British Bobby Physiognomies

A qualitative approach to comprehending the reasons for such poor

representation of BMEs within the NPCC ranks of the London Metropolitan Police

Service

Andre T. Clarke

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Andre T Clarke, 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.

Signed: _____   Date: _____

Abstract

This thesis investigates how social networks, police culture, and the British Bobby Physiognomies (BBP) typology, affect or influence the job progression of black and minority ethnic (BME) officers within the National Police Chief Council (NPCC). It scrutinises the NPCC specifically within the London Metropolitan Police (MPS or Met) only, as opposed to the NPCC as a national entity (also sometimes still referred to as Association of Chief Police Officers or ACPO). In doing so, the study is able to provide a palpable explanation for the organisation's failure to employ a diverse leadership base which is reflective of the community it serves.

The investigation employs auto-ethnographic strategies, and builds on previous research conducted on British policing to develop the concept of the British Bobby Physiognomies (BBP). Having explored the impact that social networks and police culture has on this under-representation of BMEs within the MPS elite, the thesis contributes to knowledge within diversity and progression - specifically within the higher echelons of the police. The study employs a qualitative approach based on the deductive theory - semi-structured interviews were used and directed predominantly to members within the NPCC component of the organisation to establish any profound similarities or disparities as appropriate.

Observations and collated data have been based on the aforementioned theoretical concepts and the findings of the research are subsequently discussed in the latter chapters. Through this approach, the research evaluates and consequently recommends feasible and practical methods of improving the overall efficacy of the organisation by employing strategies to improve its diversity within its NPCC ranks. Implications for practice and future research have also been considered.

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Please note: an editor has not been used in the construction of this thesis.

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Glossary of Acronyms

AC	**Assistant Commissioner**
ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
BBP	British Bobby Physiognomies
BBPIC	British Bobby Physiognomies Induced Cycle
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
BPA	Black Police Association
CID	Criminal Investigations Department
DAC	Deputy Assistant Commissioner
DC	Detective Constable
DCI	Detective Chief Inspector
DEI	Direct Entry Inspector
EAB	Evidence Actions Book
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
IPLDP	Initial Police Learning and Development Programme
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
MPOAC	Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
NYPD	National Police Chief Council
OCU	Operational Command Unit
PC	Police Constable
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
SMT	Senior Management Team
SSA	Staff Support Association

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Relevance of the Study

On the twenty-ninth of September 1829 the London Metropolitan Police Force was formed by Sir Robert Peel. Within the first year of its inception, the force (not service) at the time, consisted of approximately three thousand three hundred officers, all of which were male and white. In the year 1914 the organisation recruited its first intake of female officers to become part of policing; and it was not until 1967, Norwell Roberts was accepted and recruited into the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) as the first black police officer.

In 1998, one hundred and sixty-nine years after its formation, the Metropolitan Police finally launched a Policing Diversity Strategy in response to the significant volume of prejudicial issues highlighted in the inquiry of the death of a black teenager, Stephen Lawrence, in April 1993. According to the MPS (1998), this new strategy ('Protect and Respect') was devised to not only provide better protection from racial and violent crime to ethnic communities, but also to ensure the organisation is better able to demonstrate integrity and fairness in every aspect of policing. This would in theory, establish the organisational commitment to develop an anti-racist police service, improve the recruitment and progression of minority ethnic officers, provide transparency and accountability of the organisation, and fortify the investigation and prevention of racist crime (Grieve et al, 2000).

Unfortunately, racism and organisational prejudice has been an ongoing battle for the MPS which has a work force of over 32,000 employees and serves a city which is home to the largest

Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) population in the UK. To date, and despite numerous accusations of being institutionally racist, the organisation's ranks are yet to reflect the community it serves. Government entities and the Met have been grappling with this concern ever since the 1980s when Lord Scarman's report into the 1981 Brixton riots highlighted the need for the Met to have a more ethnically diverse police force to improve community confidence and cohesion (Scarman, 1981).

Similarly, the Macpherson report in 1999, which examined the murder of teenager Stephen Lawrence, also called on the Met to have clear plans implemented to support the recruitment, progression and retention of minority ethnic staff (Macpherson, 1999). However, in spite of the Metropolitan Police's efforts to re-legitimise itself via an aspiring diversity agenda, internal responses to the Macpherson report exposed a tremendously volatile, controversial workplace beset with rival power networks and awash with highly racialised schisms and micro-conflicts (Rowe, 2007).

Subsequent to the Macpherson policy initiatives, the infamous "*Secret Policeman*" Mr Mark Daly, a BBC reporter, infiltrated Greater Manchester Police and uncovered the racist attitude of police officers. Footage was broadcast by the BBC on 21st October 2003. As a direct result of this the then Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police, Sir John Stevens, immediately set up an internal review of race and diversity in the MPS. In doing so, Chris Fox, the then Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) president, consequently accepted that the racist attitudes and actions documented in the programme showed that the post Macpherson work on race and cultural diversity issues had turned out to be a depressing failure (Fox, 2004).

There have been several reports on the London Metropolitan Police and its diversity issues. The Muir Inquiry established that officers have been disheartened by an authoritarian managerial culture that seemed to be fixated with procedural orthodoxy, and a "guilty until

proven innocent" disciplinary system gave officers a feeling of being "trapped". In addition, Muir found that front line supervisors and leaders were not confident or proficient enough to deal with the multifarious range of issues concomitant with diversity and difference (Muir, 2001).

The Calvert Smith report was officially launched in March 2004 and focussed on both racial discrimination and employment matters as opposed to operational policing. The report determined that the police force was like "perma frost" – thawing on top but still frozen solid at the core. The investigation concluded that even with the commitment of Chief Officers (NPCC) the fact remains that unless more is done to inflict changes the "ice" would not melt any time soon (Smith, 2005).

The MPS has responded in various ways on each occasion and consistent attempts have been made to increase diversity training for officers within the establishment. However, in his evaluation, Morris (2004) found that officers would often attend training having heard adverse narratives and as a result, many approached the training in an unreceptive frame of mind. The inquiry concluded that as a direct result of this, openness and honest participation would be difficult to facilitate in such an environment. Morris (2004) further explained that in light of these occurrences, racial discrimination was being driven underground and therefore permitting what could be defined as a fresh breed of "stealth racist" to remain concealed.

The Met has undeniably come a long way since it was described as institutionally racist by the Stephen Lawrence inquiry and BME recruitment has increased considerably since this critical incident. However, Rowe (2007) explains that much work is still required to address the issue of racism within the organisation. Recent discrimination tribunal cases such as former PC Carol Howard is testament of this conclusion. Howard was found to be "directly discriminated

against" on the grounds of sex and race and resigned as a direct result of her victimