence in that regard (see also Loftus, 2008; Loveday, 2007). Other respondents who worked as civilian staff spoke about their challenges in exerting influence in a command-and-control, hierarchical organisation:

“I was the only female on the senior management team; it was an interesting experience. Sometimes you’d go to meetings and someone says something and you think to yourself “isn’t that what I just said to them and they ignored it?” After being on the team for a while, people started to listen to me. I think it had to do with my background as a staff and that I didn’t have experience as an officer. Now, I think I’ve got a range of experiences that are relevant. I also had challenges managing teams with people who were older than me and also when I had to manage police officers. I had to show that I was in the role because I had the experience.” (Met039 - female, 47, Irish)

This interview respondent served in the capacity of Strategic HR Advisor for her borough and so had frequent interaction with staff and police officers. Band 'C' staff corresponds with the pay category of a police Sergeant; therefore, the rank dynamics at the level of the senior management team would indicate that a band 'C' staff is incorporated at the bottom of their hierarchy. Moreover, despite her age (47) and length of service as a civilian staff (28 years), she still struggled to exert influence within her team because she was not a trained police officer. In a similar vein, Loveday (2007) explains that the expansion of civilian employment in the police service was a source of contention among the rank and file who denounced civilianization as simply a cost-cutting measure which undermined the multi-skilled police officer.

However, another band C civilian staff explained that civilian staff can have influence if they are endorsed by the borough commander who is the leader of the SMT:

“The first barrier for me is that I am a member of the police staff and there’s a police officer culture here. This is a rank culture organisation and what made it easier for

me here is that our borough commander came in and said that he is here for all of us. He empowers everyone. What will ensure that you maintain that empowerment is if you deliver good performance. There have been times when I'm sitting at a table and feel isolated not because I am ethnic but because I am staff. This borough commander finds a way to include everyone in his decisions and that makes our work even more worthwhile." (Met078 - male, 34, Asian British)

The importance of rank authority was also evident in circumstances where police staff presided over ex-officers. A civilian staff spoke about the attitude of some police staff who previously served as police officers, and expressed her difficulty with managing such employees:

"My main issue is with people who walk into a job and have attitudes as if they don't want to be here. Sometimes police officers retire and they come back into the Met as police staff. They sometimes feel superior to other staff. Being a PC doesn't mean you know everything about the administrative side of things. Basically, the few occasions that I have had problems with managing my team have involved persons who previously worked as an officer. I'm not saying they are all like that, it's just they sometimes have an attitude problem. I think it is age related because both male and female ex-officers behave in that way." (Met034 - female, 42, Mixed British)

The experience of this employee demonstrates that power relations are also linked to the perceived status of police officers over police civilian staff. She identified age difference as a potential ground for their attitude and, interestingly, dismissed the gender dimension which could be relevant in the case of older male retirees who may never have worked with a female superior.

Job role and rank act as a clear symbol of power but the experiences of the respondents show that status and influence can also be achieved through deep-level identity dimensions. The evidence shows that those who have rank authority did not identify it as their source of influence, whilst those who did not have rank authority saw rank as a significant source of power but also identified alternate sources of influence.

7.6 Education and status

Education was the least acknowledged identity dimension, with only four (13%) of the respondents identifying their educational qualifications as having an impact on their performance or status and influence at work. The few who acknowledged this deep-level dimension also linked its effect to other identity dimensions:

“My education is useful because it makes me more analytical about even simple matters. I think I am able to make more informed decisions that way. Unfortunately, my educational background is irrelevant on team where power and influence is based on rank as well as reputation and length of service. Image is everything; you are either a good cop or a rubbish cop.” (Met011 - male, 29, White British)

Another officer identified her education as being significant to the level of influence she had on her team. This officer is a PCSO and entered the police service at the age of 45. Despite the issues expressed by other PCSOs and mature officers, this officer felt that she had a strong influence as a PCSO because of her education and reputation:

“My education and reputation help with the level of respect I receive. Maybe people were more careful with me because they heard I had a doctorate and saw that I had a good relationship with my manager. I had liberty to do more than what was expected from a PCSO; I wasn't based in the office all the time. This had a lot to do with my sergeant; he was very liberal, broad minded and forward thinking. My age didn't mean much; people take the mick off everyone. Influence is exerted in two ways - rank and reputation. It was my reputation that made things easy.” (Met040 - female, 47, Mixed Caribbean)

This respondent had previously worked as a lecturer in History and her research interests included ethnicity and diversity. She joined the police service in a bid to "give back to her community". Her colleagues were aware that she intended to work in the MPS as a temporary career diversion. The respect she received was not particularly linked to her reputation as an officer but was owing to her external achievements which were heralded

to her team prior to her arrival. As a result of her background and apparent connections with senior officers, she said that she was certainly treated differently and was not "asked to make coffee like the other PCSO's on the team".

The respondents who expressed that education was insignificant to their work relations explained that the nature of the job limited the application of their respective educational qualifications:

"Before I joined the Met I thought my education would be useful. But, in terms of the practicality of the job, it had no importance. I guess it depends on where you work. On patrol team, there is no need because your dealings are very superficial; you never try to get to the bottom of anything because it is not your job to do that. CID takes over and you are sent off to nick a shoplifter or something. You don't have to employ any deep thinking or anything like that when you are on patrol. It might help for in-depth investigation but not for response team." (Met049 - female, 27, Asian British)

Another officer spoke about her education being somewhat irrelevant to policing. She identified her age, race, language skills and emotional intelligence as being more significant to her status at and the quality of her performance on the job:

"I don't think they care about education. I am a medical doctor; I worked in the emergency unit in Russia. A degree is just a piece of paper; application of it is what's important. There are many people who are knowledgeable about many things but not everything is useful for the job. In here people are judged by what experience they have. People come to me for advice because I am older, and I'm a foreigner. My language skills are useful; it takes me out of my normal routine when I have to help with special cases. People also come to me about spelling or stuff, or for general advice. I would like to think that I have good emotional intelligence. I feel like a mother figure on the team." (Met036 -female, 48, Russian)

This respondent had very good spoken English and said that she learned English from the age of six in Russia. She is also married to an English man and has lived in London for 14

years. She is the oldest female on her SNT so this could also contribute to the matriarchal role that she describes playing.

Education was highlighted primarily by female and BME officers as having an impact on their work in the MPS. These respondents pointed out that education was useful only at the recruitment stage and as a basis for career progression to senior levels:

My degree helped getting me into the job but it doesn't help much with how people view my work. You have to deliver, that's all people care about in the end. You are judged on how you do the work; with communication, confidence, clarity and humility. (Met078 - male, 34, Asian British)

A female officer also pointed out that she was able to ascend the ranks because of her education and sexual orientation:

"I entered the Met as part of the high potential scheme and was able to ascend the ranks as a female recruit because of my educational and probably because I used the 'gay card'. I still had to spend a certain amount of time in various roles to acquire relevant skills and experience." (Met042 - female, 34, Canadian British)

It is important to note that this respondent served in the British Army before joining the police service. She attributes status and influence to her experience and reputation as a competent police detective.

Education was not identified as having great significance on work relations or work processes in the MPS, even with 40 percent of the interview respondents stating that they held undergraduate and postgraduate qualifications. Some officers explained that police officers with higher education qualifications are a new phenomenon in the MPS. Police officers who served during the 1980's and early-1990's expressed that their university education was kept a secret because they did not want to attract negative attention from their work colleagues. This is similar to the experience of Malcolm Young (1991) and Simon

Holdaway (1983) who wrote about their challenges with asserting this aspect of their identity. Nowadays, higher education is more common as the respondents point out that police officers at the lower ranks hold higher levels of educational qualifications than those at senior levels:

"I got a good education, went to a very good state school, and attended a top 10 university. My CV looks good education wise but, remember, this is not a graduate profession. It is becoming more academic; one in eight officers has a degree. These are mostly vocational policing degrees, management diplomas in policing. But it's not unusual to have a degree in the senior ranks. Now, it's probably the other way round; Paul Stephenson, Commissioner of the Met does not have a degree. That's almost unique. Now, a chief constable would have at least one degree. So the profession is moving towards more professionalism. So those people who think they can join with 5 O-levels and become a senior officer are doing themselves an injustice. Nurses are going to need a degree now to become a nurse. I think it should be the same for policing." (Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

Although the MPS is increasingly recruiting graduates into its lower ranks, its systems and work processes have been criticised by the respondents for restricting the application of academic skills. One officer explained how being a graduate affected his performance in the MPS promotion process:

"The Met has its own system for progression and my study habits hindered my success in the sergeant examination. You have to be able to memorise answers and scenarios, not analyse it. In this job you can move up the ranks from PC to sergeant to inspector quite easily if you are able to ace these types of exams. My education only became useful later in my career when I wanted to progress to higher ranks which required interviews, analysis and long application forms." (Met063 - male, 42, Indian)

The promotions examinations used by the MPS were designed to suit the nature of the police roles and functions. While the profile of the MPS workforce has changed considerably, the role of the police officer still reflects its original job design. Therefore,

their examination strategy is arguably appropriate for the detailed and prescriptive roles of law enforcement officers.

Education is becoming a hot topic in the MPS as they evaluate how to maximise the positive effects of a changing workforce (MPA, 2010). Further arguments on the role of education in recruitment and job progression are discussed in Chapter Eight.

As it relates to the matter of identity, education continues to have very limited impact on the level of influence that police officers and staff are able to exert on their respective work teams. A small number of females and BME officers identified the impact of their education alongside other deep-level dimensions of their identity. There were no other identity groups which demonstrated any pattern suggesting that education is a key dimension for exerting influence in the MPS.

PART 2

7.7 Diversity and Inclusion in the MPS

The majority of the respondents (98.8%) broadly stated that the day-to-day work environment in the MPS is positive and inclusive of diversity. Some spoke primarily about the MPS strategies and practices that engender an inclusive work environment:

“Respect for diversity engenders a positive environment. Coupled with that we have a very robust misconduct procedure, there is a ‘fairness at work’ procedure where an independent party can assess and make recommendations. There are a number of staff associations that represent minority groups and are aware of the issues that might affect them. We are much more geared up to appreciating people’s needs whilst they are in the work place. There is a greater understanding for cultural and religious needs; quiet rooms are facilitated to allow people personal time. I think we are trying to create an environment where people feel like they can operate – wearing a turban, carrying religious articles.” (Met015 - male, 45, White British)

Arguably, this quote comes across as a diplomatic and impersonal interpretation of diversity and inclusion in the MPS. This perspective was common among senior-ranked officers who were more careful and strategic in expressing their opinions about the MPS, demonstrating a form of “good news” syndrome (Saunders et al. 2009). These comments, although lacking profundity, were corroborated by other respondents who not only talked about the systems and policies but also dared to divulge their personal experiences and insightful perspectives on diversity and inclusion. While many affirmed that the MPS had made tremendous strides in recruiting a diverse workforce and had created an inclusive environment, they also pointed out that there were issues and experiences which opposed this all-encompassing rhetoric:

“I think it is inclusive. I think people work well together, for such a large organisation. I don’t think they are inherently racist, homophobic or sexist; it just seems to be banter that has come to be accepted. It is commonplace to make fun of people because they’ve got red hair, or because they’re from the North, or their accent. You hear anti-German and anti-French sentiments all the time, or talking about people’s cuisine – if somebody is a vegetarian or whatever, it’s just constant banter. Maybe because of my background, I find it hard to communicate like that or to tolerate that kind of language. There is a good team spirit here and even people on my team who I consider friends. But it’s the culture of banter that I find disturbing. Some people play along because they think it’s what they have to do.” (Met040 - female, 47, Mixed Caribbean)

This perspective was common among officers from the lower ranks who seem to share their unrepressed opinions about the diversity climate in the MPS. One respondent emphasised that “there is free speech in this country so as long as I am not telling a lie or endangering anyone, then I will speak freely to you” (Met014). This indicated a more liberal and uninhibited mentality among the new cohort of police officers.

Only one of the interview respondents unreservedly stated that the MPS work environment was not positive and inclusive of diversity. This police constable spoke about her negative experiences as a lesbian and as a new recruit on response team:

“No, I don’t think it is positive and inclusive. I don’t feel that there is that sort of cohesiveness. It’s just a general observation. This is a very cliquey borough. And there is a great divide I think between the PCSOs, who tend to be from ethnic backgrounds, and police officers, and then you’ve got CID, criminal investigations department. I mean, we should all be working together but there are barriers which I’ve never seen in my old borough. Coming in new to this team as an older female, I am gay, I wore an LGBT badge so they all knew that I was gay and I found it difficult. I was put with a male officer. He was young and really just wasn’t interested in anything and didn’t want to have any conversations or engage; he wanted to be with the guys and so on. So, it’s a bit picky here. It is quite a culture shock. You just have to be true to yourself. My first 6 months here were horrible and I wanted to quit. I found it hard to fit in, not because I am female but because of my age. I was the second oldest in the class at Hendon. You automatically move into groups or social cliques and I didn’t really fall into any of them. I’ve previously been in a management role and I am fairly experienced in various areas of life but whenever I tried to make suggestions they would always go for the most popular person who tended to be the younger, louder, bolarious ones. I found that quite difficult. I was lucky to move away from response team. I didn’t like how they work, they were too cliquey. I moved so that I could specialise in an area that I am interested.” (Met021 - female, 37, White British)

This officer identified her age attribute as the source of her negative experience. She had previously worked on a different borough during her probation period and she described her previous team as "a big family". She found it difficult to integrate with her new team because of numerous factors, including the fact that she was an older, experienced officer who now had very little influence or status on her new team. Another white female officer illustrated a similar situation and also ended up leaving her team because she found it too difficult to fit in:

“When I first joined I was the only female on a team of 8 officers. The team was very proactive; they had the highest results over other teams. So having a probationer

start, a female probationer, they tested me a lot. They wanted to see if I could fit in with the team. I was okay and became part of the team. I think if I had behaved differently, I would have been ousted very early on. My experience as a new recruit in the Met was very different. I basically worked on team for five weeks and then moved to CID. Thames Valley and the Met work in completely different ways; I was very much used to working in one way and I came into the Met without realising how different it was going to be. But then going into CID was more of what I was used to. When I transferred in, when I was in uniform, I did not feel welcome at all. Not because I was female but because I was a transferee, because I had more service than them, because I was a more skilled driver. A post came up in burglary which the team needed to cover and I was asked to do it. I wanted to do it but I was also aware they wanted me out. So, ha ha, it worked both ways; it got me off the team, win-win." (Met012)

Part one of this chapter discussed the matter of status and influence and highlighted the impact of different identity dimensions on the level of influence officers had on their teams. While length of service and competence were seen as important, the experience of these two female officers demonstrates the significance of also proving themselves to their new teams, regardless of their acknowledged competences on another team.

The notion of 'fitting in' on the work team was brought up in many of the interviews. A respondent explained that every police officer needed to earn the respect of their team by learning about the team and proving that they could fit in with the established ways of that team:

"It doesn't really make a difference whether they are male, female, black, white, or their faith. The way that they will get respect in their new team is through their competence, their willingness to learn, their sort of proactive approach, and their desire to fit in with that team. The way I see it is that there is a team of 20 to 30 people who by and large get on well and work together and know each other. You are the new person joining them so it's for you to watch and observe how the team works and fitting in with them; not the other way round. The team won't change for you, unless you are that influential as a person. And if you are, then chances are you wouldn't be starting out as a PC. So basically, they have to understand that they are going into an established team and to get accepted, it's about you proving to them, in one way or another, that you can be part of that team; through how you behave,

how you do the job, how you volunteer and speak to people, and ask for advice and try and build your respect with them.” (Met072 - male, 40, White British)

The experiences of the interview respondents reflect that of Malcolm Young (1991) in his ethnographic study of the police where he explained that he had to slowly deconstruct the identity of the different police organisations he worked with. He explains one instance when he did not fit in:

“I spent all my previous service on the ‘other side of the river’. At one point a uniform sergeant, listening to me discuss some tactics, gloomily pointed out that my style was not theirs; but then, he rationalised, “how could it be, you’re from the north side of the river”” (Young 1991: 65-69).

The interviewees pointed out that they went through a process of re-socialisation whenever they changed boroughs or joined a new team in their borough. Despite working in an organisation with established processes and work practices, the team dynamics or police occupational subcultures (Paoline 2003; Waddington 1999) played a significant role in people’s experience of inclusion in the MPS.

This notion of ‘fitting in’ also led respondents to question the general sense of inclusion that was felt by diverse individuals. Some interviewees suggest that, even though the organisation’s diversity climate is positive, the police service is inherently exclusive because in order to be part of the service you have to successfully assimilate the dominant police culture:

“I think the diversity climate here is positive and as an organisation we try really hard to be inclusive. But I think we have a way to go because we don’t fully understand what ‘inclusive’ means. We still believe as an organisation that if people want to join the police, then they have to become a police. And I think that is a bit exclusive because to join us you have to become us. As opposed to we will celebrate the fact that you are different and we will use your difference to better the

organisation. We are not there yet; we are a long way from being truly inclusive.”
(Met051 - female, 39, White British)

This perspective implies a particular social or occupational identity of the police service. Other respondents also acknowledge that becoming a police involves more than just being an employee of the organisation; it involves adopting its distinct pervasive occupational culture (Waddington, 1999). They spoke about the need to suppress individuality and conform to the ways of team:

“A positive and inclusive environment does not deny you the ability to express your true individuality. One thing the police service is good at is conditioning you into a certain mindset. They send you away to Hendon for 20 weeks; they take the individuality out of you and make you into an officer. Basically, the subtext was don’t show out, don’t be different, conform, and you will get on alright. So that’s what I did. And interestingly, I really didn’t show my true individuality until later in my career when I became a Sergeant.” (Met067 - female, 42, White British)

This process of assimilation corresponds with a monolithic organisation (Cox, 1991) and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective which emphasise treating all employees in the same way regardless of their individual identity (Dass and Parker, 1999; Ely and Thomas, 2001). The notion of a pervasive police identity carried through in many of the interviews as officers spoke about the pressure they felt to assimilate into the dominant culture. An officer provided an example of how his individuality affected his colleague's perception of him as an officer:

“Those who joined as a cadet have a narrow view on policing and decision making. And that helps in their job; some of them have done extremely well. My university education gave me a better ability to listen and be objective. I can remember as a sergeant going out with the inspector, he had 30 years service and was a highly respected inspector. They loved him because he was a ‘police’. We saw five medical students with a large notice board from Guys and they’d just been on a raid and taken this huge information board from the A&E at Guys because the previous week they had taken something from St Thomas’. So, it was a tit for tat raid. They were all

students and the inspector wanted them all to be arrested for theft. He was adamant and we had a row in the car. I said, this is just a lark, it is not theft, and there is no intention to criminally deprive. Let's get them to take it back to Guys and apologise; that will earn more. If we arrest them and we caution them, they would all have criminal records, then what would that have achieved? I won the row that day and the students returned the board but my relationship with that inspector was never quite the same again. He saw me as a bit of a lefty." (Met055 - male, 51, White British)

Jehn et al. (1999) suggest that differences in values and principles can decrease satisfaction and damage work relations within groups. In line with this premise, police officers acknowledge that their education not only affected their approach to policing but also posed a threat to their work relations. Consequently, police officers who held undergraduate qualifications saw the need to repress their distinctive reasoning in order to preserve their reputation at work.

The next section explores the experiences and perspectives of female officers in relation to diversity and inclusion in the police service.

7.8 Gender Inclusivity in the MPS

A torrent of gender issues poured out during the interview discussions about diversity and inclusion. Many of the female respondents spoke about the challenges they faced in gaining acceptance and respect in a male dominated profession (Smith and Gray, 1985; Davies and Thomas, 2008; Westmarland, 2001). The respondents spoke about a generally positive and inclusive environment but went on to highlight issues that were specific to their particular role in the police service. A female Chief Inspector pointed out that there was only one male subordinate on her team who struggled to take orders from her because of her gender:

"The work environment is pretty good here. There is only one issue with diversity that perhaps affects my work and it comes from a Muslim officer on my team. He

doesn't seem to like the idea of answering to a female superior. I get it, it's his cultural background. All the other male officers don't seem to have a problem taking orders from me. Anyway, he still has to respect my rank but I guess the gender issue does make it a bit uncomfortable at times."(Met025 - female, 43, White British)

A young female officer identified the "macho" style and hierarchical nature of the police as the main hindrance for her integration as a new recruit:

"There are people who will act as if they are superior to you because they've had more time in the job. You'd be in a car and they won't even talk to you, perhaps thinking "you are the new one, you need to prove yourself to me". I wasn't a fan of this macho territorial style; women are more nurturing in this respect. You have to do all the work to prove yourself. It's already a difficult job, you learn while you are on the job but when you have idiots on your team who refuse to support you at the beginning, then you will make errors and those mistakes will escalate because the team will start forming their opinion of you – she's crap or he's crap." (Met071, female, 23, Mixed Other)

Met071 has been in the MPS for only one year. Other respondents (male and female) also highlighted the typical initiation rite of being "thrown in the deep end" so that the team could assess their capabilities (Martin, 1980; Young, 1991; Heidensohn, 1992). This respondent expressed dislike for what she perceived as masculine attitudes and expressed that this was her main difficulty in working with officers on the response teams. It is important to note that this respondent is a Designated Detention Officer (DDO), which is a civilian staff role and so she does not have the same powers as a warranted police constable. Therefore, her experience might have very little to do with her newness, gender or race and more to do with the power relations between police officers and police civilian staff, as discussed in part one of this chapter (see also Loftus, 2008; Loveday, 2007).

Female respondents who had longer service and were warranted police officers also spoke about the difficulties they faced in working in a system that was developed in a

masculine framework (Davies and Thomas, 2008; Westmarland, 2001; Martin and Jurik, 2006). One female police officer spoke about the insensitive treatment she received while she was pregnant:

"I got pregnant with my first child when I was on TSG [Territorial Support Group] and my governor said to me "don't even think consider coming back part-time; we don't want part-timers on TSG. To be told something like that when you are 8.5 months pregnant and about to go off on maternity leave! Well, it implies that you have a choice of either coming back full-time and working the same hours as the team or don't bother coming back love. That's not nice. But I think things have moved on. I can't speak for women now because I'm not pregnant now." (Met048 - female, 34, White British)

Another female officer who recently returned from maternity leave spoke about the level of pressure that is placed on female officers as opposed to female civilian staff:

"Police staff gets 9 months maternity leave, while police officers get 3 months leave, that's discrimination right there. Basically, women in purely administrative roles are treated with more compassion. I guess we [female police officers] are expected to be tougher. I came back after 3 months maternity leave; having given birth to premature twins. I knew I couldn't take any extra time off if I wanted to prove my worth to the team. There is a negative stereotype of females who leave the team to have kids and I wanted to prove that I wasn't one. I had to make it clear that not because I'm a mom meant that I would be less of an officer." (Met059 - female, 37, White British)

This officer conformed to the three months maternity leave policy and returned to full-time work in order to avoid getting a bad reputation on her team. Martin and Jurik (2006) argue that police organisational policies and practices have gendered police work to the disadvantage of women. The interview respondents express their disapproval of not only the maternity policy but also criticised the police work schedule for being "devastating to family life because of its odd work hours" (Met034). Studies on burnout among police

officers have shown that female officers tend to experience higher levels of work-related stress (Berg et al., 2003; He et al., 2002).

Work-related pressures apparently stretched beyond organisational policies and practices as the interview respondents revealed social pressures that were experienced. Females said that they were constrained by their gender and had to 'prove themselves' by adopting a certain mode of work and social behaviour in order to fit in (Martin, 1980; Young, 1991; Heidensohn, 1992). A female constable explains that the prominent culture of the police excludes certain kinds of people:

“They only want to know that you are going to work hard. It’s all about figures on team. So, as long as you are arresting people, giving out tickets, and going out for drinks; yes, there’s a big drinking culture here. I think if you are young and single, you would get on better because there are all these little cliques formed from these activities. So if you have a family, or if you are older and not really into drinking, then you won’t be truly part of the team.” (Met028 - female, 27, Mixed British)

Research has shown that the coercive nature of police work has led to its members equating policing with physicality (Chan et al., 2003; Fielding and Fielding, 1992; Leishman, Loveday and Savage, 2000). Female officers acknowledged that they were constrained by gendered norms (Davies and Thomas, 2008) and were also treated differently because of their perceived lower physical capabilities. While some saw the need to prove their strength, others simply wanted to find their niche in the organisation. Alvesson and Billing (2009) point out that females who work in a masculine occupation will experience pressure to take on roles that are considered more fitting of their social category. The respondents in this study similarly explained that females who resisted the masculine police archetype would end up taking on policing roles that were typically associated with feminine characteristics. One respondent explained that she had her personal work preferences as a

female officer and so had no intention of subscribing to the masculine archetype, which she believed did not suit her personality:

“A lot of people would describe my role as a pink and fluffy role because I deal with children. Females are associated with that role. I’m more attracted to these roles anyhow. The pink and fluffy stuff is the less glamorous side of the business. It seems that the females who are completely opposite to me tend to fit in and go further. The hardened, strong ones would get more results. I always got called up because I wasn’t getting all the arrests and figures in. That’s not the work I was interested in but that’s the work that counts. You have to give as good as they get but I don’t like confrontation; I like a fair discussion but in some situations that’s not the ideal thing.” (Met021, female, 37, White British)

Researchers argue that police officers exalt violence and uphold a 'cult of masculinity' (Waddington, 1999; Davies and Thomas, 2008) and so the feminine enactment of policing threatens the 'habitus' of police work (Chan 1996). Research in the UK by Westmarland (2001) found that female officers are significantly underrepresented in high profile specialist police departments involving guns, horses and fast cars. This underrepresentation is linked to the gendered division of labour (Connell 2006; Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). An assessment of the job roles carried out by the senior-ranked female officers and managerial level civilian staff in this study supports the notion of gendered division of labour. Listed below are the roles which the female participants held in the MPS:

- Citizen Focus Inspector (customer service);
- Media & Communications Manager (office-based);
- Inspector - Schools and Special Constables (community safety support);
- Inspector - Response Team (operational);
- Prosecution manager (office-based);
- Borough Volunteer Manager (office-based);

- Strategic HR Adviser (office-based);
- Inspector - Case Progression Unit (part-time, office-based);
- Witness care manager (welfare, office-based).

Only one female inspector carried out an operational role at the Inspector rank; all the other female officers occupied stereotypical feminine roles (Brown, 1998; Brown et al., 1993). These officers expressed that they were 'comfortable' in their respective roles, supporting the premise that women generally show a greater liking for feminine jobs (Alvesson and Billing, 2009; Oswald, 2008) such as the safe 'inside' work of customer service and dispute resolution (Martin, 1999). A senior-ranked female detective who works in an office-based managerial role spoke about her experience as a female manager and the importance of maintaining her femininity:

"Yes, my gender plays a role. I interact with more of the supervisors than with people at the other level of my team. Some of the supervisors have no issues with gender whatsoever and as long as you are good at your job and you support them, there are no issues. And generally, I've got a good track record where that's concerned. Others find it more difficult, and I'm talking about lads [younger male detectives], they find it very difficult to have a female in charge and it's just about how you manage that. I don't feel pressured; some of the girls I started with used to always feel the need to prove themselves. I never felt like that because I always had my role and my niche and I was always quite comfortable with that. As you progress through the ranks you come to realise that it's the way you deal with people and not what you are and everything else. I use my gender to my advantage when I need to. Sometimes you need to develop a good rapport with people and sometimes you cross over to being a bit flirty but it can get you places. As soon as I realised that I could use this to my advantage, I have done but that's in a very general sense. It's very rare for me to get into conflict, sometime I use comedy, sometimes I use feminine charm but I always avoid tensions. If it's a formal situation then I've got the 'corporate bank' which doesn't inflame and is appropriate but if it is informal level it comes back to sort of humour and being me, feminine. I think we communicate better. There are uniform officers that have hated the CID; there have always been a big distinction and officers I've worked with have never got on with them. But I will talk to them despite the rift that exists between CID and uniform officers. Not the

same way that I communicate with my team but in general I communicate with them quite easily despite being a detective.” (Met051 - female, 39, White British)

This officer identified the benefits of her feminine identity and said that she was comfortable with the idea of working in a role that was seen as appropriate for a female detective. She explained that she was not involved in front-line policing as her job was purely computer-based. This, she said, was quite suitable for her. The female occupation of these office-based, community support, nurturing, "pink and fluffy", and domesticated roles reify the stereotypes of female officers and the reproduction of gender disadvantage (Rabe-Hemp 2009). Ridgeway and Correll (2004) argue that when women enter a particular field and that field is seen to become feminised, it subsequently becomes devalued. Therefore, those who choose to pursue 'appropriate feminine roles' might well be limiting their career prospects because feminine roles are associated with lower performance values or 'recipe knowledge' (Dick and Jankowicz, 2001).

While some females expressed preference for 'feminine roles' and tried earnestly to resist the pervasive and powerful influence of the masculine police archetype, other female respondents said that it was necessary to assimilate the dominant police identity if you wanted a good career in policing. Women and men are said to be trapped in a vision of masculinity and femininity (Bourdieu, 2001) and so the mythical vision of police work is accepted as being suitable for the 'manly man'. Consequently, women who accept this view will strive to become the 'manly policewoman'. Some female respondents spoke about the masculine demeanour that they exhibited at work in a bid to secure their position on team:

“I am the only female on a team of 30. I think I am one person at work and a different person outside of work. You do feel a need to learn how to ‘hang with the boys’. They know they can rely on me, I am trained like everybody else and they’ve seen me in action. At first, I remember my sergeant being very protective of me. For

instance, we go on raids and they would always put me at the back. I didn't like that. I had to show them I could handle the tough stuff like any of the boys." (Met065 - female, 32, White British)

West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender is not something we are, but something we do. Therefore, gender is socially reconstructed in light of normative conceptions of gender at work. A female officer who joined the MPS in 1990 explained that females experience more pressure to conform to the masculine structures and processes because gender distinction has been removed from police job titles, roles and uniforms:

"Years ago, we wore skirts, we were called WPCs [woman police constable], had slightly different roles, and special badge numbers but now we wear trousers, carry the same weapons, we are called PC like everyone else, and more and more females are being promoted to senior ranks. Perhaps some females try to be like the guys because there is no longer a gender distinction in titles, uniforms or work roles. The police service is only one part of my job. I don't try to change myself, retaining my femininity is important. There is a stereotype of female officers, but the new crops of females are changing that." (Met001 - female, 38, White British)

The majority of the females were of the view that, although they received both skirts and trousers, they opted to wear trousers because it was more practical for the job. The respondents also expressed that the changes in the female uniform and job title signified a move towards gender equality. Still, female officers said that they experienced barriers that were attributable to gender stereotypes. Older female respondents emphasised the importance of eradicating the feminine stereotype so that women would be less influenced to adopt the dominant masculine police identity.

A typical solution for minimising the disadvantage of gender hierarchy in the police service is to 'undo gender' through engaging in social acts that resist gendered norms (Chan et al., 2010; Deutsch 2007). The research shows that some female officers attempt to

modify their behaviour according to the masculine nature of police work. However, reducing gender difference or 'undoing gender' is contingent on the social situations in which gendered behaviour or perceptions of gender differences exist. The experience of female officers is therefore, arguably, dependent on the prevailing gender perspectives in the MPS.

While older female officers have acknowledged that being female carried negative symbolic capital (Chan et al., 2010; Deutsch 2007), other younger female respondents said they experienced positive and inclusive attitudes from their teams. They explained that their positive experience was due to the fact that the female officers who previously worked on their teams were seen as competent officers and were respected by the males on the team:

“In terms of my gender, I’ve never really felt much of a difference. I think that’s credit to the other females we had on our team. They had very strong personalities and they were established, competent police officers who were respected on the team. Hence, I didn’t feel an instant negative attitude from my male colleagues. I mean, I think everyone finds it difficult on response team because of the nature of the job; you have to rely on your colleagues so much and so opinions are formed very quickly. If one person thinks something of you and that person’s views are respected, then potentially that can cascade through the rest of the team.” (Met049 - female, 27, Asian British)

The evidence from a range of newer females recruits show that there is a degree of 'positive symbolic capital' for females who have had thriving female predecessors. This was not only as a result of females who successfully assimilated the police identity but also those who successfully endorsed an alternative style of policing. Some senior-ranked female officers expressed that their approach to policing was noticeably different from the normal policing approach. One such respondent explained how her ways and means of policing had inspired younger females on her team:

“I did some community policing as a sergeant and I remember a lot of the women feeling empowered that they had a female sergeant in charge of the area. But that

was more to do with feeling empowered to do stuff like youth projects or unofficial volunteering. Some of the PCSOs that later joined as a PC said that they were influenced by my way of doing the work. But they wanted to become PCs from the start so I didn't really influence that decision I guess it was more about my ways and means of policing." (Met013 - female, 38, White British)

A male officer spoke about his former female supervisor who he said had a positive influence on his opinion about female officers:

"Yes, I've had a female supervisor. In fact, the best boss I had was female. She was very bright, very able, kind, and made things happen. She was a very good police but still managed to maintain her femininity. She used to go out to buy individual Christmas gifts for her senior management team. She would always get me a book and they were good choices because she knew my interests. She didn't just give me a bottle of whisky; she put thought into choosing her gifts." (Met068, male, 46, Asian British)

The female respondents felt that the presence of influential female officers in the MPS had a positive impact on their integration and success as new recruits. This supports the claims of Ely (1995) that proportional representation of females in the upper echelons of organisations affects gender difference and gender identity at work.

7.9 Sexual Orientation and Inclusion

Four of the eighty-five interview respondents identified themselves as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT); all of whom were female, three white and one BME. This small sample may not provide adequate data for a robust analysis, but the researcher finds their stories and experience to be relevant in understanding the complex interplay of different identity dimensions in the MPS. The diversity literature is used to support the discussion of the main themes that emerged in relation to sexuality and inclusion in the MPS.

Two of the LGBT officers said that the work environment was positive and inclusive of diversity. The other two said that they had experienced or witnessed homophobic behaviour and felt that their sexual orientation was still an issue in the police service.

“I don’t have any conflict as a gay female. There are two colleagues who have had problems and they are particularly strong females who had outshone their male colleagues and they didn’t like it. And those males had more service as well. That’s the only conflict I’ve seen and it was just petty remarks which, fair play to the girl, she challenged it.” (Met021 - female, 37, White British)

Studies have shown that the dominant heterosexuals try to establish boundaries between themselves and lesbian/gay officers through social exclusion or verbal intimidation (Belkin and McNichol, 2002; Colvin, 2009; Lyons et al., 2008; Miller et al., 2003). Miller, Forest and Jurik (2003) reported that all of the "out" and "closeted" gay/lesbian officers in their sample indicated that they had heard or been the target of antigay or lesbian jokes or derogatory slang. Similarly, Colvin (2009) reported that the majority of the lesbian/gay officers in their survey said that they experienced social isolation, “outsiderism,” and were subjected to homophobic verbal abuse. Also, as with females and BMEs, LGBT officers reported bias in situations where there is high supervisory discretion.

One of the LGBT respondents said that her sexual orientation was the overriding identity dimension for her as an officer. Of the four LGBT officers, her 'masculine' appearance was the most perceptible lesbian typecast. All the others had very short haircuts and wore trousers but still projected a feminine demeanour. The officer explained how her visible LGBT identity affected her experience in the police service:

"I don’t see racism here, maybe the odd isolated case but nothing institutional. Homophobia, that I’ve been a victim of in the Met. I’ve experienced homophobia internally and on the streets. I experience tension not because I am female but because I am gay and I look gay. I think if I didn’t look gay then I’d be treated the same as a female officer. Quite often when I meet people they would look at me and

can instantly tell that I'm gay just like they'd probably look at a black guy and say he's black. They instantly see that I am gay instead of the fact that "oh she's female and a new sergeant". Sexual orientation has nothing to do with anything. Nevertheless, people will judge but on my team, if anything, I am one of the boys as opposed to the female on the team." (Met014 - female, 34, White British)

Paradoxically, the interview respondent identified benefits to being a LGBT police officer. She talked about the ease at which she assimilated the masculine police identity, which provides support for the 'doing gender' hypothesis. Miller, Forest and Jurik (2003) reported that some lesbians in their sample believed that they were able to "do gender" in the masculine tradition of policing without threatening heterosexual male officers to the extent that heterosexual women do (Miller et al., 2003: 376). This respondent demonstrated that her sexual orientation had reduced the social pressures to portray femininity, hence she was able to emphasise her masculinity in the policing context.

Another LGBT officer said that sexual orientation was a "non-issue" in the MPS. It is important to note that this officer served in a supervisory rank, is a foreign national, had served in the British Army, and is part of the high potential scheme for graduates. She wore a tailored grey pants suit which she said was her typical police detective attire. She was one of the most talkative respondents, giving a 9-minute response to the first question "when and why did you join the MPS?" She spoke generally about her positive experience and the level of cohesion on her CID team. Belkin and McNichols (2002) suggest that lower-ranked lesbian/gay officers who might not have high levels of respect may face the greatest challenges in the police service. This LGBT officer (Met042) had just been promoted to a supervisory rank and reported no challenges associated with her lesbian identity. Her experience illustrated the potential normalization of LGBT officers in the MPS and

emphasised the importance of having other salient traits that will foster higher levels of integration and cohesion.

7.10 Racio-ethnic Inclusivity

Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) officers generally expressed that their work environment is positive and inclusive of diversity. BME officers who had different cultural or religious practices said that their colleagues were tolerant and respectful of their needs:

“It can be a bit awkward when I have to leave my team to pray while out on the street. I am happy though that they respect my religion and that my colleagues are discrete about these things.” (Met023 - male, 31, Asian/Pakistani)

Despite being described as "positive" and "tolerant", the diversity climate in the MPS was also described as "artificial" and "uptight". Some BME respondents explained that the diversity climate was at times perceived as unnatural because the social interactions felt artificial and there were still barriers to social inclusion. A number of BME officers said that their colleagues were extremely cautious or politically correct when dealing with officers from different cultural or racial backgrounds. Some of the respondents lamented about being treated like a “ticking time bomb” and others said that they did not feel genuinely accepted because of socio-cultural differences:

“I think the term ‘institutionally racist’ is misunderstood; people think it means that everyone in the Met is racist. That is not the case. It’s actually the practices of the organisations that are not as inclusive as they should be. But the damage is done; everyone is extra cautious now. I think people don’t trust minorities because they are not quite sure if they have an agenda. It is hard to integrate when officers treat you like a ticking time bomb. People tip toe around us because they don’t want to offend us. They don’t want to get into trouble so there is a lot of caution in what people say as opposed to what they actually think. I think the environment is inclusive but I think it is out of fear of complaints or discrimination claims.” (Met024 - male, 33, Black British)

Sensitivity to race, religion, or gender is a good thing, but too often it is driven by fear (Ely, Meyerson & Davidson, 2006). Ely, Meyerson and Davidson argue that organisations need to tackle diversity-related tensions because it erodes collaboration and productivity. Though political correctness makes the organisation appear more inclusive at surface level, it also erects barriers to constructive communication and interpersonal relations at a deeper level (Foster et al. 2005; Holdaway and O'Neill 2007; McLaughlin 2007). Research shows that the idea of "walking on egg shells" breeds misunderstanding and mistrust because people are too concerned with saying the "right" thing so that they can be perceived as "innocent" of prejudice (Ely et al., 2006; Weeks, 2002). Instead of being overly cautious, the authors recommend that people should adopt a learning mind-set where they speak openly about what is fuelling tensions and honestly question their assumptions and behaviour towards people.

A Polish female officer spoke about the difficulties she experienced owing to her racial identity. She said that her accent and lack of cultural understanding affected her social integration on the teams that were homogenous in terms of race:

"On my first team I ended up making an allegation of racial bullying against my sergeant. I was there for about three months and I was very unhappy. The problem with the Met is that when someone is racist they do it in a way that is very difficult to prove. He would call me into the office to tell me that I need to do English lessons because people could not understand my accent. I didn't sound any different than I sound today, believe me. I was offended because everyone has got an accent; the Scottish, Welsh, English, Yorkie, French! You can't get rid of your accent! Another time I was out with him on the street and needed to call in. So I was on the radio with the operator and sometimes these radios play up; you see the red or green lights which tell you if you have a reception or not. I tried to say something and the light kept changing because it was very windy that day. The operator couldn't hear me and said I was breaking up. He took the radio from me and spoke to the operator. When we got back to the office he said, "See, this is what I was talking

about, they cannot understand your Polish accent you need to fix it". I said "No, it wasn't my accent, it was the bad reception and the operator said it!". He said "No, she just didn't want you to feel bad". He gave me a negative report at the end of that day. I was furious and called in sick the next day.... Eventually I was moved onto another team on which I got physically assaulted. A policeman threw a chair at me and it messed up my knee for several months. I won the claim in court when I sued him for injuries...When I came back to work [after being in hospital] it was as if I was invisible. No one said hi to me. When I walked into a room, everyone got silent immediately. I was walking down some stairs one day and one of the officers said "Be careful on those stairs because you might fall and blame someone for it". I was eventually moved to a new team. I am very happy where I am now. It's not the Met, it's the people. The people on this team are very good; it is a very mixed team as well. On my previous teams they were all English and I was the only foreigner. I think the diversity of my new team makes my experience so much better because we treat each other well." (Met043, female, 27, Polish)

Holdaway and O'Neill (2007) point out that the elusive nature of discrimination can influence how complainants utilise indicators of prejudicial treatment. The experience of this BME officer is compounded by multiple factors. She attributed her disadvantages primarily to racial tension but failed to recognise the interlocking systems of oppression that were associated with gender identity, or the fact that she is a new recruit and a PCSO on a large response team. Other respondents have highlighted the general difficulties of being a new female recruit and also the substandard treatment of PCSOs by PCs. While the complaint from her Sergeant might have been purely a constructive work-related criticism, she took it as a personal attack. Weeks (2002) suggests that people should try to be clear and emotionally neutral in response to upsetting comments. This helps to diffuse diversity-related tensions by encouraging discussion in a nonthreatening way. Met043 said that she did not feel as though she could speak openly to him about her feelings and so the conflict intensified to the point where she reported him to his superior and was subsequently moved to a new team.

Her exclusion from the all-English team was also perceived as racial prejudice instead of perhaps the fact that the police officer she sued was on the team for 20 years while she had been a member for only 6 months. Studies have shown that the integration of female, LGBT and BME officers is associated with the level of trust and commitment that is perceived by their teams (Belkin and McNichols, 2002; Chou et al., 2008; Dick and Jankowicz 2001; Metcalfe and Dick, 2002). Met043 apparently lost their trust after unfortunately suing a colleague and consequently became an outcast on her own team.

All the interview participants were asked to share a piece of general advice that they would pass on to a new recruit, particularly to new female and BME officers. The respondents generally reiterated the advice that this BME officer said applied to all new recruits from any gender or racial background:

"My advice would be to put their head down, be polite, and be open to do everything. Basically when you are new, you do what you are told; you make the tea, they give you the worse calls to do. Some people who are not used to the rank structure will think that they are being singled out but it's not like that, it's just because you are new. You just have to get on with it; keep your mouth shut and be cool." (Met049 - female, 27, Asian British)

Senior-ranked BME officers explained that things can get complicated at work and sometimes people will feel as if they are being singled out for the wrong reason. These more experienced officers warn that, in negative situations, BME officers should avoid immediately assuming that racism is the cause for their supposed unfair treatment. One of the respondents gave an example of a situation in which he felt as though he had been subjected to racial prejudice:

"On my first ever appraisal, I was asked to sign the report and asked to read it through before signing it. I had issues with it in the sense that I had done a lot more work than some officers who joined at the same time, they got an 'A' and I got a 'C' overall grade. So I went to the sergeant and said "I think I may have some

shortcomings that you haven't told me about". He says "Why?" I said, "well, here are my arrest figures and process figures in comparison to those of someone who got an 'A'. How do you reconcile the differences between the grades and performance levels?" He said, "If I had done that report, he would have got a 'D'". There was inconsistency because the appraisal processes in the Met are subjective and have remained unchanged. Anyhow, a few years after that I walked into the custody suite and one of the sergeants had a right out go at me. The same sergeant who graded me a 'C' was present and didn't say a word to me. I left the room and, because of how this particular station was constructed, I overheard him 'wash down' the other sergeant about how he dealt with me. He never said anything to me but knew he had defended me in my absence. In essence, sometimes it is not all what it seems. You have to be careful not to jump to conclusions about anyone or anything."
(Met076 - male, 42, Black British)

Similar to female and LGBT officers, BME officers report bias in situations where there is high supervisory discretion (Colvin, 2009; Dick and Jankowicz, 2001). Like Met076, many of the female and BME respondents said that their career had been impacted by the subjective appraisal and promotion processes in the MPS. This matter is discussed further in Chapter Eight under the topic of promotion and progression.

Social exclusion was highlighted by some BME respondents as a major issue which affects their experience in the police service. Social integration plays an important role in developing team cohesion but the racialised experiences identified by BME officers illustrate a difficult relationship between BME and their majority colleagues (Cahsmore, 2001; Holdaway and O'Neil, 2006).

"I don't feel truly accepted because I don't get asked down to the pub after a shift. Personally, I don't want to go to a pub after work because I am Muslim and I do not drink. I have to go home to be with my family. Once you miss out on those kinds of informal social gatherings, you start to feel like an outsider on your own team. Don't get me wrong, we work well together but there will always be a cultural barrier."
(Met063 - male, 42, Indian)

Letki (2008) suggests that racial heterogeneity is damaging for the sense of community, interpersonal trust and formal and informal interactions in organisations. Social barriers were identified by BME officers who were from non-British cultural backgrounds. Some BME officers said that social cohesion was not an issue for them as they felt that they were genuinely part of their teams. The BME respondents who reported a feeling of inclusion were mixed race or those who projected a certain sociocultural identity.

“I had no problem socialising. I was married to a white girl so that made it easier to fit in. There was another Asian guy who made allegations of racism against a group of officers who were my closest mates. It was a tricky case because they were trying to figure out why I was able to be such good friends with these guys while another person from my background claimed they were racist towards him. That guy eventually left the service after three years. He just didn't fit in but I don't think it was only about his race; it could be personality, confidence and just knowing how to stand up for yourself. I was able to ride the waves; he wasn't. My story has always been different from other ethnic minorities; I've had nothing but support throughout my service. I was 22 when I joined, so not straight out of school. I was able to look after myself when comments were being made. I was a bit of a loud mouth so I was able to stand up for myself. If I received one racist comment, they received three back from me. It was as simple as that; that was the way to survive. In those days the riot squads were all male, the conversations were racist, and sexist and just dirty. But we all went along with it. It was much harder for females because the sexism was rife. Things have changed so much. In training school they are being told to challenge it.” (Met075 - male, 50, Asian British)

Met075 was born and raised in London and supposedly portrayed the typical characteristics of a British male police officer who took part in canteen banter, went to the pub after work, and went fishing at the weekend with his teammates. This officer, based on the stories he told, did not seem like the typical Asian officers who were constrained by religious or cultural values, avoided pubs and missed out on informal social integration with their work teams. This Asian British officer was the opposite and so had a different perception and experience of diversity and inclusion in the MPS.

Another BME officer spoke about his positive experience as a BME officer. This officer is mixed race and explained that he is from a white middle class background and so all of his friends are white. He said that he had no difficulty integrating with the white majority in the MPS but experienced social barriers within his own BME identity group:

"I am mixed race, Indian and Welsh, so I'm not really a banner advertisement for diversity because my cultural background is white middle class, middle-England background, my friends are white, and the only other ethnic minority student at my school was my older brother. Basically, the way I look doesn't mean that my life experiences are from that background. I have the advantages of not sounding like an Asian and I have an unusual surname; lots of people mistake me for Scottish and therefore they don't put the 2 and 2 together. I think it is very hard for mixed race people because I don't really identify with a Welsh identity and I don't really have an Indian identity. I am incredibly proud of both those heritages and my parents but, as I said, I grew up in England so my identity is English. When I joined the Met, there were very few ethnic minority officers where I was posted. There was a sergeant called Paul Wilson who later set up a black police officers association (BPA)... Strangely enough, I was never invited to join the BPA. I wouldn't have wanted to anyway. That wasn't the way I wanted to go; I just wanted to be a good police officer. My race has never played any part in how I see myself performing or any part in how I perceive people seeing me. I treat people like human beings and I expect them to treat me the same way. And if there is disrespect involved, as we said before, I will examine every other reason for that before I ever go to my race."
(Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

The experience of these two BME officers demonstrate the complexity of race relations and social integration in an organisational context. Met075 was a diversity activist in the MPS and was embraced by both his majority white colleagues and his BME colleagues. Met033, on the other hand, felt more included among his white majority colleagues compared to BME police colleagues. This indicates that there are complex socioeconomic and sociocultural dynamics at work in these two situations. Hobman et al. (2004) highlight the importance of managing perceptions of difference in order to reduce the negative effects of visible dissimilarity on work group involvement and openness to diversity. Diversity and

inclusion in the MPS is perceived differently by BME officers because of the interlocking effects of multiple identity dimensions. Social integration remains a key area for further investigation.

7.11 Chapter Summary

Identity Dimension	Impact Factor in the MPS
Gender	Little or no influence; useful for specific gendered job roles and to officers on large response teams.
Racio-ethnicity	Very limited influence; useful to BME officers on SNTs
Age	Enhances influence of some senior-ranked female officers
Rank	Main influential source for female officers, especially recipients of positive action
Education	No influence on team. Useful to female and BMEs for career progression.
Length of Service	Widely influential for officers with extensive service and experience
Reputation	Widely influential for those with recognised characteristics of competency in policing.

Table 7.1 - Identity dimensions and their influence on work relations in the MPS

Table 7.1 above summarises the impact of a range of identity dimensions on the status and level of influence exerted by different identity groups in the MPS. Surface-level dimension such as gender and racio-ethnicity were identified as being useful in particular policing contexts but had no impact on the level of influence people had on their teams. Rank acts as a clear symbol of power but influence is seen to be reliant on deep-level identity dimensions.

Deep-level identity dimensions such as experience, length of service, and reputation were identified by the respondents as factors that determine the level of power or influence people have on their work teams. The effect of these dimensions can be further enhanced if combined with other surface-level or deep-level identity dimensions, depending on the context.

Part two of the chapter examined perspectives on diversity and inclusion in the MPS. The majority of the interview respondents were of the view that the day-to-day work environment in the MPS is positive and inclusive of diversity. However, some respondents argued that the police service is inherently exclusive because in order to be part of the service you have to adopt its distinct pervasive occupational culture.

Female officers said that they are constrained by gendered norms and were treated differently because of their perceived lower physical capabilities. They highlighted a gendered division of labour and said that they experienced pressure to take on work roles that were considered appropriate for females. Nevertheless, some female officers resisted the gender hierarchy by adopting a masculine demeanour at work. The importance of gender identity in the workplace was also highlighted by females who said that the presence of female officers in the upper echelons of the MPS had a positive impact on the experience and inclusion of new female recruits.

LGBT officers reported antigay or lesbian jokes or derogatory slang in the MPS. Some LGBT officers were of the view that it was easier for them to assimilate the masculine police archetype because they did not experience pressure to demonstrate femininity.

BME officers expressed that their work colleagues were tolerant and respectful of their individual needs. Some described the diversity climate in the MPS as "artificial" and "uptight" because officers were politically correct in their dealings with BME officers. They

also spoke about the level of social exclusion that is felt by officers with visible dissimilarities.

Female, BME, and LGBT officers who served in the lower ranks and did not have high levels of respect, reported the most challenges in the police service. However, as officers gain experience and develop their professional identity, they begin to feel more included and feel they can exert more influence.

Chapter Eight

Strategies for Managing Diversity in the MPS

8.1 Introduction

The MPS Diversity and Equality Strategy 2009-2013 (discussed in Chapter Three) focuses on four strategic themes – a fair and responsive service, community engagement, workforce and culture, and governance. For the purpose of this analysis, only the third theme of the MPS diversity strategies will be evaluated – *workforce and culture*. This strategic theme concerns the internal work environment, which is the main focus of this study. The 'workforce and culture' strategic theme involves building and developing a talented workforce and working culture that is inclusive and recognises, respects and values diversity (MPS, 2009). In order to evaluate the outcome of the MPS diversity and equality strategy for 'workforce and culture', this study moves beyond the organisational rhetoric to consider the lived experiences and perspectives of the police officers and civilian staff. The diversity paradigm of an organisation drives its policies and strategies for managing diversity (Kulik and Roberson, 2008a). This chapter reports the findings on the MPS's strategies for managing diversity, with a focus on a wide spectrum of HR related functions, including diversity training, positive action, mentorship, informal networks, and career progression. The discussion also covers the role of HRM and line managers in managing workforce diversity in the MPS. Close attention is paid to the individual experiences and perspectives of police officers and staff as their organisational narratives can be used to develop future approaches to managing diversity.

In the next section, the diversity awareness training programme is explored from the viewpoint of the interview respondents.

8.2 Diversity Training and Awareness

The interview participants were asked to share their views on the diversity training and awareness programme in the MPS, particularly whether they thought it was systemic or episodic. Dass and Parker (1999) suggest that an episodic approach to diversity implementation involves minimal isolated initiatives that are separate from the core activities of the organisation. A systemic approach involved more formalised initiatives that are strategically linked to the existing systems and core activities of the organisation. Fifteen of the eighty-five respondents (18%) said they viewed diversity training and awareness as systemic. Some described the initiatives as being a useful and positive step in managing workforce diversity:

“I have to give the Met credit, internally, the Met goes through a great deal of hard work to ensure that diversity is understood and implemented in a real way. It’s not just a token gesture; it really, really is taken seriously. Diversity is systemic because it is in our mindset. We don’t have to speak about it every day but we know that it is there. We know it is important both on the street and within the walls of the Met. We are a very politically correct organisation so that means diversity awareness is systemic. Also, people are more willing to talk about certain issues in comparison to olden days; gender, sexuality, dyslexia, these issues are talked about and we invest a lot of time and resources into this.” (Met078 - male, 34, Asian British)

“Initially I thought the diversity training was too much, it was like 5 weeks. I was wondering why we didn’t get more police training. But then when I started working I realised that diversity was a big part of the job because we are constantly interacting with the public and so some of the other police training was not really used but diversity was certainly an everyday thing. There are clashes everyday based on gender, race, religion, dog-lovers, or whatever differences, so we have to know how to avoid these tensions. People will take offence even to hand gestures! Also, I didn’t develop an interest in religion because I am from a communist country. Religious

knowledge doesn't come easy to me so I have learned a lot on this job." (Met036, female, 48, Russian)

Similar positive views were expressed mainly by female and BME officers. Other respondents had mixed views about diversity training and awareness in the MPS. Holladay et al. (2003) investigated reactions to diversity training and found a similar pattern where the culture and gender of the trainee influenced perceptions of diversity training. The few white males who considered diversity training and awareness to be positive and systemic spoke primarily about improvement in the level of understanding and tolerance towards diverse communities in London:

"The Met gives officers a lot of diversity training which force people to consider their views. And I think, well I have mixed views, it's been tremendously positive because people have become much more understanding. I mean you come to a borough like ours where 1 in 6 people are Jewish; most officers in this borough understand the importance of the Jewish community. I think 20 years ago they wouldn't have cared because the attitude then was "a member of the public is a member of the public". The most open minded of people would say "I police the public and they are a member of the public". The prejudice would probably be against the Jewish community or to the Muslim community. Now we make sort of an active effort to engage with these groups. So is that positive? Yes." (Met033, male, 41, Asian British)

Many of the respondents spoke of diversity awareness in relation to police interface with members of the public. A senior-ranked female officer pointed out that diversity awareness has got much better, however a large number of police officers still do not recognize the extent to which diversity impacts their own work:

"I worked with the diversity directorate for a couple years before I came here and so I have strong views about it. Generally speaking, diversity has changed our culture and we are more aware of it but sometimes it surprises me that the knowledge can be quite limited. Every time someone has to put in their development review or an application, the race and diversity box is "ah what can I use". They don't appreciate what they are doing and they don't seem to appreciate what's diversity and what it's

all about and what they need to put down to fit that criteria. That to me means that there is still a gap between what they do and what they know and the training and awareness. That gap has not been forged as it should have done. They still struggle. To an extent some of that you cannot train and the training packages are not so effective either.” (Met051 - female, 39, White British)

Arguably, the personal development review (PDR) forms put emphasis on community relations as a demonstration of diversity awareness. The respondent noted that the most common statement given by police officers as evidence of race and diversity awareness was "visit to a Mosque". This she said would sometimes be "minor" compared to the level of social interaction some police officers have with people on their work teams who are from diverse cultural backgrounds. This focus on external relations further substantiates the access-and-legitimacy perspective which was demonstrated by 81 percent of the interview respondents (see Chapter Six).

The vast majority of respondents were of the view that diversity training and awareness is episodic because it felt ad hoc and came across as merely a “knee-jerk reaction to external pressures for equality”. Rowe and Garland (2007) point out that a lack of strategic thinking in the implementation of diversity training has led to the perception that the programme is carried out as the new "flavour of the month" and there are no systems in place to sustain a systematic approach to diversity awareness. The respondents mainly spoke about their initial training as new recruits at the Hendon Training School and some respondents identified the occasional software training packages on diversity awareness which were administered throughout the organisation. Some also mentioned the use of diversity notice boards in their police stations as methods of diversity training and awareness initiatives.

The format of the diversity training and the general approach to diversity awareness were widely criticised by the interview respondents. A number of participants felt that the diversity training approach was “rather patronising because the 4-week long course at Hendon was designed to combat racism and prejudices”:

“Diversity awareness here is very ad hoc; it’s more like a tick-box exercise. We first attend a week of training when we are recruited at Hendon and we basically get lectured to as if we are racist. Then, on the job, we get these software packages from HR, now and again, and everyone is required to complete them. Information about the different groups is very stereotypical and I don’t need to pay attention to all of it; I basically click through the software to the end and it gets recorded that I’ve completed the training. I don’t really take this serious.” (Met014 - female, 34, White British)

“I think it’s a bit rammed into bits sometimes. It can be a bit patronising because it is delivered as though people have no life experiences. It’s tricky because they need to train people in the same way to ensure everybody gets the same thing. It can be quite patronising, some of the stuff you have to do. It can come across as though it is assumed that people think a certain way. I think that too is very dangerous because it changes people’s perception of things and they could also feel victimised.” (Met032 - female, 32, White British)

These respondents had between 6 to 8 years of service and criticised the range of programmes that they have been exposed to. Swan (2009) argues that the 'verbal ideological texture' of diversity training is disruptive because it is seen to be about producing a highly charged space by generating anger, defensiveness and guilt. Brown and Lawton (1991: 26) describe this as "wallowing in the white middle class guilt. The respondents were of the view that these types of training were unproductive because they lead to "white rage" and a sense of frustration when racial tensions and gender conflicts are brought to the surface (Lorbiecki, 2001; Roberson et al., 2001; Sanchez and Medkik, 2004; Swan, 2009).

Officers with less than 5 years of service expressed similar views of resentment. A senior-ranked officer said that younger officers in the MPS would feel patronised because the approach to diversity training was not as practical and work-relevant as some of the training programmes he experienced in America:

“I was on an FBI course in Washington where they got an ex-FBI Muslim officer who now is used by the FBI and other law enforcement agencies worldwide to teach officers how to deal with the Muslim community. She is in counter-terrorism. She is there to teach people what to do and what not to do and how they will be viewed. Not to make a judgement but to teach them how they will work. That was the most interesting. I think this generation is better; they might be patronised because they are thinking that they’ve gone to school with people from various backgrounds but the courses are delivered to cover minimum competency standards.” (Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

This disdain was certainly not limited to newer recruits; there were older, more experienced officers who also complained about having to take part in diversity training. One officer who joined the MPS before diversity training was implemented said that he resented being sent to do diversity training because he didn’t think he needed it:

“I resented being sent on diversity training after the Stephen Lawrence inquiry. I don’t need training. People tell me thanks when they are leaving custody after I’ve charged them with 15 counts of robbery. That’s because I treat people as human beings and with respect. Why would I need their training?” (Met005 - male, 49, White British)

“After the Lawrence Inquiry the Met immediately introduced diversity week where everyone had to do diversity training for one week. People felt like they were being called racist because this training was isolated. Now that it is being presented as part of everything people are more open to talking about diversity.” (Met025 - female, 43, White British)

Post-Macpherson diversity training was considered a "silver bullet tarnished" (Rowe and Garland, 2007) because training was perceived as being rolled out due to race relations becoming a hot topic. Interview respondents who served pre-Macpherson said that diversity

awareness training was usually seen as punishment for police officers who had trouble on cases with BME subjects. They were of the view that the method of training is still the same, just the audience has gotten bigger.

The respondents expressed that the diversity training programme was useful but some criticised the “overload” of information that was given on the day(s) of training. They stated that the content was not well-structured, the trainers were not very effective, and people tended to get bored with the delivery:

“They have these fantastic training days and I think where the Met goes wrong is that everything is just thrown together in a slot. I think if you pick certain areas of diversity and link them to other sessions or just separate them in general then that would be good; you won’t lose people so much. But the overload, as it were, I think people just switch off. I’m not good at learning from sitting in front of a computer and reading. I learn from doing so I’d prefer to go out and meet people, discuss issues or visit a mosque and learn about the culture there. Plus some officers are just not interested; it is very heavy. Until they come in contact with it at work they won’t want to know so much.” (Mer021)

“I didn’t think much of it. It was long and people got bored. I think it could have been better written. Some people just don’t want to know. What about our rights, what about us? It’s different to learn it in a lecture than in the real police settings. Learning from each other – the main area where there is interaction is in SNT – where there are smaller teams so there is forced interaction. We can learn about each other and barriers are being broken down that way. On other larger teams, there is so much going on and there is not much opportunity for interaction because of the shift schedule system.” (Met040)

Some respondents argued that the level of diversity training was disproportionate to other important areas of police training. One respondent explained that the excessive emphasis on diversity was due to the reactive nature of the MPS and its desire to improve its reputation:

“I think, since I joined, it has been a very prevalent thing in the Met. Diversity is something the Met takes very seriously. I think because it’s had such a bad

reputation in the past, it tries so hard to counteract that but I think it tries too hard in some ways. When I was at Hendon, everything was modular on our training and there were two weeks pretty much dedicated to diversity. This is very good and very useful. However, there was only an hour and a half dedicated to rape and serious and serious sexual offences. This is incredibly disproportionate. It makes it seem as though the Met is more concerned about its image than the job of policing. I think every time it gets hammered in the press, they become more reactive. The Met is very reactive. There's a swimming pool at Hendon that used to be in use and two young kids died there. They were hiring the pool out and it wasn't supervised properly so they died. The Met's knee-jerk reaction to that was cementing the pool so that it could never happen again. That's just an example of how the Met tends to react in a knee-jerk way. Rather than deal with proper safety protocols and so on, the Met tries to cover itself by responding drastically." (Met018 - male, 27, White British)

Research has found that the content of diversity management courses does not always match with practical organizational needs (King et al. 2010) therefore, the lack of transfer of learning can contribute to perceptions that diversity training is ineffective (Holladay and Quiñones, 2005; Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 2000). In addition to criticisms about the usefulness of the training content, an LGBT police officer pointed out that not all strands of diversity were given adequate attention during diversity training:

"There is too much race and faith training at Hendon. They didn't even look at transgender as much as they should. There are underground communities that would never come to the police because there is lack of understanding." (Met014 - female, 34, White British)

Some respondents complained that race and faith issues were too dominant in the diversity training. Rowe and Garland (2007) also suggest that diversity training in the police service emphasises community and race relations because of its history and its current challenge of being labelled institutionally racist.

Other criticisms of the diversity training indicated that the material covered in the training programme was "too standardised and terribly stereotyped":

"At Hendon, basically, you are all told you're racist, and then you are given a folder on religion. It should be a discussion about people's perception of each other and developing understanding of cultural differences. Instead we get stereotypical photos in a booklet. The diversity software package is appalling and uses a lot of stereotypes too. All of the drawings of people are very much how they are stereotypically viewed by others. So if they show a lesbian it would be a drawing of a macho-looking woman with short hair. I think that's dangerous because we train people to make assumptions about people. Why not gather a normal group of females and let us discuss and find out which one is gay. Diversity training is just a tick-box exercise and not a about learning and sharing experiences. We had a locally arranged training where a local Rabbi was brought in to talk with the officers. That's diversity training." (Met044 - female, 34, White British)

"The diversity training is too general and it stereotypes groups of people. I visited a Sikh family, offered to take off my shoes and they said no need to. Yet it is drummed into us that we should always do it. But why not take each individual at face value, deal with people as individuals." (Met059 - female, 37, White British)

The respondents explained that people's perception of the diversity training and awareness initiatives could affect the diversity climate in the organisation. This is linked to perspectives on the value of workforce diversity and how individuals expect it to be manifested in organisational processes (Dass and Parker, 1999; Ely and Thomas, 2001). Some expressed that the existing method of diversity training was seen as offering very little engagement for developing positive attitudes towards workforce diversity:

"I think people's attitude towards diversity has a lot to do with way it is put forward. I think more people would be interested if they made it more practical and social. We do these generic packages all the time, whether it's for new legislations or diversity training. The computer packages give the impression that it is just another 'tick box' exercise sent from the top and we have to do it. It is a cheaper method but their approach should be different for diversity, especially if they want us to think positively about it." (Met026 - male, 29, Black African)

Diversity training programmes are aimed at changing people's behaviour (Wiethoff, 2004; Rowe and Garland, 2007). Training is aimed at encouraging officers and staff to be reflexive practitioners in that they consider how their own values, attitudes and beliefs affect their professional behaviour and how this impacts the wider public. For example, senior-ranked officers said that they traditionally treated people as "a member of the public" and did not consider their individual needs. The new approach to diversity teaches officers to treat people according to how they expect to be treated, emphasising cultural understanding and tolerance of difference.

Although diversity training is aimed at changing social behaviour, practitioners caution that some diversity awareness workshops do not always achieve their objective of improved cohesion between people, but instead intensify tensions, sharpen differences and increase competition and hostility within the organisation (Lorbiecki, 2001; Roberson et al., 2001; Sanchez and Medkik, 2004; Swan, 2009). A comprehensive diversity programme should therefore include in-depth educational workshops, effective mentorship and leadership development, regular focus groups, and strategic management and performance evaluations (Ferdman and Brody, 1996; Tamkin et al., 2003).

Some respondents were of the view that the existing format of diversity training was ineffective and called for a more broad-based approach to understanding and valuing workforce diversity:

"I think, in the early stages of your career, now, there is a lot more emphasis put on diversity awareness – such as the way you police communities, etc. Is there ongoing diversity training? No. Does there need to be? I'm not sure. I think what's more important is, rather than sit someone down in a room for awareness training, for me the key bit is to live and breathe it in everything that we do." (Met015 - male, 45, White British)

"I don't think we have effective diversity training but I'm not entirely sure that we need bespoke diversity training. There's a danger in race awareness training and how it is carried out. It should be part and parcel of everything; we need an understanding of diversity per se. E-learning and other diversity courses are useful but the tiny little social encounters during a cup of tea in the canteen are things that make a difference in how people view diversity. The more representative the police service becomes, the more officers will have these kinds of useful social encounters." (Met068 - male, 46, Asian British)

This matter of "limited social encounters" was highlighted by many of the respondents who expressed that on-the-job cross-cultural integration was more useful to their diversity competences than the structured training courses. In a similar light, Dixon (1997) suggests that organisations should create more 'hallways' where collective learning can take place. She explains that learning takes place at three levels - privately, collectively and organisationally - and asserts that the multiple perspectives and the non expert-based dialogue in 'hallway' conversations are important for the construction, transmission and eventual codification of new tacit knowledge.

Respondents from homogenous backgrounds were of the view that the initial diversity training was effective because it served as a precursor for some of the issues they would face in active front-line policing. Likewise, respondents from heterogeneous backgrounds expressed that the diversity training generally increased their awareness of differences in race, gender, sexual orientation, age, and disability however, many argued that the actual policing of communities required a deeper understanding and appreciation of differences. This level of understanding was said to be unattainable solely through the existing method of diversity training. The respondents explained that greater awareness and understanding is gained primarily through social integration and practical on-the-job experience:

"On our training days, for example, a woman came to our diversity training the other day and she said she deals with the travelling community, which are the Irish travellers. A load of them got arrested in a car last week and I heard the officer on the radio say "yeah, there's a car full of pikeys". That's what they call these travellers. So, they've made a complaint and she was telling us that she's had a lot of training around travellers. She said people don't understand travellers and there is much more to them. She delivered a one-hour talk on travellers and it was quite good; better than any computer package for sure. That type of training is good. If there are other officers with good knowledge and experience worth sharing, then we could benefit from a better blend of diversity training. People's perception of pikeys won't necessarily change but at least they will have some knowledge about how to deal with them. Even better, perhaps she could bring some of them to the training session so that officers can relate to them in a different setting. That type of training would be good." (Met080 - male, 41, White British)

Another respondent who attended diversity training twice, once as a PCSO and again after becoming a PC, said that his first experience was better because of the level of face-to-face interaction and practical discussions that were facilitated during training:

"I've just come out of Hendon as a PC but the training was much better when I did it as a PCSO. We actually had a black officer; he was the first black gay officer, I can't remember his name but we all called him Jean. He was the head of diversity training back then and how he did it was to basically tell us about himself, his story as the first black gay officer to come-out 15 years ago. It was a big thing back then. That was a good training! He also brought in other ethnic minorities who were active officers to talk to us about diversity and their experience. Now we do a package on the computer; that's not teaching you much. You'd probably learn more about my religion from speaking to me rather than doing an encarta package on the computer. I have a big interest in religion and I rather speak to people about their religion than read it on a computer. You just keep clicking 'next' and they think you actually completed the training but many of us don't even pay attention to what comes up on the screen. Is that learning? The diversity training used to be 4 days and now it has been cut to 2 days, one day is for the computer package. I think face-to-face training is better; you learn a lot more because you can ask questions. I think everyone should go on that training. There are people who did diversity training 10 years ago. They should be asked to go back in for a day of training, the good face-to-face training. Religions change, society changes so we should keep the dialogue fresh. I used to be part of the diversity group here. I represented the Hindu's. You probably saw the notices in the building telling people who their diversity officer is. I

think all boroughs should have these kinds of groups, keep them active and use them at diversity training days from time to time. We have so many untold stories in the Met.” (Met083 - male, 22, Indian British)

A senior-ranked female officer went a step further to suggest that diversity training and awareness should involve more than just the closed training sessions; it should incorporate wide-ranging social experiences to support the dynamic and ever-changing policing environment:

“I think people need to move around a lot more. People should move around and experience different types of diversity. It would be good to get officers to experience working on other boroughs where their communities are different to ours. Brent, for example, has diverse communities and has a lot of rich Jewish areas. Our borough has more impoverished areas so the diversity awareness here will be different. Communities can be very different and so it is good for officers to work in areas where there are lots of Jews or lots of blacks or lots of Asians so they can appreciate these differences.” (Met025 - female, 43, White British)

The criticisms about the limited opportunity for cross-cultural integration mainly came from respondents who worked in roles such as PCSO and officers who worked on safer neighbourhood teams. The nature of work on SNT and for PCSO involves a high degree of community interaction. They pointed out that their colleagues on large response teams might not value social integration and learning because their work did not involve frequent and intensive community interaction.

Aside from job roles, length of service emerged as a significant variable in police perspectives on diversity training and awareness initiatives. Respondents with more than 10 years service mainly spoke about the lack of social learning, while newer recruits mainly complained about the training approach being patronising. The method of training does not seem to suit the needs of either category of respondents. Roberson, Kulik and Pepper (2003) recommend that organisations should clarify training objectives and systematically

assess training needs so that trainees can know whether the training will either raise diversity awareness or develop cross-cultural skills.

Empirical research evaluating the effectiveness of diversity training programs is in short supply (Jackson, Joshi, & Erhardt, 2003; Rynes & Rosen, 1995). Pedagogical philosophies on diversity training point to three main approaches which involve the provision of information, changing attitudes, and changing individual and organisational behaviour (Taylor et al., 1997). Training programmes targeting either individual bias or social segregation are said to be less effective than programmes that focus on responsibility and incentives (Erwee, 2003; Rynes and Rosen, 1995). The effectiveness of the diversity training in the MPS should be assessed based on the level of development in trainee knowledge, attitudes, behaviours, the effective transfer of learning, and the systematic monitoring of organizational outcomes in relation to its strategic objectives.

The results from this research indicate that the aims of the MPS diversity training are being met to some extent; however police officers and staff are very critical of the methods and contents of the courses. They are of the view that the diversity training and awareness programme needs to be more systemic and should involve an element of social learning. They also express support for the idea of local coordination of continuous learning and suggest that diversity awareness should be tailored to specific operational issues so it can be taken more seriously by police officers.

Diversity training is only one means of implementing aspects of the MPS diversity strategy, which aims to increase knowledge among staff, promote value and respect for difference, and to achieve organisational cultural change. The next section explores the role of HR and line managers in achieving these aims and objectives.

8.3 The Role of HRM and Line Managers in Managing Diversity

Human resource is centrally managed in the MPS via the HR Directorate, headed by a Director of HR who sits on the MPS Management Board, which comprises of the Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, and other Directors. The central HR Directorate manages all training and HR professional services, and a Strategic HR Advisor is appointed on the leadership teams at the Borough/OCU level. Diversity management is external to the HR Directorate with a Director of the Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate, directly linked to the portfolio of the Deputy Commissioner. Diversity forums are set up at the OCU level to ensure that the MPS diversity and equality strategies are integrated in corporate and local business planning and review mechanisms. The Diversity and Equality Strategy is governed at the corporate level through the MPS Diversity Board, chaired by the Deputy Commissioner and the Equalities Scheme Programme Board, chaired by the Director of the Diversity and Citizen Focus Directorate (MPS, 2009).

Ozbilgin and Tatli (2008) suggest that organisational support for equality, diversity and inclusion is an important precondition for the effectiveness of diversity interventions but different departments have different levels of power and status in organisations and so this could influence the level of support for different initiatives. The evidence from this study reveals a deficiency in so called organisational support for many of the diversity programmes in the MPS. The interview respondents expressed that diversity is generally perceived as an HR issue and so not taken seriously by police officers. Goggin et al. (1990) contend that the perception that diversity is just another HR thing resulting from legalistic pressure can have a negative effect on how employees respond to diversity initiatives.

Clear communication by organisational leaders is purported to improve credibility and the level of support from employees (Goggin et al., 1990; Shen et al., 2009). However, the issue of power and influence is an important factor in organisations such as the MPS. As evidenced in the Chapter Seven, police officers tend to respect colleagues based on their rank and reputation. The results also demonstrated segregation between employees based on job roles where civilian staff in managerial roles felt that their ability to exert influence over police officers was very limited. This distinction between civilian staff and police officers presents serious implications for police perception of diversity initiatives being implemented by HRM. The respondents point out that communication about diversity would be taken more seriously if it were to come from their line managers or team leaders who better understood its application to their work:

“I don’t think we communicate it well. I totally agree with it – diversity and positive action, but we don’t communicate what we are trying to do very well. In the beginning we got it wrong in terms of what we are doing and why we are doing it. It has to be communicated through the correct channel so that people can see the importance of it in relation to their work. (Met076 - male, 42, Black British)

Research has shown that the role of HRM in diversity management is regarded as that of merely compliance with AA and EEO and their role in promoting practices for valuing diversity is typically neglected (Blum et al., 1994; Rynes and Rosen, 1995). Arguably, HRM practices in the MPS resemble that of compliance rather than advocating a valuing diversity approach. Only two of the four boroughs provided responses for the preliminary borough questionnaire. The local HR managers were unable to answer most of the questions because of the centralised function of HRM in the MPS. They were also unaware of how the MPS diversity strategies were enacted by senior and line managers in their boroughs.

Shen et al. (2009) assert that HRM plays an irreplaceable role in diversity management and suggest that, at all levels, line managers should be actively involved in HR diversity management through a range of strategic, tactical and operational activities. A strategic partnership between line managers, top management and HRM is regarded as an effective collective approach to managing diversity.

Local leadership of diversity management is suggested by the respondents as a way to engender wider organisational support in the MPS. This notion of local leadership was evaluated based on how senior-ranked officers and management and supervisory level civilian staff advocated diversity on their respective teams. Although the majority of these respondents proclaimed unyielding support for diversity, some expressed that there are dangers in taking on an advocative stance on diversity matters. A senior-ranked BME officer expressed concern about how his workers might view him:

“I have strong views about diversity but there is a danger that people will see you as a one-trick pony. I suppose I am more conscious about doing it on the borough because I wouldn’t want my staff thinking that the only thing I’m interested in are minority officers. But I can’t help being actively involved with supporting female and minority officers. I’ve always been challenging issues around diversity. Because I am at the rank I am, I don’t have to worry too much about what everyone else says. I can do, within reason, whatever I see fit. The important thing is that I am an overall effective borough commander, even if I am ethnic and a supporter of diversity. Hopefully that’s what people will see.” (Met068 - male, 46, Asian British)

A white senior-ranked officer also spoke about the hands-off approach that police officers took in relation to diversity management. He was of the view that the workforce was not truly appreciative of diversity and illustrated one of his seemingly futile efforts to provoke active awareness of diversity among staff at all levels:

“I am part of the equalities group on the borough and one of the last equalities group meetings I attended, a new inspector had joined. It was at the end of

Ramadan and I brought it up as a critical incident. I said "I think this group should have done more to raise awareness around the end of Ramadan and Eid". I'm not sure that we appreciated the end of Ramadan on this borough, outside the safer neighbourhood teams that did the traffic point at the mosque. Bear in mind that Ramadan falls into the summer now and people are fasting for 15 hours. The impact that has on people and our staff were not fully appreciative of it. Well, we got into a bit of a row. They said, "Well, we don't have Christmas". I said, "That's down to the line managers, it has nothing to do with this group, it's the line managers. I don't think the line managers have an awareness and appreciation of Ramadan". So there was a big fuss about whose responsibility it was to increase awareness. Everybody took a defensive step back. (Met055 - male, 51, White British)

The leadership-based theoretical framework suggests that firms voluntarily pursue a diversity paradigm, but only when business objectives coincide with the needs of workforce diversity (DiTomas and Hooijberg, 1996; Ng, 2008). However, Klarsfeld, Ng and Tatli (2012) argue that a firm's voluntary approach to managing diversity may not be completely voluntary because regulation of diversity takes place along a spectrum between free will and constraint. UK diversity researchers provide evidence that coercion in the form of equality legislation was the strongest driver for an organisation's decision to take up diversity management activities (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2008; Ng and Wyrick, 2011). A member of the MPS Diversity Directorate had this to say about the voluntary approach to managing diversity in the MPS:

"Both the legal and the business case have their place. Both are drivers, used in different ways as and when necessary. What sits between the two are our values."
(Met085 - female, 52, Black British)

She was of the view that legislation served as a basic driving force for equality and diversity but also acknowledged that the differences in how the MPS diversity strategy is enacted in the boroughs had to do with senior management team's will to proactively pursue workforce diversity through implementing its own equality policy in 2010 along with

other associated standard operating procedures. This alleged discrepancy in a proactive approach supports both sides of the voluntarism debate that employers cannot be relied upon to prioritize equality and diversity issues over other business issues (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2008) and also that a wholly voluntary approach may revitalize organisational efforts to proactively pursue workforce diversity (Greene and Kirton, 2009). Research has also shown that without top-level leadership commitment, policies and legislations are limited in promoting workforce diversity (Dass and Parker, 1999; DiTomas and Hooijberg, 1996; Pitts, 2007; Ng, 2008).

Met055 talked about the challenges that BME officers could face if their line managers do not actively demonstrate an appreciation for difference. This is important because he draws further attention to the human relations side of diversity which is often ignored by co-workers and line managers:

“...We have a tasking committee every two weeks where we look at forthcoming events that are going to have an impact on resources and no one brought Ramadan up. It just wasn't up on the list of things. Why wasn't Ramadan up there? They said, “oh yeah that was an oversight”. So only because it was linked to resources, then it would get attention. But if it's about people within the organisation, or people we might come into contact with, then no, there was no real need to raise awareness about it. They think it's like Christmas but I said it is not like Christmas. If we start thinking about Ramadan and what it means to people who recognise it, officers who have to walk a beat with no food. But as soon as we start to think about it then that's seen as weakness. As a senior manager I don't know how many Muslim staff I've got because they are not celebrating that they are Muslim. Nor do they feel particularly under threat that they have to fight to be a Muslim. So they are basically, at times, invisible. Which means that the onus really should be on management to be aware. Just for them to feel free to say “I'm not feeling well at the moment”. If they are driving a fast car while fasting, how confident would they feel to tell their sergeant that? They will look weak or like a special case. But managers need to be more sensitive to these things. We have to allow our staff not to 'lose face'. They need to feel empowered to speak to their managers without being judged.” (Met055 - male, 51, White British)

Effective diversity management requires an inclusive work environment that nurtures teamwork, cohesiveness and understanding (Richard and Chadwick, 2001). A management level officer said that he thinks he made a conscious effort to ensure that his employees are comfortable regarding diversity matters. However, he was unable to provide specific examples of incidents which tested his diversity management approach or management discretion:

“I’d like to think that as a manager I’d be able to ensure a positive environment in relation to diversity. Hopefully officers are comfortable and if they have issues they can speak to people about it. With my open-door policy, I hope they’d feel comfortable to come and speak to me. And I hope my approach would filter through my team.” (Met007 - male, 44, White British)

Senior-ranked female and BME officers more readily illustrated how diversity awareness impacted their day-to-day managerial roles in the MPS. Still, the highlighted incidents demonstrated a focus on operational efficacy instead of internal human relations:

“I am so used to using diversity as a factor in my daily work that I sometimes forget that I do it. For instance, I am also the borough coordinator for family liaison so I deploy family liaison officers. These officers are normally deployed for murders, manslaughters, very serious assaults, and basically to sudden death. If I can see a cultural angle then I will try to put the right FL officer with that and that can often be very impactful. These are officers who support a victim’s family through the coroner’s procedure, identifying a loved one and so on. Sometime it’s good to deploy officers with the respective cultural understanding and sometimes it is not the best thing because it can sometimes be counterproductive in some cases. I’m just somehow conscious of these things.” (Met051 - female, 39, White British)

“Sadly it is down to the managers to utilise the skills on their teams. I try to do this but not to the detriment of other staff. We are all competent officers, we all have the same skills training and the same powers but sometimes it is good to think of deploying people based on more than just the generic policing skills and competences. So deploying a Turkish-speaking PCSO in Green Lane where there has been a recent shooting incident could yield quicker results. But this is down to managers being aware of the skills and benefits each officer brings to their team. It

could also be simple logic, for instance we do Operation Blunt¹ which is the knife crime stuff and as an Inspector you do it every couple of months, we get deployed anywhere in London. I turned up once and there were 6 police on each carrier, my carrier had a male Sergeant and the rest were women. The other carrier had all women and out of the 21 officers I was in charge of that day, more than 75% were women. That does severely limit our stop and search ability with young male youths! So to me, that group was not deployed appropriately. I have a Romanian PC, she is 4 ft 8” and I have to be conscious of that when I am sending her out on duty. She doesn’t mind being put at the back if we are going to raid a crack house; she understands it is practical and justifiable.” (Met013 - female, 38, White British)

Top-down and bottom-up implementation research yielded a variety of conjectures and explanations for what 'works' in implementation (Pitts, 2007: 1581). While programmes should be implemented from top down, support should be gained at all levels of the organisation from the inception stage, specifically, line-managers should be involved from the formulations stage so that they can get the views from all types of employees.

Two of the four borough commanders who were interviewed spoke mainly about the official systems and structures of the MPS when they were asked about their own initiatives for diversity awareness. They mentioned some important initiatives that help to improve community engagement and increase public confidence in the police as it relates to diversity understanding and awareness:

“The Met is much more open – 25 years ago you would not be sitting in a police station doing this inquiry. This sort of community engagement and community advisory groups, the level of accessibility was basically nonexistent. We are more engaged with the community – each ward in London has a panel so they can address their priority issues with the police. For example the, the Notting hill carnival which you attended with us, it had always ended in violence, and crime was up. But the work that we have done with the mediators through community involvement in the planning, these are things we never had before. Also, critical incidents management has a member of the community to advise us on cultural or community issues.”
(Met015 - male, 45, White British)

¹ Operation Blunt is a dedicated taskforce set up by the MPS in 2008 to combat knife crime. The large majority of weapons are recovered through stop and search operation.

The other two borough commanders who were BME officers highlighted their efforts to diversify their SMT and to support mechanisms for internal and external dialogue on diversity. One interview respondent spoke about the proactive attitude of his borough commander and lauded his efforts to promote diversity and engage with different parts of the community:

“Our borough commander appears in the Asian press so that’s another important channel of communication with that part of the community. We talk about reassuring the public; the key thing is how we communicate to people. We have a very diverse population in this borough and whether we like it or not, English is not the first language from many people in this area. So we have to make sure that we can communicate with the public. People who feel victimised in this area will hear the police’s side of the argument from a senior ethnic officer. I think that is effective. Whether we like it or not, people don’t always read the mainstream press so it is very good to have a borough commander who sees the need to write articles in the Asian press.” (Met078 - male, 34, Asian British)

While some of the borough commanders provided a wider range of examples for leadership of diversity management, the primary focus of all the respondents was on operational and community initiatives instead of their internal human relations approach to diversity management. This further demonstrates prominence of the resource-based view on diversity in the MPS (Dass and Parker, 1999; Ely and Thomas, 2001).

When asked about proactive leadership on diversity matters, some respondents expressed the need for line managers and HR practitioners to exercise caution when discussing diversity within different work contexts:

"What I think is problematic for those of us working on this agenda is the language. The word diversity itself, it has become tainted with something negative...something you beat people over the head with because they don't subscribe to diversity... It is difficult to have a conversation about diversity in the Met. We have to be careful of the message we send to our staff; how they interpret what they are hearing. You have to use the diversity language in different ways to avoid any hung ups or not rub

people the wrong way. The euphemisms can help with that as the language is changing to 'trust, confidence and satisfaction' in policing context. The concern now is how we build confidence of communities and deliver to the satisfaction of victims. Police understand and discuss diversity in this way." (Met085 - female, 52, Black British)

This viewpoint shows that discourse of diversity is anchored in an organisation's productive logic (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005). The MPS's contextualized understanding of diversity also demonstrates how diversity practitioners strategically draw on the business case discourse in order to increase the support for a diversity agenda (Tatli, 2011). The findings in this research show that line managers and diversity specialists strategically link diversity initiatives to issues which are important to the MPS in order to ensure support and commitment at all levels of the organisation. The narratives also lend support to the argument by Kirton and Greene (2009) that diversity practitioners generally seemed to think like business managers, rather than like social activists or equality campaigners.

In line with the views expressed earlier by Met055, another senior-ranked officer explained that managers and borough commanders are not proactive about internal diversity matters because they are not measured on this aspect of their work as much as they are measured on other key areas of policing:

"It doesn't sit within our performance framework as something that senior staffs need to be constantly vigilant about. And we have a saying in the organisation that "if it doesn't get measured, it doesn't get done". And we don't measure on that. Borough commanders are measure on murder reduction, burglar reduction, health and safety, sickness compliance, but nowhere in my table of all the things I am being measured on does anything as about what I have been doing to make sure minority groups are being given the quality of treatment and you are making sure that there is a proportion amount of progression going on there." (Met079 - male, 46, White British)

People management is more than just an HR issue as HRM is practiced by more than just HR managers (Storey, 1995). Accordingly, the responsibility for diversity management

should be shared by different organisational leaders. Shen et al. (2009: 245) suggest that line managers should be more involved in the decision-making process in order to fully understand and effectively implement diversity management. The organisational strategies and practice for managing diversity can also be more closely monitored at the micro level with line managers' increased involvement.

The Freedom of Information Act allows access to a range of MPS documents. An analysis of the minutes of SMT meetings was carried out in order to ascertain which diversity matters were discussed at the senior management level in the respective police boroughs. An inspection of the minutes from the bi-weekly meetings held between September 2008 and March 2010 showed that only one of the four boroughs regularly included diversity as a stand-alone item on its agenda. All of the other minutes showed actions taken on matters such as crime, policing pledge, criminal justice, forensics, media and communication, finance, training, and professional standards. The SMT is operated on the basis of local management discretion and so the priorities of each borough will vary accordingly. The minutes gave only a brief synopsis of matters that were discussed under each item. The diversity matters that were brought to SMT meetings were related to staff training and reports from the local diversity forum and equality groups. Several of the minutes with sections on diversity stated "nothing new" under this item when there were no new matters for the SMT's attention or action.

The SMT meeting is not necessarily the ideal forum for discussing all diversity issues and so there are structures in place for diversity and equality groups to feed important matters to the SMT. The MPA (2010) recommended an increase in the resources and expertise available to the Directorate of Citizen Focus and Diversity (DCFD) so that it can better support the Operational Command Units of the MPS. A diversity

officer/representative is present in all boroughs, but, while most people were pleased to see this role in operation, some respondents argued that their borough needed a wider involvement from the workforce because diversity officers were responsible for HR diversity matters. One of the diversity officers spoke about their role, illustrating more of a community responsibility:

“The main crux of my post as diversity officer is to engage with the different communities within our borough. We’ve got a very high percentage of Muslims, Chinese, Jews, and so on. I spend a lot of time sitting on the youth groups, I attend a lot of events and senior managers will come to me when they need help with the community. There are programmes in the Met that look after our different strands of diversity but I only sit on a general group where I give advice about the community.” (Met032 - female, 32, White British)

A senior-ranked officer pointed out that there were equality and diversity representatives in each borough, but the range of issues and ideas in the organisation were still not being discussed at the right levels where everyone could get involved:

“Diversity awareness is very much episodic and knee-jerk. It is becoming systemic now because we will all have a head of equalities and we will all have representatives for the different strands. The equalities group will be an advisory group. I suggested that we should be the ones discussing things and coming up with ideas and making suggestions. The head of equalities will then take that back to the senior management team and then it needs to go into the core business downwards. Not because it had a diversity tag means that HR or just one group of people need to look at it. We should all be involved and it should be felt at every level.” (Met044 - female, 34, White British)

One of the police boroughs included in this study published a Diversity Action Plan which explained how the SMT would incorporate equality and diversity into its mainstream policing approach. The plan illustrated the various responsibilities of the HR department and members of the SMT in carrying out specific actions in relation to their diversity milestones.

However, there was no mention of the diversity forum, DCFD or involvement of general staff in carrying out any of these diversity initiatives (MPS, 2009b).

With respect to staff involvement in diversity initiatives, some interview respondents further complained that the diversity forum in their borough was either inactive or ineffective. This was as a result of low participation from police officers, indicating a lack of time for or a lack of interest in diversity management:

“They started a diversity forum here and I actually joined it at first but I’m not involved anymore. I used to be at CID in an office back then but now I’m back on team and at the mercy of calls and stuff so it’s very hard to juggle that with a diversity role. It was a good forum. It basically develops ideas around promoting diversity; community projects, BME recruitment etc. I don’t know who to email now that I’m unable to participate in the forum. There should be someone on the borough who we can contact on random days to share our ideas with. The general schedules of the forum are too hard for people like me to fit into our shifts. It would be good to have a designated diversity officer with an actual office where you can turn up.” (Met024 - male, 33, Black British)

The arguments from the interview participants indicate that strong leadership and visible commitment to diversity awareness are key components in successfully promoting diversity and inclusion in the MPS. The line managers who were successful in actively demonstrating their commitment to diversity did so through initiatives that were clearly and practically linked to organisational goals (e.g. Met013, Met055 and Met078). This gives one possible answer to the question of how to win commitment from line managers in relation to equality and diversity (Kirton & Greene, 2010).

Improved structures for allocating responsibility for diversity management will make training, performance evaluation, networking, communication, and mentoring programs more effective (Kalev, Kelly and Dobbin 2006; Rynes and Rosen, 1995). The MPS has included equalities and diversity in its core organisational structure through the central

DCFD. Nevertheless, there were more concerns about the level of local influence and impact of diversity officers and the DCFD, which were not aimed at people management. Some respondents suggested that more local prominence of these roles could further propel diversity initiatives and enhance organisational involvement. The visible role and influence of diversity officers is also a key factor in the level of involvement and commitment from police officers and staff at the local borough level.

8.4 Positive Action

Making the MPS attractive as a diversity employer has been a long-standing organisational effort with varying outcomes. The success of positive action is contingent upon the organisation conveying to prospective applicants from diverse backgrounds that it values diversity (Avery and McKay 2006; Doverspike 2000). The MPS employs targeted recruitment strategies which generally include special job fairs and an equal opportunity statement on its recruitment adverts to encourage females and ethnic minorities to apply. One BME officer demonstrated dutiful support for the MPS's targeted recruitment efforts through pictorial diversity adverts:

“I remember being at Hendon training school and I was asked to be a poster boy for the graduate recruitment brochure in 1993. The administrator at the time, who was also a mixed race officer from a similar background as me, was told that they needed a black face for the front cover. They knew there were two in my intake but they didn't want the guy with the turban. She said to me “if you do this, I will not speak to you again because you would be letting the side down; you are being used as a token.” I said it was more important to have a black face on the recruitment brochure than worrying about her being insulted. So I did it.” (Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

Their effort to promote diversity was welcomed by the BME officers, but the female administrator featured in this excerpt did not appreciate obvious tokenism that she was witnessing. As will be demonstrated later in this section, police officers and staff suffer serious backlash if they are perceived as a token. Met033, being a new recruit at the time, might well have been oblivious of the challenges ahead.

In the early years of the Equal Employment Opportunity policy, the MPS faced difficult challenges in attracting and retaining female and ethnic minority officers (Holdaway and Barron, 1997). One senior-ranked officer pointed out that the challenges faced by the MPS were due to its tarnished image in relation to diversity:

“Certainly we need to be more diverse to serve our communities. The Met is associated with challenges around diversity but most other public organisations are not associated with that. I don’t think there is a chief for any of the city councils who is an ethnic minority but this is not highlighted as much.” (Met068 - male, 46, Asian British)

This reputation posed further challenges for the MPS in implementing diversity policies and strategies, as with other organisations in the public sector. Avery and McKay (2006) demonstrate in their review of the literature that the diversity reputation of a firm moderates the effect of its impression management and targeted recruitment strategies. Organisations such as the MPS are expected to employ assertive (defensive) tactics in order to restore their diversity reputations. This assertive strategy received mixed reviews from the interview respondents. One officer argued that some groups are just not interested in joining the police service and so targeted recruitment will not be effective in such cases:

“It doesn’t sound right to me. There are not many Chinese in the Met and it’s not because they cannot hack it or whatever. In their culture, police is not the nicest job. Their view of the police is not as positive and it’s a bit like that in Russia as well. So

there won't be many Chinese because of their background. So how can you go about that? Would you try to convince people at Chinese schools to join the Met even if they are not interested? What's the point? Yes, it's nice to have a diverse police service but targeted recruitment is not the only answer." (Met036 - female, 48, Russian)

The participants were asked if they were aware of or had experienced any targeted recruitment before joining the police service. Female and BME respondents expressed that they were aware of some of the targeted recruitment strategies of the MPS and gave examples of literature or advertisements that they came across before joining the police service. However, all lower-ranked female and BME officers insisted that they were not a product of targeted recruitment because their reason for joining was based on personal choice and not the assertive recruitment tactics of the MPS:

I joined the police because I suppose I'd be doing something different every day and it was something that I've always wanted to do and something that had a career. I transferred from Thames Valley into the Met after 8.5 years to give myself a bigger scope of varying jobs. I wasn't targeted in any way, not as a female, not at all. (Met012 - female, 38, White British)

"I joined because I noticed that there were not a lot of black police officers, particularly black female officers, and I wanted to give it a go. I wanted to take part; I wanted to know what really goes on. I believe that the more black and minority officers we have, the more we will be able to help the minority ethnic communities. Many of my friends thought that I couldn't become a police officer unless I knew certain people or unless I had good contacts. But that wasn't true because I got in and now I can help the community." (Met054 - female, 44, Black British)

Some senior-ranked female and BME officers admitted that they were uncertain about the role of positive action in their recruitment process or career progression:

"I haven't experienced positive action. I don't think so. I think if they are sat looking at a batch of applications, the focus should be on standards and not backgrounds." (Met044 - female, 34, White British)

“To be honest, I am not sure. I just decided to join. I know that around the time that I joined there were a lot of women coming into the job. Whether that was targeted or not, I wouldn’t know.” (Met025 - female, 43, White British)

“I come to work and hope that my colleagues see me as competent. I hope I occupy the position that I’m in because of my competence and not the colour of my skin. I would be disappointed; I’ve tried my whole life to excel in what I do. I went into police training school and got the award for highest performance in my class. Trying to show that I am competent, I can do this, and I would tell you if I can’t. I passed my exams to show that I am capable. I hope that when people get to know me they will hopefully see me as competent.” (Met076 - male, 42, Black British)

A recently promoted female LGBT officer expressed similar personal motives for joining the MPS, but also acknowledged that her gender and sexual orientation eventually played a role in her career progression:

“My reason for joining is probably the same cliché you’ve heard from most people; it’s what I’ve always wanted to do. I don’t really know why. It’s just in me. The reason I came to the Met is because there are more job opportunities here and the social acceptance is greater. I didn’t experience targeted recruitment, not when I was joining, no. I’ve had targets since I’ve been in the Met where my gender and sexuality now play a part in my job progression.” (Met014 - female, 34, White British)

All of the interview participants were asked to share their general view point on positive action in the MPS. Some respondents expressed support for the basic principles underlying positive action and were of the view that it is an effective approach for recruiting and retaining individuals from under-represented groups so that the police service could reflect its diverse communities:

“I think in the areas where we are underrepresented I think we do need to ensure that people are exposed and get the opportunity to progress. But I think it’s a very fine line; I mean you support people to a certain level and then everything else has to be based on merit. If they need more help, the Met has got lots of good support

networks, whether it's staff associations or trade unions, whether it's just a colleague as a buddy or mentor." There is support. (Met039 - female, 47, Irish)

The majority of respondents, however, were opposed to the implementation of certain aspects of the positive action policy which they perceived as unfair and unethical (Richard and Kirby, 1999; Murrell et al., 1994). They were of the view that less qualified candidates could be recruited or promoted primarily because of their gender, race or sexual orientation instead of purely on competence or merit:

"I do not agree with positive action or fast track programmes for minorities. I think if I was gay and I was going for promotion, I would like to know that I got promoted because of my merit and not because of what I choose to do in my own time, or because of what background I come from. It should be about how I have worked to prove myself worthy of promotion. I don't want a job because I'm female; I want the job because I am good enough to get the job. Yes, support and encouragement is good but everybody should get encouragement. All these quotas and special treatment cause reverse discrimination. The current internal perception on diversity is that people think that we are falling over ourselves to get it right. Externally, we are painted with the same brush and public opinion hasn't changed that much since 10-15 years ago and it is going to be very difficult to come out of that black hole. We can't deny that the issue of diversity is important because there have been documented problems in the past. Those issues need to be addressed to make sure that we don't face those kinds of problems again. Finding a balance for dealing with this issue is hard. I don't know how we can keep everybody happy." (Met012 - female, 38, White British)

I probably would be slightly anti positive action. I am a true believer in treating each case on its merits and if you are good enough then that's the way it should be. I wouldn't want to be treated special because I am female. Obviously with policing it does involve some basic requirements for certain roles – certain height or certain weight if you need to be mounted. I'm all for taking the barriers away but overt assistance for a particular group probably wouldn't sit with me that well. Unless it was like when the height restriction was lowered in the 90's because it was just precluding a lot of oriental people. The people are not that tall as a race and that completely makes sense to me. So if there are genuine reasons for it, then it would be okay. (Met013 - female, 38, White British)

The definition used in this study for positive action is a method of increasing the fairness and justice of organizational selection systems through its emphasis on the merit principle. Its primary aim is to decrease discriminatory barriers and restore equity to minority employees (Doverspike, 2000). The MPA (2010) reported that some employee associations are in favour of positive discrimination and affirmative action but both are currently prohibited and so not supported by the MPS. The general perspectives of the respondents demonstrate an apparent misconception of positive action and how it is implemented in the MPS:

“Positive action, I’m told, is different from positive discrimination and as long as it is different then that’s absolutely fine. I could not agree with giving someone a job just because they are from an ethnic minority. If there are two equally qualified candidates and one is white and the other is black and the department need someone to enhance their diversity, then I wouldn’t have a problem with them choosing the black officer, as long as they are equally qualified. I support mentorship programmes and encouragement for people to go for things that they probably wouldn’t consider.” (Met025 - female, 43, White British)

There are contradictions in terms of which programmes the respondents identified as positive action. Many, including female and BME officers, were opposed to targeted recruitment and mentorship programmes, while others were opposed to positive action but were in favour of targeted recruitment (with selection based solely on merit) and mentorship programmes. The misperception of positive action is propagated on work teams from their first days when officers compare the length of time it took from application to job enrolment. Female and BME officers are fast tracked through the recruitment process, taking between 6-13 months, while white male officers have to wait three years. Therefore, despite the merit-based principle of the MPS, the stigma of tokenism appears to be rife

among employees. Some respondents spoke about how this misguided perception of positive action leads to resentment of female and BME officers:

“Positive action causes resentment I guess. They make it seem worse than it is. People comment that the Met has stopped recruiting white officers and are only taking BME officers at Hendon. If that’s so, then where are all those BME officers? I don’t see them! On my team there are only two minorities so show me the flock of BME’s coming in from Hendon. It can’t be as bad as everyone is making it out to be. That’s how it is on the ground, you hear the comments and you sense the resentment.” (Met024 - male, 33, Black British)

“I may have got into the Met through a fair process but because there has been so much emphasis on figures and having a representative workforce, a lot of the people on the ground believe the process is unfair. One may argue that this is the way we’ve got to go, give everybody a real chance through positive action, and people will eventually get used to it. I don’t feel it on the ground; people still feel uneasy about positive action.” (Met040 - female, 47, Mixed Caribbean)

Murrell et al. (1994) suggested that subtle racism contributes to resistance to affirmative action. They argue that ‘majority whites’ will resist a specific affirmative action program not because they oppose racial equality, but because they feel it violates their individual freedom and privileges, based on their traditional conception of fairness, justice and racial equality (Murrell et al, 1994). On the contrary, resistance and negative perceptions in relation to tokenism was not limited to white male officers. Interview respondents from various ranks and racio-ethnic backgrounds were opposed to 'positive action', but also remarked on the need for such programmes in the MPS:

“I’ve had people say that I only got into the Met because I am brown. I understand it because I have a white colleague who waited five years because of the BME quota. I can see why he resented the whole thing; I would too. He rejected them in the end and went to work elsewhere. I don’t know how the Met could avoid reverse discrimination but it’s hard to please all groups.” (Met083 - male, 22, Indian British)

“Well, it’s damned if they do damned if they don’t. The Met has a quota to fill. It’s already very difficult to attract visible ethnic minorities and there is a high turnover

rate. In an ideal world, I would like to see the best person gets the job; I believe in progression on merit. But the Met has its hands tied. It hasn't personally affected me but if it did, I'd want to know that the person who got the job was better than me on the day." (Met005 - male, 49, White British)

'Tokens' are those who comprise less than 15% of a group's total and are expected to face a range of adversities in the workplace, such as feelings of heightened visibility, isolation, and limited prospects for progression (Stroshine and Brandl, 2011). Arguably, females are considered tokens even though they account for 22.4% of the overall police strength; this percentage dwindles significantly as you move up the police ranks. Stroshine and Brandl (2011) found that token police officers experienced all the effects of tokenism as predicted by tokenism theory. Likewise, female, LGBT and BME officers expressed experiences of resentment, discrimination, polarization and assimilation in the MPS.

Female and BME officers who were opposed to tokenism expressed that they did not want to be offered special treatment through positive action because of fear that their colleagues would assume that they did not obtain the job based on merit, and as a result would be resented by their teammates:

"I notice on my application form a whole section on the back for diversity, I heard people say that if you tick this or tick that you could get in quicker. The waiting time for white officers was around four to five years at the time. I'm a gay female, have been since I was 21 but I refused to sign the back to say that I was gay because I wanted to be taken in on the merits of who I am. I got in after 9 months so I'm not sure if my gender played a role in that. On day one and two of training I noticed that minorities were given a helping hand before the exams to make them more aware. Some were given more time because English wasn't their first language. I am aware of the fact that there is some form of positive action going on. I think having representation is important, but choosing people who are able to do the job is more important. That's why I didn't tick it." (Met021 - female, 37, White British)

"There was a diversity questionnaire in the application form and I felt very uncomfortable doing it. I've worked hard and don't want to be offered anything

because of my ethnic background. I think I can compete with anyone out there. The LGBT and BME officers have suggested the removal of these questions from the application. I think it's a bit condescending to people from minority groups.”
(Met040 - female, 47, Mixed Caribbean)

In investigating the psychological climate of gender inequality, King et al. (2010) found that token women across varied occupations tend to perceive their organizational climates to be inequitable. The authors also suggest that the subjective processes of tokenism give rise to inequitable climate perceptions. One respondent explained why the subjective process of positive action makes it difficult to distinguish between BME officers who gain promotion based solely on merit from those who are tokens:

“There is more of a critical mass of white people ready to apply for a promotion. So you are kind of in the minority anyway. So until you get a critical mass where there is 50% BME's and white people applying for the same jobs, it will be incredibly difficult to tell whether it is on competency or not. Positive discrimination will always be a subjective decision because who is to tell that 2 candidates are equally competent.”
(Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

Respondents from all backgrounds spoke about the backlash that female and BME employees faced as a result of the widespread negative perceptions of positive action. One senior-ranked female detective explained that she was against positive action because she was overlooked for promotion on several occasions while less qualified female and BME officers progressed. She pointed out that officers could distinguish which individuals were promoted based on merit because the work of the CID required specific skills and experience, which many were found lacking:

“I am very much for a meritorious approach. This is a personal view because I've done it myself. I've tried for promotion several times and it just seemed as if I was hitting a wall and yet there were female, BME and LGBT officers who were being fast tracked through without any of my experience. They were previously uniform officers and that frustrated me quite a great deal because I wasn't given the

exposure to that support. From a corporate standpoint, I support the efforts to solve under representativeness but from a personal viewpoint, I was very frustrated by positive action. It actually creates a two-tier system once you get to doing that management because whatever way you do it and how much ever you mentor someone, you cannot make up for that experience. So you get the attitude where when you arrive they say “oh great, you’re a real one”. They know who’s a real detective because they get so many that have been pushed through the process and when they arrive they just don’t know what to do because they don’t have the experience or are not from a detective background. These are just some of the detrimental effects of positive action.” (Met051 - female, 49, White British)

The respondents were of the view that the job of policing required specific skills and competences and positive action posed a risk to the quality and efficacy of the work of the MPS. Their arguments emphasised the importance of experience or being perceived as having sufficient years of experience in your area of policing:

“I think it is all very good as long as they have the right skills and knowledge for the post they are going into. They don’t like it when a younger PC comes in, do the fast track thing and becomes a sergeant very quickly. They don’t think that someone should become a sergeant when they haven’t been out their probation for three years. They will not want that person to be their sergeant and to tell them what to do. It’s not really about age; it’s about experience for that rank. They will doubt you. I know a female sergeant who was clueless because she didn’t have enough experience as a PC. On the management side, she was very good but on the practical side, she was clueless.” (Met032 - female, 32, White British)

This apparent fixation on tenure has been demonstrated in Chapters Six and Seven, however there is no scientific evidence to support a link between tenure and police performance. Nevertheless, interview respondents indicated that the longer an officer's service, the higher his/her status would be on team. A female officer explained that her gender was secondary to the label of being on the accelerated promotion scheme, because you are judged on the years of experience that you have:

“I got accepted within 6 months of applying and did about three and half years as PC and the same as sergeant. So I became an inspector after only seven years. Being

female helped because if you have a young looking male sergeant going for promotion, people will assume that he has no experience. For females, age is secondary because they see the fact that you are female first before they start wondering about your age or experience. And with me, they saw the fact that I was on the high potential scheme or accelerated promotion scheme before the fact that I was female or before the fact of my age. So it's a little bit distorting. It was like 'oh, she on high potential scheme'." (Met044 - female, 34, White British)

The High Potential Development Scheme (HPDS) in the MPS involves the accelerated promotion of qualified female and BME officers; this is done outside of the mainstream promotion process. The main concern about this scheme is about achieving the right balance of operational, strategic and managerial skills to support the leadership needs of the organisation. Some of the respondents spoke about their experiences on the accelerated promotion scheme and highlighted the importance of gaining sufficient experience at each level in order to earn your team's respect or be deemed deserving of your status (Feather, 2008):

"Accelerated promotion schemes are quite difficult because they tend to push people too far too quickly; some don't get enough experience and are not in any place long enough for their decisions to come back and bite them, so they're not actually learning from what they're doing. Whether it's a good outcome, to get praise or whether it's a bad decision, to learn from the criticism. I was on the accelerated promotion scheme for graduates. I've done all jobs; I am not unique, 3-4 years in every rank, long enough to experience some serious policing. I had 3.5 years in uniform as a constable, did lots of trainee detective constable work, as well as beat policing, uniform response policing and community policing. I was a uniform sergeant for 18 months, and then I moved from uniform sergeant to detective sergeant, and then worked as a Detective Inspector for 7 years. I went into DCI senior investigating officer with 9-years service, which was quite unusual. But I always seem to be in the right place at the right time and I've always had good bosses who recognised that I was good at my job." (Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

He then went on to speak about the issue of being perceived as a token BME officer by some colleagues:

“Actually, hard work, dedication, commitment, eagerness, and being good at your job is far more important and for anyone to say that it is tokenism, it’s obviously incredibly insulting to me. If you look at my CV, I’ve been in all the hardest places in the Met - anti-corruption, deaths in custody, Trident, serious and organised crime, I’ve been in serious outlets that do serious work and I have delivered in those outlets so I think I got here based on my CV, not on my colour. Whether it’s helped me over the years because of Lawrence and people saying, well he’s got some talent and he’s also mixed race, fantastic. I’m not even sure because people often mistake me for Mediterranean and think I just have a spectacular tan!” (Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

As with other groups, BMEs are more likely to respond in a positive manner to organizations that create a climate of achievement. Public sector organisations in the USA have been successful at creating a climate where applicants feel as if they have earned a job based upon individual merit (Doverspike 2000). However, the challenge for the MPS in maintaining a climate of merit has more to do with the length-of-service culture than the efficacy of the recruitment and promotion process.

This length-of-service culture also impedes the efforts of the MPS to attract the brightest and best individuals in the labour market through a proposed multi-point entry where highly qualified applicants can skip a rank(s). In the recent MPA (2010) focus groups and interviews, police officers were against the concept of multi-point entry, emphasising the need for every employee to experience every rank from constable upwards in order truly to understand the business of policing. Respondents in this study expressed similar view points:

“I’d be disappointed if this ever changed but everybody who wears this uniform has started at that beginning. We all know that we’ve all done that 2 years on team, watching each other’s back, being there for each other, eating together, working and sometimes even sleeping together .You can’t buy that sort of training or bonding because it just happens sort of naturally. There has been a lot of talk about bringing managers in at higher ranks but I think that would just erode the managerial stuff. You might get good managers who would come in and do fine but with the present

structure at least you would know what it's like having done the work. There is nothing like experiencing a bit of riot or spending eleven hours on a murder scene in the freezing cold. If you've experienced that then you just have an understanding having lived through it. This is the richness that we've got in our managers and I think we should keep it." (Met013 - female, 38, White British)

Concerns were raised about the perceived lack of credibility of such officers and the resentment they would face from colleagues who would consider their appointment as unfair and purely based on their race and/or gender rather than having worked and demonstrated commitment and competence as a police officer. The MPA (2010) concluded that, from the feedback received in the focus groups, officers would unite against the proposal for multi-point entry thereby rejecting a positive means to further attract diverse employees into the MPS.

8.5 Mentorship Programme

Mentoring has been recognized as a powerful HRD intervention that helps create learning organisations (Hamlin and Sage 2008; Hegstad and Wentling, 2005), assists employees in career advancement and supports aspiring leaders, and serves as a form of positive action for women and other minority groups. The MPS operates a formal mentoring scheme for new female and BME recruits. The vast majority of the interview participants expressed pessimistic views about this mentorship programme. The negative perceptions were generally linked to the ineffectiveness of mentoring relationships (Enrich and Hansford 2008; Hamlin and Sage 2008; McCloughen et al. 2009) as well as lack of time and commitment from mentors and mentees.

When asked about their experience in the mentorship programme, many of the male BME respondents spoke rather dismissively of the MPS mentorship scheme:

“No, no mentors! I am too busy. I tried for 6 month and just decided it wasn’t for me. There was nothing to talk about. I don’t know if that was because we were from different cultural backgrounds but it didn’t work.” (Met076 - male, 42, Black British)

It is common for cross-racial pairings to be less successful because of poor cross-cultural communication (Thomas, 2002), as implied by the above respondent. However, only three BME respondents said they refused to take part in the mentorship programme because they "did not connect" with their assigned mentors. It is also worth noting that these respondents were all male and were paired with white male officers. Interestingly, all of the female BME officers expressed satisfaction with the programme, indicating that interpersonal ineptness was not merely a racial issue. Despite their expressed satisfaction with the mentoring relationships, many of these female BMEs also admitted that they did not utilise the programme regularly due to lack of time:

“New recruits are able to get in contact with support groups and are given a mentor. I think this is very beneficial. I have a good mentor who helped me to understand the job and help me think about my career goals. We don’t meet very often but it has been good.” (Met012 - female, 38, White British)

Mentoring is a complicated construct including a special level of interpersonal exchange. Once this relationship is formed, it needs time and commitment for it to work for the benefit of those involved (Ehrich and Hansford, 2008). The major criticism from the participants who maintained a relationship with their mentor was pertaining to the effectiveness of the mentoring they received. One senior-ranked officer, in an attempt to expound on his view of the mentorship process, suggested that mentors needed to change their mentoring approach in order to make the programme more beneficial to mentees:

“It’s gotta be active mentoring because we run coaching and mentoring programmes and they’ll put something on the internet for senior officers to volunteer as mentors and I suspect a lot of them say “yea” because it’s good on your

CV to say you are mentoring someone from a minority group. A question that will come up in their promotion interview is “what do you do to support equality and diversity?” and they will say “well, I’m a mentor for BME officers”. But what they do is they meet up at Starbucks every 6 months and say “what are you up to”. Fine, but what I call active mentoring is sitting down with your mentee, actually working with them, recognising what their aspirations are, looking at where their potential and skills meet or don’t meet their aspiration. And your job as a mentor is to try and help them to fill those gaps to get them to where they need to be. It requires sacrificing your time to get them to where they want to be. Just giving them advice, “well go do this, this and this”, is a complete waste of time! So, it’s easy to tick a box for the Met to say we run talent management, we run progression workshops, we got mentors, we got coaches, we do placements, but what’s the outcome from all that? What we need is commitment and passion.” (Met079 - male, 46, White British)

In the recent Race and Faith Inquiry, the MPA (2010) recommended that the MPS implement a formal, structured, mentoring scheme explicitly designed to benefit mentees. They found that the current programme exhibited informal and ad hoc arrangements which do not offer adequate support for the mentee and is often used mainly to enhance the curriculum vitae of the mentor.

In relation to the complaints about the quality and effectiveness of mentorship, this respondent spoke about her experience in working with an officer who required a level of coaching which, in her opinion, exceeded the capabilities of the mentorship scheme:

“There was an Iranian female officer that I used to work with when she came in on probation; she wasn’t incompetent at her job, she just needed a lot of coaching. Unfortunately, to the point where so much was given and things weren’t changing and I got in touch with the coordinator for the 0.5+ development scheme and he basically told me to be the mentor. I told him it wasn’t appropriate because I worked with this person for a year and I’ve progressed it as far as I can and don’t think I can do anymore even if I was the mentor.” (Met014 - female, 34, White British)

The terms ‘mentoring’ and ‘coaching’ are used interchangeably in organisations but scholars argue that they are fundamentally different in practice (Cranwell-Ward, Bossons

and Gover, 2004; Grant, 2001). The situation outlined above by Met014 demonstrates just how intensive and demanding the role of a mentor can be in the MPS. However, the MPS mentorship programme appears to fall short in several respects. The effectiveness of the mentorship programme is not just a matter of management processes but is also a matter of individual attitude and behaviour towards the programme. Therefore, while there is a need for active mentoring, it is important to consider the culture of the organisation before implementing a more structured scheme. According to the respondents, mentorship is perceived as a “helping hand” and so is shunned by many male officers who said they “didn’t need it”. Met014 was also rejected by a potential mentee and she explained that officers opted out of the programme because they did not want to be perceived by their colleagues as receiving “special treatment”:

“I do think it’s a good scheme but if a white officer needed help; there is nothing in place for them. A couple years ago I became a 0.5+ ethnic minority mentor and I was assigned a Jewish chap. I had the meeting and explained to him what it was all about and he basically said “I’m no different to anybody else. I don’t think I need it.” I said it was entirely up to him, it’s in place if you need it. I’ve never seen him since that day. I’ve never been assigned anyone else since then. There was a similar program for gay officers and I put my name forward but no one has contacted me. I am aware that these programmes are in place but I just don’t know if they are actually carried through effectively.” (Met014 - female, 34, White British)

This direct rejection was common among new male recruits who were anxious to evade the tokenism label. Unfortunately, this behaviour hinders the potential benefit of mentoring as the relationship between the mentor and mentee is often not given a chance to develop. This begs the question, how can the MPS get junior employees to know senior employees in an informal and supportive way without the stigma of tokenism?

Some respondents suggest that mentoring should be made available to all new recruits instead of isolating different categories of people to receive what is perceived as special treatment:

“I am all for encouraging and supporting people but there should be a standard. Mentoring schemes should be open to everyone. If you are a female or BME and you are bloody good at your job, you probably won’t get that recognition because people will assume that you have been supported all the way through and so you don’t deserve the credit.” (Met044 - female, 34, White British)

This expressed aversion to mentoring is, arguably, linked to the significance of reputation and identity creation in the police service. While female respondents were more willing to participate in mentorship, male BME officers said that they avoided involvement in the programme (three males completely rejected it). As evidenced in the upcoming section 8.6, it is only a matter of time before male BME officers begin to seek out mentorship in the form of informal networks. Unfortunately, it appears that once they get to the stage where they are interested in this kind of relationship, it becomes less accessible to them.

8.6 Informal Networks and Promotion Study Groups

Formal networks exist for all strands of diversity in the police service. In the MPS in particular, there are associations for women, LGBT, as well as various racial and cultural groups. Nevertheless, some BME officers expressed that the Black Police Association (BPA), as a formal representative body, does not offer the kind of support or development that is available through social learning in informal networks. The analysis shows that respondents above the rank of Inspector are more interested in mentorship programmes because of the

potential benefits for personal and professional learning and career development. None of the senior-ranked BME respondents were currently engaged in formal mentoring relationships. However, some spoke about the importance of informal networks and informal mentoring in aiding their professional development.

Informal networks and informal mentoring generally enhance visibility of and interaction with senior management, thereby reducing the distance to the centre of the organisation (Singh et al. 2002). Some of the interview respondents explained that informal mentoring and networking became even more difficult because as BME officers ascend the ranks of the MPS the number of 'similar others' become few and far between:

“It is easier to mix with people who are similar; people who share similar beliefs and practices. It’s just a natural vibe. Some of the other senior officers go for drinks at night but I don’t join them because I don’t drink and I have family commitments. This is the time when informal groups are formed; the majority of these networks start in pubs and so on. Once they connect, they keep up with each other and offer support for exams or other work related matters. But I was never involved at the pub so I don’t benefit from these networks. It’s not like they will announce at the end of a meeting that they are forming a group to study for the promotion exam and you are invited. It doesn’t work like that. You don’t get invited because it is informal. It’s not that we can’t build our own networks; it’s just that we are so few in numbers. We are dotted all over the Met. I’m here and someone else from a similar rank might be in Croydon, another might be in Harrow. Of the ten or so inspectors on this borough, I am the only BME; they are all white and so it is easier for them to connect and socialise outside of work.” (Met073 - male, 50, Asian British)

The difficulties around forming informal networks in the MPS underscore a fundamental problem of social segregation of the different work teams. As outlined in Chapters Six and Seven, the structure of work in the police service facilitates very limited social interaction outside of immediate work teams. One senior-ranked female officer spoke

about the difficulties she faced in trying to rendezvous with a colleague from a different team:

“Socialising with colleagues is very very difficult purely because of the shifts. For example, there is another Inspector on this borough who is a colleague from my previous boroughs. We will plan to go out for drinks together but when we look at our diaries literally for two whole months there will not be a day when both of us have the same night off. And if we did find one night it would be a situation where one of us had the early shift the next morning. So for teams to interact it is very difficult. It’s a different structure on SNT so I imagine they would have better social interaction.” (MET044 - female, 34, White British)

In addition to the socially detached work structure, some officers explained that the importance of social networking was less of an imperative, thanks to the new systems of performance management for police officers. One officer explained that there was no need to seek informal social relationships with line managers or work colleagues because their opinions would not influence your career progress or job security:

“No matter what background, Asian, British, if you were new to the job, you were expected to go for drinks with the team or else they wouldn’t trust you and wouldn’t accept you or treat you as an equal until they got a chance to observe you in action on the street and also socially. It was expected of you. That culture is less prominent now because we have a more structured reporting system now compared to the former APA -annual personal appraisal where your sergeant would sit you down, tick a couple of boxes, write a couple of sentences and that was it. Now it is far more structured and covers more aspects of your work. So now officers can come in, do their work and not feel obligated to hang out with the team in order to be accepted and score better appraisals. Most of the PCs are young in service and so they are more accepting of the new status quo.” (Met005 - male, 49, White British)

Such apathy towards social networking was expressed by several respondents and, arguably, this mindset could later result in BME officers losing out on opportunities for professional learning and career development. These opportunities are already found to be limited as female and ethnic minorities tend to lack visible role models or ties with well-

connected 'central' individuals (Leonard et al. 2008; McCloughen et al. 2009; Singh et al. 2002). A wide cross-cultural social circle provides important developmental functions and positive performance outcomes (Leonard et al., 2008). Social circles in the MPS tend to be created and segregated based on socio-cultural backgrounds (see Loftus, 2008; Rowe and Garland, 2007). Coupled with the exclusionary pressures, research shows that ethnic minorities tend to identify and form friendships within their own ethnic group and this propensity limits their access to well-connected individuals in the organisation (Ibarra, 1995; Leonard et al., 2008; Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998). BME officers were asked to explain how they selected friends or colleagues at work for social interactions outside of work. The vast majority of respondents expressed that their social interaction was based on their level of shared identity with individuals at work:

“When you first start you just have to prove yourself, whether you are male or female, it doesn’t matter what age you are; we all are in the same boat. When you join you see little groups and wonder where you will fit in. I don’t know what it is but I was on a team with 2 other Asians and I just clicked with them easier than I did with anyone else. This was purely because we were from similar backgrounds and our personalities fit well so we just instantly became friends. I reckon if I didn’t have them I would have found it a lot more difficult to interact with everyone. It was easier at first to connect with these guys. It’s just natural because I could relate to them.” (Met083 - male, 22, Indian British)

“If I am honest, I find it easier to mix with other minorities. I don’t like to admit that but it is true. There is that feeling that you know what the other person is going through; it’s like having a common touch. That’s not to say that I don’t have some good white friends on the team. It’s just that with a minority officer you just instantly connect. Most of the minority officers grew up in the same area; we were schooled in the same place so there is that shared background that just makes our interaction easier. There are 5 response teams here; we work on different shifts. Each team has about 45 officers and you mainly interact with the people you work close with. People who come in to work together and travel home together will bond and become friends that way; they end up going for drinks and so on. There is an Asian guy on my team who lives near to me so we take turns and drive to work together. From working with him and being friends with him, I’ve learned about their culture;

you pick up stuff and become more accepting of their religion and way of life. I think some people just never get a chance to interact with people from other cultures so they don't really understand." (Met024 - male, 33, Black British)

The key assumption driving segregation is that individuals from different social categories suspect that their preferences and values are incompatible and so this leads to a perception of mistrust and weakened communication (see Schneider and Northcraft, 1999). A senior police staff who acknowledged the importance of having a cross-cultural network also admitted his propensity to socialise with mainly his Asian colleagues. He also spoke about his effortless interaction with his line manager because of their similar cultural background:

"We will still get drawn to people from a similar background. I'm going for lunch soon and it will be with an Asian colleague. I didn't deliberately choose an Asian; it's just how it is. Whether we like it or not we are drawn to people who share a similar identity, that's human nature. But this is dangerous because a lot of decisions and important outcomes are arrived at through informal social networks. So if we want to integrate, we have to get past our comfort levels and mingle with other people. It is easy to talk to my borough commander because we share the same cultural background. He will start a conversation asking me about my weekend and asking about the family. I will go in with work and he will stop me in my tracks and ask, "How are you?" and expect me to tell him how my family is doing, and all. (Met078 - male, 34, Asian British)

Not all BME officers are considered 'similar others' by BMEs. A senior-ranked BME officer pointed out that, unlike other BME officers, he found it easier to interact with his white colleagues and he was often excluded from BME social groups because of his mixed racial identity and socio-cultural background:

"There were very few ethnic minority officers where I was posted. There was a sergeant called Paul Wilson who later set up a black police officers association – BPA. It was very shortly after the Bristol seminars when black officers from around the country were claiming that the police service was racist and something had to be

done. Paul Wilson was very active; he used to walk around the station in a Malcolm X baseball cap. It was quite provocative at the time, and in many ways he was a brave person. As other ethnic officers arrived they were steadily approached as to whether they would want to be part of this organisation. Strangely enough, I was never invited to join the BPA. I wouldn't have wanted to join anyway. That wasn't the way I wanted to go; I just wanted to be a good police officer. My race has never played any part in how I see myself performing or any part in how I perceive people seeing me. I treat people like human beings and I expect them to treat me the same way. And if there is disrespect involved, I will examine every other reason for that before I ever go to my race. So, as I said before, I have an advantages of not sounding as those on the phone; I have an unusual surname so lots of people mistake me for Scottish because I don't speak like an Asian individual and therefore they don't put the 2 and 2 together. So, because of how I look and sound, I wasn't invited to join any of those things... The bosses and friends I've had have all been old, white, middle class, old dinosaurs in the job. They were all exactly the kind of people that people assume must be prejudice, bigoted; those are all the people who helped me get where I am." (Met033 - male, 41, Asian British)

Met033 described his socio-cultural background as white middle class English and explained that, although he was a role model for BME officers, he mainly socialised with white officers because they were from similar social backgrounds. He also pointed out that his interaction with white officers exposed him to informal professional learning as he ascended the police ranks. This is important because the majority of senior-ranked BME officers complained that social interaction became difficult for them as they ascended the police ranks because there were comparatively very few senior-ranked BME officers in the MPS (as similarly highlighted by Holdaway and Barron, 1997; Rowe, 2007).

A respondent from the Career Progression Unit of the MPS described a case involving the career progression efforts of six senior-ranked BME officers. Met079 explained in great detail how different groups of aspiring officers had differing experiences and outcomes in the Chief Inspector promotion process. Their dissimilar experiences were said

to have been caused by the influence of informal networks and the related benefits of informal professional learning and development.

This incident was set in 2008-2009 with six Muslim officers who wanted to progress to the rank of Chief Inspector. Met079, after meeting with the group of Inspectors, was of the view that "they all had quite a few miles on the clock, they were all mature, lots of common sense, working in what I'd like to call tough environments...and I'd be happy to have any of them work for me as a Chief Inspector". These officers were used by Met079 as a control group to test their journey through the promotion process to see whether it was discriminatory or not.

The MPS promotion process involves several stages where the applicant first discusses their interest with their line manager who then decides whether or not they will support the application. If the line manager 'recommends' the application, then the application form is sent the Business Group where they shortlist a required number of applications and send the forms to the central assessment centre. Between 2004-2009, the MPS promoted only 2 BME Inspectors; in 2009 there were 16 BME Chief Inspectors out of 584 (MPS Career Progression Unit, 2009). Met079 now had an idea as to why BME officers were unsuccessful in these promotion processes:

"With my 6 Muslim Inspectors, 5 of them got knocked out at the local recommendation stage and 1 got knocked out at the business group stage. So none of them reached the assessment centre. So, after observing what happened with the Muslim group, I then grabbed hold of 6 white men who had successfully got through the process and asked them to explain to me, talk through their journey; how is it that they managed to succeed in the promotion process? They all spoke of having 'study buddies' where they would work with other officers to support each other, give encouragement and share research. They were all in different study groups and all these groups were predominantly white male and they do the same activities. With respect to the application form, they go to speak to members of their senior

management team and ask what sort of things they will be looking for in the applications. These managers gave them advice. They also shared their application form with other senior officers who had been through the process before. So, by the time their application form is submitted, as you can imagine, it's quite a good piece of work. So they get through the local recommendation panel, gets through the business group, and then end up at the assessment centre. What they then do, they speak to people who are assessing at the centre to find out what they are looking for. They get people who have assessed candidates to give them mock interviews and they will also mock interview each other within their groups...These officers do mock presentations and have mock written exercises. So, you go back to my group of 6 Muslim men, knowing how success was achieved by the white male group, and they said all they did was complete an application form and submit it. Quite a different approach, isn't it? There is nothing overt about this, just two different ways for preparing oneself for what has to be a very competitive process. I then called for the application forms of the 6 unsuccessful Muslim men and looked at their grammar, syntax, construction, and it was way off. The evidence wasn't that bad but the way that they had constructed their application forms was nowhere near the professional paper that was put forward by the white male group." (Met079 -male, 46, White British)

Met079 found that the promotional process was fair, once the application made it past the line manager. However, despite the apparent fair processes, the respondent argued that BME officers did not have the same chances because there were hidden mechanisms and courses of action that were less accessible to BME officers:

"But there is hidden, an industry or work that goes on and the white majority male will work for white majority males; the white majority males will socialise with white majority males; the white majority males will have the confidence to talk to their managers about what looks good in an application form and to get other white senior officers to look at their application and give them advice. They are able to network within a group. None of my 6 Muslim male candidates worked with anybody. There was a female BME officer who took it last year and approached a white study group to join and they said no, they were at their maximum number of 3. And guess what, a couple weeks later a white male comes over from a neighbouring borough and he gets accepted in the group." (Met079 -male, 46, White British)

Differences in advancement potential were associated with different network configurations as high-potential individuals tend to balance same and cross-race contacts (Ibarra, 1997). Met079 observed the effect of social networking and study groups and decided to provide a similar network to BME officers. He accessed a list of all BME Inspectors who were applying for the Chief Inspector process, contacted them and offered them a support and development group (which, arguably, is positive action not discrimination):

"I gave them a commitment that I would work as hard as I could with them to try and school them through the process and give them the same opportunity that white majority males have. I am white, male, senior and an assessor so they got from me what all the other white officers were getting in their networks. It was important that we bonded together as a group and it was really interesting because most of them didn't know each other and by the end of it we'd all been out for dinner and everything. It's been fantastic." (Met079 -male, 46, White British)

He coached, mentored and supported the officers up to the point where their applications reached the central assessment centre. Then, they were on their own. After going through this process with the officers he concluded that there cultural barriers affecting BME officers' approach to work:

"I found there was a bit of cultural difference within the group, around approach. For instance, the Jamaican colleagues were laid back, although very clever, and they've done the job (I'm detecting your accent is from that sort of area). But, anyhow, bear in mind, you only have a short space of time to get your evidence across and they were laboured and slowly delivering their evidence and the challenge for me was to speed them up [snaps fingers repeatedly]. It's hard for them because they can't talk quick and snappy because you have to hear them clearly. The Asian colleagues were very humble, they had fantastic evidence but they didn't present themselves in a competitive process where you have to show the people on the other side of the table how good you are. They weren't good at selling themselves because it's just

not within their culture to be bigheaded. There was a female officer, she talked too fast so we had to slow her down. But, anyways, what was interesting was that it wasn't one-size fits all. You have to look at each individual and decide what their strengths and weaknesses are, and in the process build on that." (Met079 -male, 46, White British)

Other interview respondents spoke about the importance of providing sufficient evidence of experience and competences on application forms. These two female officers recently experienced the promotion process, one was successful and the other was unsuccessful. Both highlighted the importance of demonstrable competences:

"I've just passed my Sergeants exam and the next stage from that I have to do an application to be accepted to become a trainee Sergeant. You have to show various incidents where you have dealt with various issues and competencies and you are graded on that. It's only as good as you can write; it doesn't matter if you could do the job, if you can't write it, then you won't get through." (Met021 - female, 37, White British)

"I'm not one of those who will say that the system didn't work. It had nothing to do with the system but simply that I didn't meet the mark that particular time. I went in the second time around and I passed. Don't get me wrong, I thought I could do the job but I just didn't do enough to pass the exam; I didn't prove to them that I was ready. I went for some feedback after the first process and one of the panellists said "I was almost kicking you under the table because I could see from your form that you had done all the work but you weren't giving us the things that allowed us to tick the boxes. With time constraints, I am not so good at 'selling myself'. The responsibility lies with me to find out what this is all about and yes, I asked people and thought I had a good idea. I was my own worst enemy." (Met076 - male, 42, Black British)

"I want a managerial role. I failed the Sergeant exam but will try again. I think I failed because I didn't give enough evidence about diversity; they wanted more examples and I didn't give enough evidence. There are some things I could have written but I just didn't think it was necessary. I grew up with Jewish friends and even that could be useful to state on an application. I didn't know. To me, they were just my friends; I didn't label them any other way. It takes a while to get used to all this, it's a totally different game." (Met036 - female, 48, Russian)

Met079, in his effort to help BME officers in their preparation for the promotion process, explained that rumours started to spread about his involvement with BME officers and he experienced a "backlash" from his white colleagues. In a bid to fend off potential allegations of positive discrimination, he had arranged for a federation representative and neutral observers to join the group. His final test was to see how many of 'his' BME officers would achieve promotion in the end:

"So, a female Asian officer, she'd been turned down by her borough twice, she submits her application form and not only does she come top in her borough, she comes top in the whole Met. She's the number one candidate when she gets to the assessment centre. This was based on her evidence and the way she constructed her application form. The evidence hadn't changed it's just that the last times no one had taken the time to explain to her how to put out the competencies and indicators to show performance in the role. So out of my 9 officers, how many do you think got through? All 9 got through to the assessment centre and 7 successfully completed the entire process! What we need to do now is build on that. Every one of them have said that they will stay with it now and they will be helping me this year to bring through new black chief inspectors and new black superintendents. Now, I've also met with the chair of the disabled police association (we haven't got an age association) they've sat on the sidelines, they see what's going on and they're trying to see how we can do the same for them. We recently won an LGBT so will be working with that strand too. Happy days now!" (Met079 -male, 46, White British)

A senior-ranked BME officer who had volunteered to mentor other officers was of the view that the informal networks should be kept informal:

"I think a big opportunity for ethnic minorities is around developing informal networks and the organisation supporting them from a distance. These networks play an important role in supporting ethnic minorities and their career progression. We have to make sure that these networks remain informal because once the organisation takes them over then they formalise and don't have so much impact. When it is informal, people will talk that these people are getting extra help but the organisation doesn't have to worry about the legality or fairness policy. The risk assessment is not so crucial if it is informal. The Met would basically help out by

bringing minority officers to these sessions. I had people come round to my house on Sundays; we read, talk, and this is not really different to what white officers do but they easily have more contacts. Numbers are much less for BME so it will be much harder to find senior BME contacts.” (Met068 - male, 46, Asian British)

Female and ethnic minorities are excluded not only from social groups but also from receiving honest feedback and the kind of support that will help with their career advancement (Chow and Crawford, 2004). BME officers similarly emphasised that informal networks offer more 'useful' support and guidance than the formal feedback they receive from line managers, which was described as “insufficient” and “basic”:

“We have a very basic way of giving advice; not enough feedback or constructive criticism is given. Direct advice that is specifically useful to each person is just not a common practice. There is more free speech in informal networks; you can say anything outside but not in a formal meeting. Sometimes these informal conversations are more useful.” (Met068 - male, 46, Asian British)

This view point was also held by Met079 who spoke emphatically about the significant role of informal study groups in BME career progression:

All those colleagues who have been successful and the ones that haven't been successful have signed in now to recognise that probably the way for black colleagues to realise their potential in the organisation is to do it themselves. You know going to these courses and seminars where somebody stands on the stage and says this is what the promotion process is about and this is what you have to do to pass it...it just doesn't work. The corporate approach to progression within the organisation really doesn't work and what it needs is colleagues of the same minority group, who have already achieved what their junior colleagues are aspiring to do, to get involved, coach mentor and support and bring those colleagues along with them. And if you read Colin Powell's book about his experience in the US armed services, it very much echoes that. He was saying that the top-down corporate approach is bit lesser; you need to get black officers, or black sergeants in his case, working together to assist and coach each other through the process. (Met079 male, 46, White British)

The respondents demonstrate a keen interest in informal networks as a means of professional learning and development. The advantages of informal networks over

mentorship programmes appeared to be the practical learning benefits and the averting of the token label associated with mentorship. There were positive results reported from study groups, but significant challenges around forming and maintaining such networks remain a key area of concern. Also, Ibarra (1993) points out that minorities who develop their own informal social networks encourage separatism and negate the important benefits of functional diversity. This focus on social category diversity indicates an identity crisis that could be worsened by the lifting of collective fences, through what appears to be 'assisted' informal networks for BME officers.

8.7 Career Progression

The MPS People Development Policy is designed to ensure that the organisation continues in its commitment to enhance and develop all staff, whether corporately or locally, ensuring that all selection, development and promotion processes are fair, consistent and transparent (MPS, 2010). The policy also sets out to support the MPS's vision to build a diverse workforce that reflects the diversity of communities it serves. Chow and Crawford (2004) found a significant difference in the success rate of gender and ethnic groups in their bids for promotion in a large UK organisation. Similarly, reports and studies on the MPS show that female officers fare better than BME officers in the promotion processes of the MPS (MPS HR Headline Scorecard, 2009; Wolfenden, 2009). All of the interview participants were asked if they observed or perceived any barriers to the career progression of female and BME officers in the MPS. The majority of the respondents were of the view that the promotion process is fair and that everyone has the opportunity to progress if they want to:

“I can't see any barriers. I may be walking around with rose-tinted specs but I don't see any barriers. The opportunity is there for all who want to progress. After your two-year probation you can stay in uniform, stay on borough or apply for other

lateral development posts. To a certain degree, you can chart your own progression; obviously there might be skills and knowledge you need to develop to have a lateral development into another branch of the Met. Promotion is an opportunity as well which you have to fulfil the criteria for and study; you are assessed on knowledge, experience and there's a practical test as well." (Met007 - male, 44, White British)

"If you look at our ranks now, we've got more females than we've ever had and I think they are living proof that there are no glass ceilings. There is evidence that it can be done; whether it is more difficult, I don't know. That's my perception sitting here but maybe if I was black I would be of the view that opportunities are not open to me. I don't know." (Met061 - male, 40, White British)

Others who concur that there are no barriers to progression argued that success in the promotion process rests on individual confidence as well as an understanding of the promotion process:

I think confidence is key. When I looked at female and BME officers who were going for promotion they basically lacked confidence. They didn't highlight their roles as much on their applications. They don't give themselves sufficient credit and that can impact how the panel evaluate their applications. So I think they need that element of confidence as well as guidance to make sure they understand the process. It's not in the nature of some minorities to go out and speak assertively about certain things. I hope I'm not stereotyping. (Met068 - male, 46, Asian British)

The perspective of this respondent corresponds with the case discussed earlier by Met079 in section 8.7. Female and BME officers were shown to be 'amateurish' in their bids for promotion. They were not as self-assertive and confident as the white male majority because they were generally oblivious of the obscure processes involved in promotion. Alas, there is a lack of research into the career progression processes of female and BME officers (as also bemoaned by Fielding, 1999)

A senior-ranked female officer, in speaking about her career progression, explained that gaining support from her line manager was an essential factor in her successful career advancement:

“It is important to have a good sergeant; a strong supportive sergeant who helps you to do what you need to do. When I moved around the CID as a trainee, I had a lot of acting sergeants and some weaker sergeants. It was really difficult then to find my way. It wasn’t until I had a very strong sergeant who was actually a detective that my career started to progress and I started to get hold of what I needed to do because otherwise you can drift a little bit. You need leadership so it is important to have a strong supervisor that’s without prejudice and treats you just on merit. I was fortunate that I did get that in the end.” (Met051 - female, 39, White British)

Another female officer expressed that she had received encouragement from her line manager to progress in her career and she was also of the view that her gender aided her career advancement:

“I spent 13 years as a PC and that was out of choice. I didn’t have any barriers, actually I felt the opposite. Sort of 10 odd years ago there weren’t as many females so everybody knew our names. I was on a relief of 30 people, 5 were women and they knew my name, so I was remembered a bit more when it came to promotions. I think I stood out anyway but being one of few females also helped. Maybe if I had ginger hair that would help too! I did get encouraged to go for promotion. I assume they saw that I was capable but the studying for the Sergeants and Inspector’s exam is really hard work. It is quite time consuming and you have to be dedicated to it. I was enjoying being a PC so I didn’t care so much about promotion. Now, I look in the mirror since I’ve been promoted to Inspector and I’m really proud; my family thinks it’s amazing. Some people wouldn’t think so much of it, unless it was Superintendent or a higher rank that they aspire to. For me, this is great!” (Met013 - female, 38, White British)

With female officer numbers rising to 7296 (22.4% of police strength), arguably, the novelty of the police woman is beginning to wear off. Many of the newer female recruits did not consider their gender an advantage, except during specific policing functions such as stop-and-search.

While some officers spoke about the support and encouragement that propelled them in their careers, other respondents argued that the onus is on each individual to plan their own career otherwise it becomes difficult to move forward in the MPS:

“I have reviews with new officers after they’ve served 12 months and what I tell all of them is to take charge of their own careers. The Met is structured in a way that you will rarely see your line manager. Say, for example, Paul is your Sergeant, he might be on custody one day, on the street the next day, and somewhere else the third day. You won’t see your Sergeant more than one third of the time. So whilst he will have a general idea about you and how you are doing, he won’t know the specifics. So because you are not working with your line manager all the time, you have to take charge of your own careers by keeping your own records of what you’ve done, how you’ve done it, flag things up to people, and then asking questions. You have to look at the structure of the Met, look at what is out there and plan 5 years ahead, arrange attachments and gather your experience. That’s the problem, people sometimes don’t get forward because they are not planning. People don’t necessarily need to be very proactive they just need to be conscious of where they want to be. ‘The world is your oyster’ speech is what I give them.”
(Met044 - female, 34, White British)

Wolfenden (2009) further suggests that line managers should discuss promotion potential as a routine part of the performance appraisal process. With such a procedure, all officers would have a record in the Police Development Review (PDR) file regarding their promotion aspirations. That way line managers would be able to guide individuals in their professional development so that they can better prepared for promotion.

The career progression of female and BME officers involved a crucial support group, ranging from personal drive to supervisory support to social learning among cross-cultural peers. Some officers added that other support groups such as staff associations need to play a more active role in the career progression of their respective members:

“I think our structure and processes are open to external scrutiny and they are industry standard, if not better, and you will find that they are fair but preparation toward these processes and support through them and the informal networking side

of the business is part of it whether you like it or not, and that is hidden. I don't think this is by way of design, I just think it's just by association, and I do think that there is some real blockage or barrier to progression of minority groups. The experience of the black officers in the Met is some years behind the experience of the female officers in the Met. Females realised 15 years ago that they had to start working together and assisting each other. Look at the women's police association; it's very active in relation to supporting its members. I don't think it's by accident that our gender make-up in this organisation is very healthy with people coming in and it's also healthy with promotions. And what we find in our promotion processes is that women are slower than men by about 2 years coming into our promotion processes and again the research indicated that this is surrounding issues of confidence; they will go when they think they are ready. Whereas your white majority male will go because they just want to [laughs] rather than being reflective about their abilities and skills. But once they are in the process, women fare better than men. Statistically, they are cleverer and quicker through our promotion processes. Again, I don't think gender is a huge issue; we've got good representation and it's getting better. But the challenge now is to build on this initial success with black colleagues and try and move that along." (Met079 - male, 46, White British)

Although female officers statistically fare better than BME officers in the MPS promotion process, some female respondents spoke up about some of the challenges they faced in their career advancement:

"Things haven't really stood in my way. I suppose I did have one challenge when I got pregnant with my second child. I was waiting for promotion and when they found out I was pregnant they told me to go have my baby and when I come back they'd look into promoting me then. I thought that was unfair because my promotion was already delayed and now it was being further delayed. I took that up and had to stand up for myself." (Met039 - female, 47, Irish)

Correspondingly, other senior-ranked female officers expressed similar challenges with balancing family life and career progression. Some explained that they have managed to progress despite brief deviations from their charted paths, while others admitted that progression beyond their current rank was largely unattainable due to their demanding family life:

“The biggest regret I have is not going to university. I did make that decision and I know that if I want to progress to Superintendent or above, then it will limit me. I’ll cross that bridge if or when I get to it. Nevertheless, my commitments have changed; I’ve had a family in the mean time. Now, I don’t think I have the time and extra commitment that the Met needs for me to get much further in this career.” (Met051 - female, 39, White British)

“After training school I was posted at Kentish Town division where I stayed for about 5 years. I then moved on to TSG (Territorial Support Group), which has been in the papers quite a bit re G-20. I then went across to Hendon training school because I had my first child and I wanted to find a role that had more normal work hours. I stayed at the training school for about 5 years and then I got promoted to Sergeant and served in that role for about 4 years. I’ve been here in this new role for 6 months.” (Met025 - female, 43, White British)

Met025 is an Inspector and indicated that she would like to progress further in her career. She was of the view that she would have an equal opportunity, despite her family obligations. At the risk of inculcating pessimism, researches have shown that female officers are at higher risk of burnout due to balancing work and family commitments (Berg et al., 2003; He et al., 2002).

Some senior-ranked BME officers identified barriers in the promotion process which were said to be due to the subjective selection methods used by line managers. Officers at the Inspector rank need to be recommended by their line manager before they can sit the Chief Inspector promotion examination. This, they lament, creates a glass ceiling as officers are sometime blocked at the first stage. One officer explained that he applied for promotion and was rejected three times by his line manager:

"The first time I went for promotion to Chief Inspector, I got turned down. That was okay because I was probably lacking experience. The second time I worked my buttocks off thinking that that I knew exactly what to do to prove that I am ready but I got turned down in favour of a white colleague with blue eyes and less experience. I’m not saying that I’m the best thing since sliced bread because it’s more about what people think about you. The reason given was that there were gaps in my

evidence. So I took that, went away and worked harder and applied again. I didn't get any help from anybody. There were groups and informal networks, plus some of the Chiefs and Superintendents helped other applicants. When I went to show my Superintendent by application he said "ah nah, you'll be alright!" So nobody even had the decency to take a quick look at my form too. The other applicants knew what to tweak or modify but I couldn't get a second opinion from any of them. I then took the form up to the career management unit and my form was checked and improvements were made. I put through my form and it was not known to anyone that I had gone for advice above their rank, so as far as they were concerned, I did it entirely on my own again. So, I put the form in and a couple of days later I got the call to come in. He sat me down and said "I'm not going to recommend you on this occasion because there are gaps in your evidence". That was exactly what he said the last time. But come on, I said, "if you went for promotion now there would be gaps in your evidence as well; nobody's perfect". I asked if he could sit down with me to draft up a plan to show how I might get through next time. He said that he told me the last time already and so he can't put me through because there are still gaps. What put the icing on the cake was that he put through an officer who had less service and did less things than I did. Everyone was surprised that he got through and I, who worked my backside off for years, didn't get put through! I'm not saying the Superintendent is racist but he seems biased." (Met073 - male, 50, Asian British)

This officer eventually requested transfer to a new location and submitted the same application to his new line manager; he was recommended for the promotion examination without any apparent hesitation. The MPA (2010) called for the abandonment of the rights of line managers to veto members of their staff applying for promotion or lateral progression. Wolfenden (2009) also previously reported that BME promotion stalled drastically after the Inspector level because the process was no longer independent, therefore bias and subjectivity was allowed to influence the decision making. Up to the rank of Inspector, promotion processes follow the national NPIA process, which is open to all interested officers. However, the MPS has its own internal processes for promotions to Chief Inspector, Superintendent and Chief Superintendent. The transparency and fairness of these internal processes remain a grave concern among female and BME officers.

Further concerns were voiced about the barriers which appear after officers have succeeded the promotion examination and interview panel for the ranks of Chief Inspector or Superintendent. Police officers who wish to continue in territorial policing have to wait for placement onto a senior management team (SMT). The selection method for officers on SMT is based on the preferences of the head of the SMT (the borough commander/Chief Superintendent).

The four Borough Commanders who took part in this study were asked about the diversity of their respective SMTs. The two BME Commanders illustrated racial and gender diversity in the make-up of their SMT, while the two white Commanders said that their SMT were homogenous in terms of race, gender and sexual orientation. They went on to point out that although diversity was important to them, the range of skills and abilities on their team was more imperative:

“I just built my management team and to be brutally honest with you it’s all white, male, heterosexual members. Now that wasn’t done deliberately because I am quite aware of diversity but I was mainly focussed on skills and experiences. There have been problems on this borough historically with the management team. We are so performance driven right now; I want a team that can deliver for me. I don’t want mates just to go down the pub but they are useless at policing. I also won’t engage in tokenism. I think it’s demeaning for minority groups if you just take them for the sake of balancing the team. There is one female detective and we have some fantastic ethnic officers who will get there eventually.” (Met061 - male, 40, White British)

“We have control over who we select for our SMT so I think any borough commander worth his soul would try and get a team that is reflective of the workforce that we have. There is a good range of candidates because if we go back to systems and processes that you spoke about, the whole promotion process has changed considerably. It looks at the rank-grade mix, the diverse mix within the promotion process and that kind of positive progression of people through the ranks. So, if you look at the recent promotion process that we’ve just gone through, there are females included, whites, BME officers...I think what I try to do personally is look at the balance of my team in terms of skills and qualities that I would want for a

particular role and then I try and select the best person for that job. Personally, I want to select the best people with the right abilities...I want to have a management team that is reflective of the staff that I have here. Because the reality is that if you look from the ground floor up, you're gonna say well, they are all white, middle class blokes. So what I'm gonna do now is look at opportunities that arise to me through natural ways – e.g. people move on, they get promoted, development transfers – so right now I have an opportunity to change that mix and that's what I'm looking at doing.” (Met015 - male, 45, White British)

The importance of demonstrable competences and experiences was highlighted by officers at all ranks in all the boroughs. The respondents were of the view that success in the promotion process was dependent on how well officers demonstrated the key competencies (operational experiences) as well as the relevant meta-competencies (analytical capability, negotiation skills) to support the organisational needs and work contexts.

While demonstrable competence was crucial to promotion success, one officer pointed out that the culture of nepotism in the MPS played a major role in the selection of candidates for SMT:

Nepotism – it's viewed as the tried and tested. 'Better the devil you know than the unknown' If I was going for a promotion they'd call around to find out about the person regardless of name. It's about reputation. (Met004 - male, 40, White British)

This culture, arguably, poses further barriers for those BME officers who are not well-connected in the MPS. Kanter (1977: 63) introduced the term "homosocial reproduction" which is the tendency for managers to hire or support their own kind. Interestingly, the issue of 'nepotism' highlighted by Met004 was further substantiated by one of the Borough Commanders who presented a similar scenario in which he identified qualified persons in his borough and said that he would recommend the officer to other boroughs or departments, if he didn't have space on his own SMT:

"As have happened in the past, if I couldn't offer them something here for some reason, then there might be some other opportunity elsewhere. So I'd say, right, you'd actually be good doing 'x' and I'd call up and say, John I've got David here who'd be great working for you in 'x'. (Met015 - male, 45, White British)

Most of the concerns about career progression have had to do with promotion up the ranks, not lateral progression. The MPA (2010) posits that the MPS is "obsessed" with rank progression which reinforces its hierarchical mentality of attributing rewards and status based on progressing up the chain of command. The MPA contends that lateral progression should also be encouraged and rewarded. While the vast majority of the interview respondents spoke about rank progression, one officer who started as a PCSO in the MPS explained that he reapplied to the MPS to become a PC so that he could have wider career prospects in terms of lateral progression and development:

There are so many opportunities in the Met; you can go anywhere, there are many options to develop a career. I would have stayed as a PCSO forever, I loved that job but there is no progression in it. If I go for promotion, the highest I would go is sergeant. I think once you start hitting the rank of an inspector you start becoming a politician. You are more worried about what the papers are saying about you. I joined the Met to go out and help people, not sit behind a desk. I could have got a job in an office somewhere else but I am a police officer because I love the job. I want to do more work in safer neighbourhood team and community work. (Met083 - male, 22, Indian British)

Lateral progression was mentioned by only a few respondents. The finding suggests that female officers do not pursue this promotion route because it does not offer the same level of status and influence as rank authority. Conversely, male BME officers utilise specialist roles as a ways of securing a strong professional identity.

8.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented findings on the general policies and realities of managing diversity in the MPS. Aspects of MPS diversity strategy, in relation to workforce and culture, were evaluated in order to determine the efficacy of its diversity initiatives. The areas discussed were diversity training, the role of HR and line managers in diversity management, positive action, mentoring, networking, and career progression.

The vast majority of respondents were of the view that diversity training and awareness is episodic because it felt ad hoc and came across as merely a “knee-jerk reactions to external pressures for equality”. The implementation of diversity training has led to negative perception of the programme. The interview respondents also criticised the format and content of diversity training, which was typically perceived as stereotyped, racially-focused, and offered limited transfer of learning.

The results indicated that strong leadership and visible commitment to diversity awareness are key components in successfully promoting diversity and inclusion in the MPS. HRM leadership on diversity management was negatively perceived by employees, while strong local leadership from line managers and borough commanders proved to be more effective in advancing diversity initiatives.

The general perspectives of the respondents demonstrated an apparent misconception of positive action and how it is implemented in the MPS. Despite the merit-based principle of the MPS, the stigma of tokenism appears to be rife among employees. Female and BME officers highlighted the negative implications of positive action.

The MPS mentorship scheme was shunned by male BME officers who were desperate to avoid any special treatment that would be viewed as unfair advantage. Female recruits were more prone to accepting mentoring. Those who took part in the mentoring

scheme criticised its effectiveness in terms of the quality of the relationship and the benefits to the mentee.

The respondents demonstrated a keen interest in informal networks as a means of professional learning and development. The results showed that female and BME experienced challenges around forming networks and so could not benefit from informal professional learning.

The majority of the respondents were of the view that the promotion process in the MPS is fair and open to all who wish to progress. The results demonstrated an amateurish approach among BME officers who sought promotion. These officers were found to be lacking in understanding of the obscure processes involved in career progression and they were less prepared in comparison to the white male majority who received informal support through study groups and connections with senior officers. The respondents identified barriers in the promotion process which were linked to the subjective role of line managers as well as the subjective selection methods used by borough commanders to select members for their senior management teams.

Chapter Nine

Discussion and Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research has been to understand how employee perspectives on diversity, anchored in a specific work context, shape the organisation's approach to managing diversity. To that end, the analysis presented detailed accounts of the experiences and perceptions of individual employees who play an active role in the discourse of diversity management in the police service. The research findings inform our understanding of the complex issues surrounding workforce diversity and demonstrate the value of operationalising the concept of diversity perspectives (Ely and Thomas, 2001; Dass and Parker, 1999) in a comparative analysis of the perspectives and experiences within and between different work groups in the police service.

This concluding chapter is divided into two sections. The first section revisits the research questions based on the salient themes which emerged from the field study and provides a conceptual account of managing diversity in the MPS. The second section identifies the original contribution and implications of this study in relation to theory development, methodological approach, and strategies for managing diversity. Suggestions are then made for future research on the topic of diversity management.

9.2 Revisiting the Research Problem

9.2.1 What are the prevailing perspectives on workforce diversity in the MPS?

The research identified three perspectives on workforce diversity in the MPS, two of which correspond with existing theories (Cox, 1991; Ely and Thomas, 2001; Dass and Parker, 1999) and a third perspective which is labelled in this study as the hybrid access-and-learning perspective. The research findings illustrated how the diversity perspectives expressed by the respondents were influenced by their individual identities and their different work contexts, thereby demonstrating that the socio-cultural context of workforce diversity determines the discourse on diversity (Cavanaugh, 1997; Prasad, 1997; Johns, 2004; Janssens and Zanoni, 2005). The key factors identified in this study include: socio-cultural background, team structure and size, level of public interface, organisational history and practices, and the business case rationale.

i) Socio-cultural background

Respondents from heterogeneous socio-cultural backgrounds tended to express an integration-and-learning perspective on diversity, while persons from homogenous backgrounds found workforce diversity to be beneficial as a way of gaining access to different cultural groups within the communities they police. This distinction in perspectives further demonstrates the impact of diversity awareness and social integration on the discourse of diversity. The argument for the social embeddedness of diversity would support the notion that the socio-cultural context of individuals has an important influence on the skills, competencies and perspectives that one might develop in relation to diversity. Therefore, the macro-level social, political and economic forces must not be ignored (Litvin,

1997) in understanding the perspectives by which the experience of diversity are constructed.

ii) The business case rationale

Proponents of the access-and-legitimacy perspective considered the visible racial or gender identity of police officers as an important resource primarily for public interface. This perspective on the importance of gender and racial diversity rests on the notion that such groups possess certain knowledge, skills and capabilities that the MPS required in order to meet its goals. Narratives depicting the access-and-legitimacy perspective were characterized by ethnic segregation of the workforce and 'gendered' or racially segregated work functions, which are consistent with the practices associated with the business case for workforce diversity (Cox and Blake, 1991; Thomas, 1990).

iii) Organisational history

The access-and-legitimacy perspective was the most prominent perspective among the full sample of interview respondents, perhaps owing to the major focus of the MPS on community and race relations. Many of the respondents attributed workforce diversity to external pressures such as the Scarman Report (1981) and the Macpherson Report (1999). For the majority of police officers, the value of increased workforce diversity was perceived only at the margin of gaining access and legitimacy with constituent groups in the community. Internally, differences were not widely perceived as 'useful' and employees were expected to play down their individual characteristics (similar to results from Dass and Parker, 1999; Ely and Thomas, 2001; Wilson and Iles, 1999). This perspective on diversity relates to the equality paradigm which typically perceives individual difference as a liability (Liff, 1996). The MPS diversity practices demonstrate a strong affinity to the legal and

business case as opposed to a valuing diversity approach. Therefore, the governing logic in the field of diversity management is sustained not only by the organisational practices but also by the shared perspectives of its members (Cavanaugh, 1997; Prasad, 1997; Johns, 2004; Janssens and Zanoni, 2005).

iv) Team structure and size

In terms of team level perspectives, the access-and-legitimacy perspective was particularly expressed by participants who worked on the large response teams that make up the Territorial Support Groups (TSG) of the MPS. These teams were composed of officers with a specific mix of skill levels and competences, based on formal police training. Gender and racio-ethnicity were rarely considered essential factors for the makeup of response teams. Workforce diversity was valued mainly for practical purposes such as stop-and-search of female civilians by female officers or in special situations where language or cultural barriers were broken by BME officers to enhance policing effectiveness. This echoes the findings from previous studies which positively linked task-related and information-related diversity dimensions to work group performance and openness to diversity (Chou et al., 2004; Horwitz and Horwitz, 2007; Jehn et al., 1999; Pelled et al., 1999). In relation to social identity theory, this conceptualisation of gender and racioethnicity and functional tools of work potentially blurs the lines of traditional social category and functional category diversity.

The integration-and-learning perspective was popular among police officers on safer neighbourhood teams (SNT), as well as among Police Community Support Officers (PCSO) and lower-ranked police officers from heterogeneous social backgrounds. The smaller teams on SNT appear to facilitate 'better' levels of social integration and group cohesion in

contrast to the larger isolated TSG response teams. Horwitz and Horwitz (2007), in their meta-analytic review of team demography, found no discernible effect of team diversity on social integration. However, the results from SNT versus TSG show that the size of the team and the nature of their work could mediate the effect of workforce diversity on social integration.

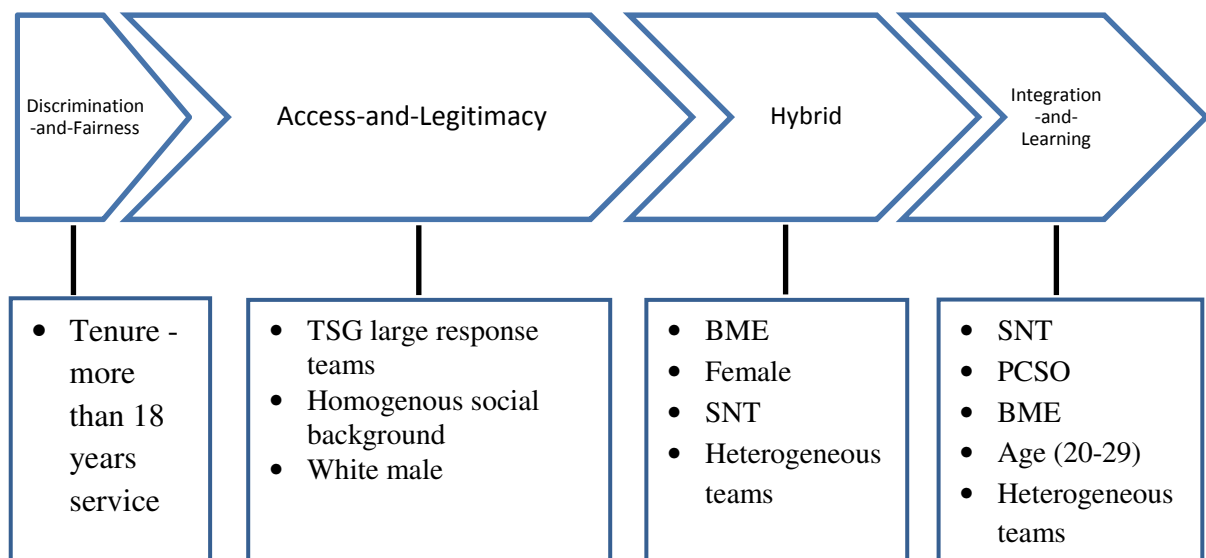


Figure 9.1 - The diversity perspectives of different identity categories.

Figure 9.1 shows the diversity perspectives expressed by the different categories of respondents. The key variables at the individual level include length of service (tenure), racio-ethnicity and age. White males predominantly expressed an access-and-legitimacy perspective, while BME officers either held an integration-and-learning perspective or expressed both access-and-legitimacy and integration-and-learning perspectives (hybrid access-and-learning). It is difficult to theorise this difference in perspectives between BME and White males because of the complex interaction of multiple identity dimensions within and between the identity groups. Studies with a deep intersectional analysis could explore this topic. However, evidence from heterogeneous teams in the MPS show that, as the

workforce becomes more diverse, the social learning element of the integration-and-learning perspective is increasingly acknowledged in the organisation's discourse of diversity. Hence, the social embeddedness of diversity will continuously produce and reproduce the social fabric of the MPS and thereby progressing the diversity discourse as the context of work evolves.

Respondents aged 20-29 predominantly expressed an integration-and-learning perspective, demonstrating alternative views to the espoused values and perspectives of the MPS. Older respondents, or those with more than 18 years service, shared views linked to the discrimination-and-fairness perspective, but tended to adopt a general access-and-legitimacy perspective on diversity. The age distinction in diversity perspective is a significant indication that the integration-and-learning perspective is being brought into the MPS by its new recruits. One would therefore conclude that the hybrid perspective demonstrates the transition that is taking place as new values are balanced with the existing espoused values of the MPS.

9.2.2 How are the diversity perspectives reflected in the organisation's policies and day-to-day work processes?

A sound understanding of workforce diversity requires the examination of the organisational policies and practices that shape diversity perspectives and experiences. Diversity is conceptualised in the MPS Equality Policy as strands or categories of protected characteristics. These groups of individuals are treated as both 'at risk' and 'of benefit'. It is therefore conceivable that some employees would perceive their diversity as a potential occupational challenge and also as an organisational resource. The MPS Equality Policy

(2010) and the MPS Diversity and Equality Strategy (2009) were developed through consultation processes involving MPS staff and the community. These policies are representative of the MPS's diversity paradigm, which informs its diversity action plans and initiatives. Organisations with a discrimination-and-fairness perspective on diversity will focus primarily on reducing grievances and lawsuits. This is a focus of the MPS but its Diversity and Equality Strategy additionally focuses on developing a workforce that reflects the diversity of London; this indicates that the MPS also acts from an access-and-legitimacy paradigm.

A range of initiatives are designed in order to recruit and retain a diverse workforce, to the extent that flexible working arrangements and mentorship schemes are implemented in an aim to support employees from under-represented groups so that the MPS can "use the skills and talents of its diverse workforce" (MPS, 2009). Many of these workforce initiatives are not well received by all units of the MPS. For instance, it was discussed in Chapter Eight that there is a negative perception of the mentorship scheme among police officers, particularly male officers. The diversity initiatives of the MPS aim to develop a working and organisational culture that is inclusive and recognises, respects and values diversity (MPS, 2009). However, at the time of this research, the interview respondents said that there were limited opportunities for networking and cultural exchange within the MPS. Subsequently, and owing to the Equality Standard for the Police Service, which monitors equality outcomes and performance for continual improvement, new workforce initiatives have been implemented (such as the BME promotion and study group networks) in order to improve the People and Culture elements of its practices. Therefore, if the organisation's diversity paradigm and diversity policies are enacted through its choice of diversity initiatives (Kulik and Roberson, 2008a), then the evolving paradigm and policies of the MPS

are observable in the improvements in its diversity and equality initiatives. In particular, the implementation of the new mentorship scheme in partnership with the Gay Police Association and the introduction of BME networks and study groups demonstrate that the experiences and perspectives of MPS employees have an influence on the organisation's progress towards adopting an integration-and-learning paradigm on managing diversity.

Johns (2004) and Janssens and Zanoni (2005) show that the way in which work is organized has an important influence on the discourse of diversity. The diversity perspectives expressed by the interviewees were manifested in numerous forms in the MPS work contexts. The perspectives and experiences of the different identity groups have helped in mapping out a rough pattern of the practice of diversity management in a police context.

9.2.2.1 Gender difference

The majority of female police officers expressed an access-and-legitimacy perspective. The experiences of most female respondents depicted the gendered division of labour (Davies and Thomas, 2008; Westmarland, 2001) that is linked to the business case, which underpins the access-and-legitimacy perspective on diversity (Dass and Parker, 1999; Ely and Thomas, 2001). The empirical evidence has shown that the work systems and processes in the MPS favour the masculine police archetype. Similar strong macho culture and gendered structures and processes have been identified in other research on the police service (Chan et al., 2003; Davies and Thomas, 2008; Dick and Jankowicz, 2001; Doran and Chan, 2003; Leishman, Loveday and Savage, 2000; Martin 1999; Waddington, 1999).

Female officers expressed that they were constrained by gendered norms and were treated differently because of their perceived lower physical capabilities. They were

expected to take on work roles that were considered appropriate for female officers (as in Davies and Thomas, 2008; Fielding and Fielding, 1992). Incidentally, as shown in Chapter Seven, the senior-ranked female officers in this study all occupied roles that were perceived as "pink and fluffy" office-based, community and school support, or welfare and domesticated roles. Arguably, these 'gendered' roles illustrate constellations of discursive and material controls in the MPS (Zanoni and Janssens, 2007). Female officers are generally confined to the boundaries of femininity but at the same time they are expected to behave like a 'model employee', which involves assimilating the masculine police archetype.

Bourdieu (2001) posits that women and men are trapped in an image of masculinity and femininity and so the mythical vision of police work is accepted as being suitable for the 'manly man'. Female officers challenged the masculine police archetype while they were 'proving themselves' in order to fit in on their work teams (Martin, 1980; Young, 1991; Heidensohn, 1992). However, once they became established on their team, they expressed their femininity more freely, especially in feminised niches. This perhaps explains why female officers gravitate towards feminine roles once they begin to progress in rank. Other studies have shown that women generally show a greater liking for feminine jobs (Alvesson and Billing, 2009; Martin, 1999; Oswald, 2008). Arguably, the female occupation of these office-based, community support, domesticated, nurturing, and "pink and fluffy" roles reify the stereotypes of female officers and the reproduction of gender disadvantage in career progression (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). A glass ceiling effect could ensue if females continue to pigeon hole themselves by taking on so-called feminised, undervalued roles that lack 'recipe knowledge' of 'real' policing (Dick and Jankowicz, 2001; Davies and Thomas, 2008; Ridgeway and Correll, 2004).

Gerber (2001) posits that men and women only appear to have different personalities because men have higher status than women. This was illustrated in the 'pecking order' that was demonstrated on MPS work teams, which perpetuate a dichotomous and hierarchical construct of gender in policing (Alvesson and Billing 2009). The lack of ascribed status among female officers meant that their achieved status superseded their gender prominence. Dick and Jankowicz (2001) found that membership of a supervisory rank had a significant impact on how female officers were judged in the organisation. The findings from this research show that female officers relied on their rank as a means of exerting influence in the police service, while males typically relied on their reputation as their main source of status and influence. There was only one female respondent who worked as an Inspector on the TSG response team, carrying out a core operational role. This female officer was part of the accelerated promotion scheme for graduates and she pointed out that more attention was paid to her limited experience and tenure, but not her gender per se.

The experiences of female officers illustrate the problem of stereotyping that is associated with the access-and-legitimacy perspective. The main focus is on using diversity as an asset for external benefits while work systems and processes remain unchanged. Female officers faced pressures of balancing family and work life, further supporting findings from studies that highlight work-related stress among female police officers (Berg et al., 2003; He et al., 2002).

The importance of gender identity in the workplace was also highlighted by females who explained that the presence of female officers in the upper echelons of the MPS had a positive impact on the experience and inclusion of new female recruits. The positive reputation of these existing female officers eliminated, to an extent, what Chan et al. (2010)

and Deutsch (2007) described as the 'negative symbolic capital' of new female officers. The analysis provided useful insight on the experience of female officers, identifying the important influence of different work contexts within the complex police occupational culture.

9.2.2.2 Sexual Orientation

The study included a very small sample of the four Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) officers whose stories may not provide adequate data for a robust analysis, but nevertheless contribute to our understanding of the complex interplay of different identity dimensions in the MPS's diversity discourse. Three of the four Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) officers in this study expressed an access-and-legitimacy perspective; they were all white female officers. These officers perceived their sexual orientation as an asset for gaining police access to the isolated gay communities in London. The LGBT officer who expressed a hybrid perspective was BME and also a PCSO. She did not report any issues around sexual orientation but perceived her racio-ethnicity and cultural competencies as being important to her experience in the MPS. Two white LGBT officers reported antigay and derogatory lesbian jokes directed at them in the MPS. This finding suggests that some identity dimensions, such as race, might augment or reduce the effect of other identity dimensions, such as sexual orientation (Holvino, 2010; McCall, 2005).

Intersectionality theory seems to also apply to the experience of LGBT officers in adopting a masculine behaviour at work. LGBT officers were of the view that it was easier for them to assimilate the masculine police archetype because they did not experience pressure to demonstrate their femininity. Miller, Forest and Jurik (2003) similarly reported that some lesbians in their sample believed that they were able to “do gender” in the

masculine tradition of policing without threatening heterosexual male officers to the extent that heterosexual women do (Miller et al., 2003: 376). 'Doing gender' in the police service would therefore imply that LGBT officers actively manage their situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category (West and Zimmerman, 1987). They were able to resist the gendered norms by 'undoing' their gender (Chan et al., 2010; Deutsch 2007) and so could assimilate the dominant police archetype, unlike heterosexual females who were constrained by the boundaries of femininity.

9.2.2.3 Racio-ethnic Identity

The experiences of BME officers demonstrate the continued complexity of race relations and social integration in the MPS (Holdaway, 1996; Cashmore, 2002; Foster et al. 2005; Holdaway and O'Neill 2007; McLaughlin 2007; Loftus, 2008). BME officers expressed both access-and-legitimacy and integration-and-learning perspectives on workforce diversity. The BME officers who worked on SNT or as PCSOs expressed an integration-and-learning perspective, while those who worked on TSG response teams held mixed views. Racio-ethnicity was perceived as being particularly useful in the community policing contexts or for the purpose of police intelligence gathering. Consequently, BME officers who worked on SNT experienced 'better' levels of inclusion because of the level of social learning and intergroup relation that is associated with the integration-and-learning perspective.

BME officers who worked on TSG experienced less social inclusion and expressed that their racio-ethnic identity was valued only at the level of public interface. These officers were of the view that their work colleagues were 'tolerant' of differences, but preferred to interact with other officers who shared their own values and practices. They described the

work atmosphere as "artificial" and "uptight" because officers were overly politically correct in their dealings with BME officers. Researchers suggest that sensitivity to race, religion, and gender is too often driven by fear instead of genuine understanding (Ely, Meyerson & Davidson, 2006; Weeks, 2002). The situation of "walking on egg shells" breeds misunderstanding and mistrust among team members (Belkin and McNichols, 2002; Chou et al., 2008; Dick and Jankowicz 2001; Metcalfe and Dick, 2002) and damages the sense of community and informal interactions in organisations (Hobman et al., 2004; Letki, 2008)

Some BME officers who worked above the rank of Sergeant expressed that they experienced social exclusion in the MPS. The diversity perspective held at senior levels in the police boroughs was typically that of access-and-legitimacy. The effect of this perspective was felt by BME officers who reported isolation and pressures to assimilate the informal cultures of their teams. The Race and Faith Inquiry (2010) reported that the drinking culture and various forms of informal networks excluded some officers and staff, particularly those from a BME background (MPA 2010). BME officers admitted that they were more inclined to socialise with individuals who shared similar values and practices. However, as they progressed higher in rank, there were numerically less 'similar others' and so the exclusionary pressures felt even worse (Mehra, Kilduff and Brass, 1998).

These exclusionary pressures were felt even in their interpersonal relations with line managers. BME officers reported that they struggled to develop a strong supportive relationship with their white male supervisors. Some BME officers also reported bias in the evaluation and promotion processes where there were high supervisory discretion (as in Colvin, 2009; Dick and Jankowicz, 2001). The experiences of BME officers show signs of a dominant access-and-legitimacy perspective in the core structure of the MPS. BME officers

experienced 'better' social integration and acceptance in the parts of the MPS which valued cultural diversity as a resource for learning and adaptive change.

The integration-and learning perspective appeared to be incommensurate with the existing processes and mechanisms in the MPS. The attitude of officers on large response teams illustrated a stern resistance to a general integration-and-learning perspective.

Nevertheless, this perspective shows developmental potential in certain parts of the MPS structure and could be further infused throughout the organisation as workforce diversity continues to increase and also spread to its upper echelons.

9.2.2.4 Deep-level Identity Dimensions

Deep-level identity dimensions such as experience, length of service (tenure), and reputation were identified by the respondents as attributes that enhance the level of power or influence people have on their work teams. The effect of these identity dimensions can be supplemented by other deep-level or surface-level identity dimensions such as race, age or gender, depending on the context (Ely, 1995). The general effect of gender identity, for instance, was defused by racio-ethnicity and sexual orientation. Female BME officers reported less gender discriminations and LGBT officer found it easier to be accepted as "one of the boys". These finding are consistent with the arguments of intersectionality theory that there are interactive effects of different dimensions of diversity (Holvino, 2010; McCall, 2005), which expose multilevel and nonlinear effects of workforce diversity.

Age, depending on how visible ones maturity might be, was identified by female respondents as an important factor in how they are perceived as a team leader. Females on the accelerated promotion scheme for graduates said that they looked forward to aging because it would attract more respect from their subordinates. Social identity theory lends

support to this social construction of age and gender influence. Female officers experience complex constellations of inequality and so, in different social contexts; certain identity dimensions become salient and can have either positive or negative effects on power relations.

Police officers with higher education qualifications reported that their education did not enhance their status in the police service. Education became important only at the point of progression to senior ranks or managerial level. Higher education qualification was common among officers at the lower ranks, particularly among BME and female officers. There were no reports of current challenges around the negative effect of education on their individual identity (Young, 1991; Holdaway, 1983), although policing as a profession still placed superior value on its own assessment processes and training courses.

9.2.2.5 The Changing Police Archetype

The scope of evidence does not demonstrate the level of inclusivity that is required for leveraging the benefits of the integration-and-learning perspective. The diversity climate described in this study points to a deep-rooted problem with the police occupational identity. The archetype of the ideal police officer has been constructed in the likeness of a man, hard-bitten, cynical and drawn to in-group/out-group distinctions (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). The access-and-legitimacy perspective seems to be deeply institutionalised in the MPS as is evident in its predisposition for assimilation to the dominant masculine identity. The integration-and-learning perspective is strongly manifested in some areas of the MPS (such as SNT) but its full development is impeded by a long-established and unyielding police archetype.

Deeply institutionalised archetypes are hard to change but they are subject to challenge, environmental pressures and consequent delegitimation (Brock, 2007; Cooper et al., 1996). Chan (1997 and 2003) contends that police culture is neither homogeneous nor immune to change. This study has shown that different perspectives on workforce diversity are adopted by different work groups, subcultures, in different contexts of work, and at different stages in an individual's career. The multiplicity of diversity perspectives depicts a form of sedimented change process in the MPS. This geological metaphor of sedimentation allows us to consider a dialectical rather than a linear view of change (Cooper et al; 1996). Sedimentation is merely the laying down of one archetype on top of another (Brock, Powell and Hinnings, 2007). The co-existing diversity perspectives in different parts of the MPS demonstrate the incoherence and persistence of certain values and practices, which result in a layered value system and a sedimented police archetype.

The widely held access-and-legitimacy perspective is perpetuated by the sedimented nature of change in police values and practices. The transitional hybrid diversity perspective illustrates the competing commitments of the structure and processes of policing. The MPS has already undergone some amount of archetype reconstruction with its shift from enforcement style policing to service oriented policing. New soft skills are gaining more prominence as PCSOs and officers on SNT are perceived as mentors, facilitators, and not just combatants. The SNT and PCSO structure represents a new value system of the MPS, which mainly adopts an integration-and-learning perspective on diversity. However, this new structure and values coexist with the long-established police archetype. Sillince and Brown (2009) argue that this multiple identity constitutes part of constabularies' self-presentation strategies, by which they attempted to exert control over stakeholders' perceptions and establish pragmatic, cognitive and moral claims to legitimacy.

The findings have demonstrated positive and negative effects of diversity and have linked these issues to the prevailing diversity perspectives and the complex police archetype. A single dominant integration-and-learning perspective might not be completely attainable in MPS, but could be achieved at levels in the organisation where there are subversive values and paradigms on workforce diversity. The next section explores possible strategies for expanding the integration-and-learning perspective in the MPS.

9.2.3 What strategies might be used to improve diversity management in the MPS?

The current enactment of diversity is incoherent at the localised level of the MPS. Modifying the assumptions from its root will require more than just documented policies and strategies because employees are not passive recipients of diversity initiatives. Managers will need to audit the organisational culture and subcultures to make it better able to digest unassimilated diversity (Thomas, 2001). The research findings indicated that strong leadership and visible commitment to diversity initiatives are key components in successfully promoting diversity and inclusion in the MPS. It is an implicit imperative that diversity implementation involves active participation from employees at all levels of the MPS, through linking diversity to organisational goals and specific work processes and contexts.

Diversity management is labelled as a function of HRM (Matthews, 1998). This has influenced employees' views that diversity is "just another HR thing" resulting from legalistic pressure (Goggin et al. 1990). HRM leadership of diversity management was negatively perceived by the interview respondents, while strong local leadership from line managers and borough commanders was considered to be more effective in advancing diversity

initiatives. This echoes the results of other studies which suggest that wide-ranging allocation of responsibility for change will make training, performance evaluation, networking and mentoring programs more effective (deLeon & deLeon, 2002; Kalev, Kelly & Dobbin 2006; Ng and Sears, 2011).

Police officers tend to be resistant to directives which come from non-warranted officers. The interviewees also spoke about dominance and segregation between police officers, PCSOs, and police civilian staff. The rank structure pose serious implications for police perception on diversity issues that are communicated by non-warranted officer or civilian staff, who are typically deemed as unimportant by police officers. Managerial level civilian staff complained about the challenge of exerting authority over police officers. Police constables were of the view that communication from HR about diversity would be taken more seriously if it were to come from their line managers. Other studies show that clear communication and active support from organisational leaders at all levels could result in improved credibility and a higher level of support from employees (Goggin et al. 1990; Long and Franklin, 2004). The literature also indicates that the context of the flattening of organisational hierarchies gives line managers a greater degree of autonomy in managing diversity (Kirton and Greene, 2010). The MPS Diversity and Equality Strategy 2009-2013 involves a comprehensive governance framework which includes coordination of the action plans at the operational command units and business group level through the diversity forum and the local business planning mechanisms. This increasing involvement of borough commanders and line managers allows for closer monitoring of the impact of the diversity and equality initiatives at the micro level in the MPS (Cornelius et al., 2000; Foster and Harris, 2005).

Diversity management is inextricably linked to the attitudes, perceptions and shared understanding of the members of the organisation. Chapter Eight examined employees' perspectives on diversity management in terms of the efficacy of the diversity policies, strategies and programmes in the MPS. The results showed that individuals are not passive recipients of the diversity initiatives and that the outcome of diversity management was mediated by multiple social and contextual factors. The next section presents a conceptual model of how different factors simultaneously affect the process of diversity management in the MPS.

9.2.3.1 Strategies for Managing Diversity in the MPS

Diversity diagnosis refers to how well an organization manages its diverse workforce in order to maximise the benefits of organizational learning and effectiveness (Plummer, 2003). Figure 9.2 shows the simultaneous effects of various contextual factors on the management of diversity in the MPS. The diagram is adapted from the implementation schema set out by Dass and Parker (1999). However, this illustration includes organisational demography and the relevant diversity perspectives that shape the practice and experience of diversity management in the MPS.

Episodic Approach - Cell 1

This approach involves minimal diversity management initiatives in a highly homogenous context where the rationale for increasing workforce diversity is based on the access-and-legitimacy perspective. The diversity initiatives are isolated and not fully incorporated with the core organisational activities. Line managers are not involved in implementing diversity and there is basic diversity training aimed at teaching all new police officers and staff what

they need to know in order to succeed in the job of policing London's diverse communities.

There is focus on tolerance and sensitivity to difference, but minorities feel mistrusted and isolated in their work teams.

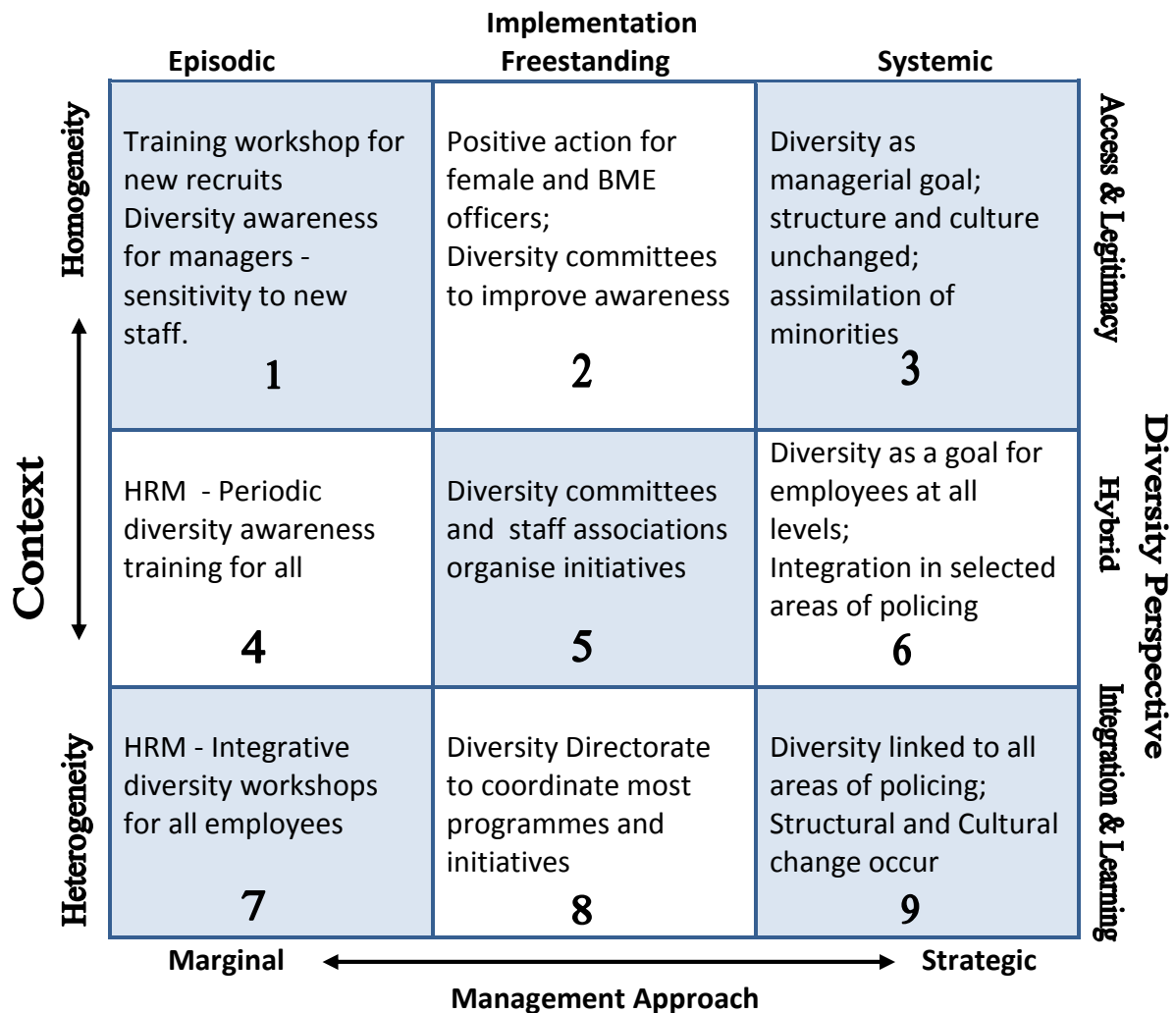


Figure 9.2 - The effect of multiple contextual factors on diversity management in the MPS

Freestanding Approach - Cell 2

Diversity management occurs in a highly homogenous setting where diversity initiatives include training for managers as well as positive action for female and BME officers. This mechanism supports the statutory requirements of Equalities scheme. There is

organisational effort to increase diversity awareness, but it is not fully integrated with the core activities at all levels. Isolated diversity initiatives are implemented to serve political expediency rather than organisational strategy. Female and BME officers in this context are viewed as tokens because of the use of positive action to increase representation.

Systemic Approach - Cell 3

The management of diversity becomes more strategic and systemic as the demography of the workforce changes. Diversity management is part of management goals and the appraisal system. The rationale for diversity is still predicated on the access-and-legitimacy perspective. Diversity is strategically linked to work practices resulting in gendered division of labour female and BME officers being deployed in visible community policing roles. Minority employees experience pressure to fit in with the established behaviour and values of their teams.

Episodic Approach - Cell 4

There is modest heterogeneity in some parts of the workforce and periodic diversity awareness training is arranged for employees at all levels. These training reinforce understanding and sensitivity to diversity but lack the interactive element that is required to improve interpersonal relations within the workforce. The initiatives are perceived as isolated and ad hoc because they are led by HRM and line managers do not advocate diversity awareness as a core issue.

Freestanding Approach - Cell 5

Diversity initiatives are organised by various groups which see the need to improve social exchange and improve interpersonal relations in the increasingly diverse workforce. These groups include staff associations, diversity committees, and informal networks. The activities are moderately supported by line managers who perceive potential benefits for their team's performance. Minorities receive informal mentorship through staff associations and racially segregated informal networks.

Systemic Approach - Cell 6

Diversity management is stipulated as a goal for employees at all levels. Appraisals require solid evidence of diversity awareness and usage in their work functions. Integration is facilitated in parts of the organisation that are more heterogeneous and also experience frequent community interface. Although diversity is celebrated and purposefully linked to core work systems and processes, minorities still experience pressure to assimilate the dominant police archetype.

Episodic Approach - Cell 7

Diversity training now incorporates practical interpersonal workshops for all employees. This diversity initiative is periodically arranged by HRM to foster unity among diverse employees. Managerial support is low because diversity is still not fully linked to core activities in the organisation. Minority employees experience a mix of inclusion and isolation, depending on their area of work.

Freestanding Approach - Cell 8

This approach is characterised by moderate managerial advocacy of diversity throughout most parts of the organisation. A diversity directorate coordinates the relevant diversity programmes and initiatives, but isolated initiatives are staged by other groups at local levels. The MPS is currently at this stage but further research is required in order to evaluate leadership behaviour and diversity advocacy at different levels of the organisation.

Systemic Approach - Cell 9

Diversity management is approached as a strategic matter and is systematically linked to core organisational activities. Heterogeneous teams exist at all levels of the organisation and diversity is perceived as a resource for adaptive change. The structure and culture of the organisation is altered to reflect its changing values and practices. Employees in all types of teams (e.g. SNT or TSG) experience a positive and inclusive work environment.

This schema shows that the management of diversity in the MPS is a complex and dynamic process, involving a variety of organisational actors and agents, as well as competing perspectives on the value of workforce diversity. The unyielding elements of the traditional police archetype continue to impede the purported positive effects of the integration-and-learning paradigm. The sedimented police archetype and its hybrid diversity perspectives seem to necessitate a more contingent approach to managing diversity in the MPS. Its diversity strategies and practices involve a mix of standard and proactive approaches to diversity management. However, the varying organisational contexts and different levels of managerial involvement are important factors that impinge on the effective implementation and management of diversity in the MPS. Very few managers took

a proactive stance on diversity in the MPS; this is typical as many managers seem to prefer to operate within clearly prescribed boundaries and procedures for managing diversity (Foster and Harris, 2005). The discrepancy in local management approach shows that the overarching diversity strategy of the MPS is operationalised according to the personal perspectives and priorities of the respective line managers and borough commanders. Therefore, consistency in the management approach to diversity can only come about through introducing leadership training in diversity and carrying out systematic monitoring of the distinctive local implementation of the MPS diversity and equality strategy.

9.3 Original contribution and implications for future research

Kulik (2014) calls for diversity researchers to conduct more above-the-line research, which examines the impact of formal organisational diversity management activities, instead of emphasising below-the-line research, which uses methodologies that evaluate employee perceptions of diversity management activities. An increased focus on above-the-line research is posited to reduce the research-practice gap. This study contributes to the diversity management literature by investigating both above-the-line (organisational policy, strategy and initiatives) as well as below-the-line (employee perspectives on diversity management in the MPS). The research identified important organisation-level contextual moderators that impact employee perception and attitude towards workforce diversity. Joshi and Roh (2009) called for a “contextual diagnosis” of workforce diversity to allow firms to develop practices that are tailored to reduce categorization-based processes and enhance elaboration-based processes at the team level. This study has delivered rich contextual analysis at the individual, team, and meso-level of the MPS. This context-based approach to researching workforce diversity has provided practical insights into the

discourse of diversity and strategies for the successful implementation of diversity programmes.

Foster and Harris (2005) also urge employers to adopt a contextually informed and organisationally realistic view of diversity management. This research suggests that management should adopt a context-based approach to diversity management in order to build support in different parts of the organisation. The empirical evidence showed that the contextualized understandings of diversity in the MPS imposed a specific discourse of diversity which was plainly anchored in the unique contexts of policing (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005; Johns 2004).

The MPS consciously attempts to transform its internal diversity processes but its strategies and initiatives show mixed results due to various mediating contextual factors. The process of managing diversity involves multiple stakeholders outside and inside the organization (Healy and Oikelome, 2007). Ozbilgin and Tatli (2008) argue that multilevel organisational support for diversity is an important precondition for effective diversity management. This research was based on the accounts of key actors within the MPS - its police officers and civilian employees (including senior managers, line managers). The MPS's contextualized understanding of diversity demonstrates how diversity practitioners strategically draw on the business case discourse in order to increase the support for its diversity agenda (Tatli, 2011). The findings in this research show that line managers and diversity specialists have enacted a shift in the 'diversity language' to strategically link diversity initiatives to issues that are important to the MPS's overall goals and objectives.

Discourses can be regarded as powerful resources (Fairclough, 2003) as the development of a shared understanding of diversity takes place in the space of the day-to-day processes of work. Janssens and Zanoni (2005) also show that the way in which work is

organized strongly affects the company's understanding of diversity as well as its approach to diversity management. This study supported the viewpoint that the discourse of diversity is anchored in an organisation's productive logic (Janssens and Zanoni, 2005). Police officers, time after time, described their diversity in relation to its impact on their work outcomes.

This study also revealed a gap between the diversity discourse and practice (Tatli, 2011). Diversity management in the MPS appeared to be constrained by the antidiscrimination legislation, as the organisation continues to demonstrate procedural justice (Fredman, 2001; Kaler, 2001; Liff, 1999). The findings also demonstrated that the equalities approach coexists and operates in parallel with the diversity approach of the MPS (Noon and Oswick, 2012). However, in order to overcome the individualistic and depoliticizing tendencies of equality and diversity (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000), the MPS will need to engage employees from all backgrounds and at all levels of the organisation with its new diversity agenda.

Jackson et al. (2003) highlighted a major gap in the diversity literature, as less than 5% of all diversity studies have examined whether the effects of one diversity dimension depend on the presence or absence of other dimensions. By exploring the discursive field of diversity, this research offered a multidimensional understanding of how diversity management impacts the experiences of different identity groups. Both surface-level and deep-level diversity dimensions were examined in order to understand their interrelatedness. The empirical evidence brought light to the complex intersections of multiple diversity dimensions (McCall, 2005; Holvino 2010), illustrating how female officers had varying experiences of inclusion and isolation, depending on the salience of their multiple identity dimensions. Taken separately, gender identity had a strong influence on police officers, but the findings show that other dimensions such as race, age, tenure, sexual

orientation, or education mediate the effect of gender identity in the police service. The findings from this study provide a glimpse into the complex interrelatedness of diversity dimensions, and draws attention to the importance of work context in altering the salience of different dimensions of individual identity.

This study found that gender was rigidly defined in the MPS (Smith and Gray, 1985). Female officers experienced challenge to assimilate the masculine police archetype and were expected to take on roles that were considered appropriate for females. This gendered division of labour (Westmarland, 2001; Davies and Thomas, 2008) could have an enduring impact on the career development of female officers. The data showed that senior-ranked female officers generally occupied feminine, "pink and fluffy", welfare roles, which limited their acquisition of 'recipe knowledge' of 'real' policing (Dick and Jankowicz, 2001). This study showed that, while some female officers challenged the masculine culture by succeeding in traditionally masculine police functions, others were content in taking on gendered role. With the purported feminisation of policing (Loftus, 2009), it would be worth exploring whether "pink and fluffy" career paths would one day lead to a female Commissioner of Police.

The research findings have informed our understanding of the complex issues surrounding workforce diversity and demonstrate the value of operationalising the concept of diversity perspectives (Ely and Thomas, 2001; Dass and Parker, 1999) in a comparative analysis of diversity management in the police service. This study explored the experiences and processes of workforce diversity based on the perspectives of employees. The demonstration of an association between diversity perspectives and the social experiences of different identity groups is an important step in advancing research about cause and effect and also supporting real organisations in their effort to improve social relations and

policy implementation in the workplace (Ozbilgin 2011; Zanoni 2010). The research found only two of the four theorised diversity perspectives being currently held in the MPS. However, the findings revealed a new hybrid perspective, taking values from the access-and-legitimacy and the integration-and-learning perspectives. The research also provided empirical evidence on how multiple organisational, societal, and individual factors might influence the diversity perspective of different employees.

A notable development was the importance of mid and low-level managerial involvement for the effective management of diversity. Research shows that policies and legislations, without appropriate leadership, are limited in promoting workforce diversity (Dass and Parker, 1999; DiTomas and Hooijberg, 1996; Pitts, 2007; Ng, 2008). There is a need for further academic inquiry into the role of different organisational actors and agents in the processes and outcome of diversity management (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2008).

Studies have revealed considerable resentment towards 'special treatment' and the internal support associations for ethnic minorities (Holdaway, 2004; Loftus, 2008). In a similar light, this research found that the discourses of exclusion remain a dominant part of the MPS work environment and police officers make a conscious effort to avoid organisational processes (such as mentoring) and staff associations (such as the Met Black Police Association) that had a stigma attached to it. This rejection of support mechanisms for BME officers suggest that the structures and processes characterised by the discrimination-and-fairness approach to diversity management are incompatible with the new attitudes and perspectives that are being perpetuated in the MPS. The MPS could improve its diversity management practices through revamping its policies to reflect the diversity paradigm shift in its workforce.

This study presented evidence of a changing police archetype. The sedimented nature of change in police structures and values could bring implications of conflicting practices and incompatible perspectives among employees. Research on organisational change could explore how the MPS might effectively transition its traditional values and practices into its implementation of a new organisational approach in a changing society. Fresh ethnographic accounts could reveal the new realities of policing in a contemporary society.

As there is a significant lag between the implementation of diversity initiatives and their effect on organisational outcomes, more longitudinal studies are needed to see how the effects of diversity management evolve over time. This research could become a longitudinal study to further examine the outcomes and ongoing developments of the MPS Diversity and Equality Strategy.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The following questions will serve as a guide for the researcher during face-to-face semi structured interviews with participating police officers and police civilian staff. Additional questions and probing will be used where necessary.

1. What is your job title?
2. What is your age?
3. When and why did you join the service?
4. Describe your racio-ethnic background.
5. Did you encounter any targeted minority recruitment activities before joining the MPS?
6. What do you think is the main value of workforce diversity?
7. What are your observations concerning workforce diversity in the MPS?
8. What kinds of attitudes and beliefs are portrayed towards you as an individual?
9. How does your social identity impact your work process?
10. Has racial or gender diversity posed any challenges or opportunities with your work colleagues?
11. What are the salient features of your own identity group within the MPS?
 - a. Do you see yourself this way?
12. What is your level of interaction with other identity groups at work?
13. How does your interaction with different identity groups impact your own work experience?
14. Which individual attributes or characteristics allows you to exert influence at work?
15. Have you observed or experienced any racial tensions or gender issues at work?
16. What would your experience at work be like if you were from a different race or gender?
17. Do you believe that your skills and talents are maximally utilised by the MPS?
18. In what ways do you consider your working environment to be positive and inclusive of diversity?
 - a. In what ways could this improve?
19. Do you think the approach to managing diversity in the MPS is episodic or systemic? Why?
20. What are your views on the diversity training and awareness initiatives?
21. What are your views on positive action?
22. Do you have any advice to new recruits for a successful career in the MPS?

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire should be completed by a senior officer or Human Resource Manager in the borough.

**All responses will be treated with full confidentiality.
Data collected through this instrument will aid in the selection of appropriate participants for further qualitative study.**

Research Topic:

Diversity Perspectives in the Police Service

by

Kenisha T. Linton

Doctoral Researcher

Supervised by: Dr Fiona Moore and Prof Mark Exworthy

1. What is your job title? _____
2. Does a Female and Ethnic Minority Recruitment Policy exist in your borough?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
3. How is the equal opportunities policy communicated to communities and prospective employees in your borough? *Tick all that apply:*
 - a. Local newspapers
 - b. Posters
 - c. Recruitment drives
 - d. Community events
 - e. Internet (please specify site)_____
 - f. Other, please specify_____
4. Why do you believe the MPS wants to recruit ethnic minority officers? *Tick all that apply:*
 - a. To have a police force that is representative of the community
 - b. To meet equal opportunities targets
 - c. For organisational learning and cultural understanding
 - d. Other, please specify
5. What strategies are utilised by your borough when recruiting ethnic minority officers? *Tick all that apply:*
 - a. Job centre adverts
 - b. Local newspapers
 - c. Recruitment days / events
 - d. Internet (Please specify site)
 - e. Other , please specify _____
6. Are current ethnic minority officers included in recruitment events?
 - a. Sometime
 - b. All the time
 - c. Never
7. In what way is the community relations department involved in recruitment activities?

8. Are you aware of any female and BME employment quotas in your borough?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
9. Are there any additional recruitment criteria used in your borough to accelerate the appointment of female and MBE candidates?
 - a. Fluency in a second language
 - b. Community language
 - c. Community knowledge or experience,
 - d. None
 - e. Other, please state

10. In what ways do you consider the working environment in your borough to be positive and inclusive?

11. Does your borough offer training in diversity management?

- a. Yes
- b. No

12. Does your borough have an active diversity board/committee?

- a. Yes
- b. No

13. Has there been an increase in employee relations issues as a result of racial and gender diversity?

- a. Yes
- b. No

14. What strategies are used for assigning duties to female and BME officers (e.g specialist roles)?

15. Are you aware of any special performance monitoring programme for ethnic minority officers?

- a. Yes
- b. No

If yes, please specify _____

16. Can you identify any organisational or institutional barriers that could hinder the progression of female and BME officers?

- a. Yes
- b. No

16b If yes, please specify?

17. What forms of development opportunities or support mechanisms are in place to increase the leadership capacity of female and BME officers? *Tick any which apply:*

- a. Mentoring programmes

- b. Secondment schemes
- c. Coaching
- d. Shadowing
- e. Confidential Counselling
- f. Training & Development
- g. Other, please specify

18. Do you operate an accelerated promotion pathway for high potential sergeants and constables?

- a. Yes
- b. No

18b If yes, how many female and BME officers have been promoted through this pathway during the last 10 years?

19. What is the highest rank presently held by a female and a BME officer in your borough?

Female _____

BME _____

20. What is the average length of service for ethnic minority officers in your borough?

- a. 12 months or less
- b. 1 - 2 years
- c. 2-5 years
- d. 5-10 years
- e. 10 years or more

21. What is the turnover rate for ethnic minority officers?

- a. Less than 10 percent per annum
- b. 10 to 20 percent p/a
- c. 21 to 35 percent p/a
- d. 36 to 50 percent p/a
- e. 51 to 70 percent p/a
- f. More than 70 percent p/a

22. What is the main reason given by BME officers for leaving the service?

- a. Lack of career progression
- b. Better Training and Development opportunity
- c. Better Pay and / or benefits
- d. Inequality
- e. Better location
- f. No reason
- g. Other, please specify

23. What is the main reason given by female officers for leaving the service?

- a. Lack of career progression
- b. Better Training and Development opportunity

- c. Better Pay and / or benefits
- d. Inequality
- e. Better location
- f. No reason
- g. Other, please specify

24. Are there strategies in place directed at the retention of female and BME staff?

- a. Yes
- b. No

23b If yes, what are they?

Profile of Interview Participants

Candidate Number	Gender	Age	Racio-ethnicity	Rank	Length of Service	Education	Social Identity
MET001	Female	38	White British	Sergeant SNT	19	Secondary Education	Scottish, Christian; homogeneous background
MET002	Male	29	White British	PC	6		Yorkshire, Catholic
MET003	Male	48	White British	HR Junior Manager	30	Secondary Education	North West London; predominantly white classmates
MET004	Male	40	White British	Detective Chief Inspector	19		English - Isle of Man
MET005	Male	49	White British	Dep. Custody Manager	20	Secondary Education	Ex-military
MET006	Female	44	White European	PCSO	4	Secondary Education	Half Greek Half Irish; attended Greek school; former prison worker
MET007	Male	44	White British	Detective Inspector	21	Secondary Education	English - Isle of Man, brought up in Essex, served 6 years in Royal Navy (Age 17-23)
MET008	Male	46	White British	PC, SNT	24	Secondary Education	Guildford, Surrey. Parent from Yorkshire. Army service 3.5 years
MET009	Female	42	Black British	PCSO	2	Secondary Education	Lesbian; grew up in Brixton; worked in prison services.
MET010	Male	54	Black African	PCSO	5.5		Muslim, Ghana refugee 1986, naturalised citizen
MET011	Male	29	White British	Detective Constable	7	Undergraduate Degree	Grew up in Bournemouth. Worked in Tower Hamlet, "mostly Asians in that borough".
MET012	Female	38	White British	DC (Financial crimes)	12.5	Secondary Education	Previously in Themes Valley Police, 4.5 years
MET013	Female	38	White British	Inspector	20	Secondary Education	
MET014	Female	34	White British	PC, SNT (just promoted to sergeant)	8		Lesbian; served in Cambridge constabulary; grew up in Birmingham.
MET015	Male	45	White British	Chief Superintendent	26	Undergraduate Degree	Moved to London at age of 17
MET016	Male	35	White British	Sergeant	13		
MET017	Female	30	White British	Media & Communications Manager	7.5	Undergraduate Degree	
MET018	Male	27	White British	PC	6	Secondary Education	Born in England; father is Italian, mother is Irish.
MET019	Male	49	White British	Sergeant	25	Undergraduate Degree	English - Isle of man
MET020	Male	35	White British	Sergeant	14		Born in South London
MET021	Female	37	White British	PC	6		Lesbian
MET022	Female	24	White British	PCSO	2		English - Isle of man
MET023	Male	31	Asian/Pakistan	PC	4.5	Undergraduate Degree	Worked as a bank clerk
MET024	Male	33	Black British	PC	6	Secondary Education	Caribbean roots; born in London; retail manager
MET025	Female	43	White British	Inspector	20	Secondary Education	Born in North East England
MET026	Male	29	Black African	PC, SNT	6.5		Kenyan; left at age 21

Candidate Number	Gender	Age	Racio-ethnicity	Rank	Length of Service	Education	Social Identity
MET027	Female	44	White British	Police Staff, overtime clerk; Special constable, PC in waiting	27	Secondary Education	Christian family, Londoner
MET028	Female	27	Mixed British	PC	6	Undergraduate Degree	Scottish /Jamaican; lived in Spain, India, France and London
MET029	Male	50	White British	Sergeant	32	Secondary Education	Church of England
MET030	Female	30	White British	Sergeant,	18		Northern Ireland
MET031	Male	39	White British	Sergeant; Acting Inspector	15		
MET032	Female	32	White British	PC, Diversity Officer	6	Undergraduate Degree	Born in Northern Ireland; lived in Middle East
MET033	Male	41	Asian British	Chief Superintendent	17	Postgraduate Degree	Mixed race - Indian/Welch; grew up in midlands; middle class; retail and corporate finance background
MET034	Female	42	Mixed British	Police Staff, Prosecution Manager	24	Secondary Education	South African/British. Grew up in London
MET035	Male	42	White British	Police Sergeant, SNT	20		Northern English parents; grew up in London
MET036	Female	48	Russian	PC, SNT	6	Postgraduate Degree	14 years in London, married to an English man in Russia, learned English from age 6
MET037	Female	44	Black British	Police Staff, Borough Volunteer Manager	3.5	Postgraduate Degree	Caribbean
MET038	Female	51	White British	PC	25	Undergraduate Degree	Grew up in London
MET039	Female	47	Irish	Strategic HR Adviser	28	Postgraduate Degree	
MET040	Female	47	Mixed Caribbean	PCSO	2	Postgraduate Degree	Indo-Trinidadian. Lecturer in History
MET041	Female	50	White British	Deputy HR Manager	11	Postgraduate Degree	Grew up in London
MET042	Female	34	Canadian / British	Acting Detective Sergeant	5	Undergraduate Degree	Lesbian, Canadian, territorial army -UK, served in Iraq
MET043	Female	27	Polish	PCSO, SNT	3		
MET044	Female	34	White British	Inspector	9	Undergraduate Degree	Born in Scotland, grew up in Wales, lived in Spain
MET045	Male	48	White British	Chief Inspector	28		Thai heritage, born in Canada
MET046	Female	39	Black British	PA to Borough Commander	8		Caribbean / English
MET047	Male	48	White British	Superintendent, Deputy Borough Commander	27	Postgraduate Degree	Northern England
MET048	Female	34	White British	Sergeant (part-time)	15		English - Isle of man
MET049	Female	27	Asian British	PC	4	Undergraduate Degree	Speaks Punjabi

Candidate Number	Gender	Age	Racio-ethnicity	Rank	Length of Service	Education	Social Identity
MET050	Male	52	White British	Sergeant, SNT	37		European, Londoner
MET051	Female	39	White British	Detective Inspector	20	Secondary Education	
MET052	Male	41	Black African	Detective Constable	8	Associate Degree	born in Uganda, moved to UK aged 21
MET053	Male	41	White British	Chief Inspector	22		Irish; Grew up in Manchester, homogeneous community
MET054	Female	44	Black British	PC	4	Undergraduate Degree	Born in UK, grew up in Nigeria
MET055	Male	51	White British	Chief Inspector	25	Undergraduate Degree	Welch, Norwegian and Polish heritage
MET056	Male	43	White European	Sergeant, SNT	23		Born in Mauritius moved to UK age 7
MET057	Female	21	White British	PCSO, SNT	0.25	Undergraduate Degree	Grew up in Essex
MET058	Male	30	White British	PC	5	Secondary Education	South London, worked and experienced life before joining met
MET059	Female	37	White British	Sergeant	19	Secondary Education	Born and bred in South London. Joined MPS aged 18
MET060	Male	49	White British	PC	25		Londoner
MET061	Male	40	White British	Chief Superintendent, Boroughs Commander	23		West Yorkshire; joined at age 17, cadets
MET062	Male	42	White British	Superintendent	22	Secondary Education	Londoner, worked at a bank before joining met
MET063	Male	42	Indian	Inspector	16	Undergraduate Degree	Worked in micro-biology
MET064	Male	43	White British	PC	5		grew up in South-East London
MET065	Female	32	White British	PC	2.5		Londoner
MET066	Male	42	White British	Inspector, SNT	16	Undergraduate Degree	Londoner, engineer, travelled in Asia for extended period
MET067	Female	42	White British	Inspector	20	Undergraduate Degree	Londoner
MET068	Male	46	Asian British	Chief Superintendent, Borough Commander	27	Postgraduate Degree	Indian decent born in west mid-lands
MET069	Female	34	Black African	PCSO	6		East African; Christian moved to UK at 16; worked in retail for 10yrs
MET070	Female	29	White British	PC	6		grew up in Devon, 6 years in London
MET071	Female	23	Mixed Other	Staff - Designated Detention Officer	1	Undergraduate Degree	Father - Indian/Chinese, mother - Spanish/Vincentian; Londoner; Studies Criminology and Human Rights
MET072	Male	40	White British	Sergeant	20	Undergraduate Degree	British, German roots; lived in Leeds, grew up Essex
MET073	Male	50	Asian British	Inspector	20		Pakistan, Muslim ex-army, moved UK age 8
MET074	Male	25	White Other	PCSO	4.5		English, dad Spanish; Londoner
MET075	Male	50	Asian British	Chief Inspector (temp.)	28	Undergraduate Degree	Pakistan/Indian
MET076	Male	42	Black British	Chief Inspector	15	Undergraduate Degree	Dual identity - Black British, Nigerian background, Christian, Muslim. Grew up in London.

Candidate Number	Gender	Age	Racio-ethnicity	Rank	Length of Service	Education	Social Identity
MET077	Male	52	White British	Criminal Justice Unit Manager	35	Secondary Education	Indian Asian; Londoner, joined police cadet at age 18
MET078	Male	34	Asian British	Head of Intelligence	10	Undergraduate Degree (Law)	
MET079	Male	46	White British	Detective Chief Superintendent	28	Postgraduate degree	parents from Yorkshire; grew up in Oxfordshire, live in Surrey
MET080	Male	41	White British	PC	7	GCSE	Essex; ex-army - 7 years, prison service -1year
MET081	Female	50	White British	Witness Care Manager - police staff	25		Church of England; Londoner, started as traffic warden 13yrs, office role for 12yrs
MET082	Male	33	White British	PC	5		dad south African, mom English; Londoner; Worked for Disney - lots of interaction with gays
MET083	Male	22	Indian British	PC	3	Secondary Education	British, parents Indian; Londoner, Punjabi practiced as first language
MET084	Female	41	White British	PC	4		Welch & Spanish roots worked in hospital, PCSO
MET085	Female	50	Black British	Staff - ACPO level	14	Higher Education	Born and bred in London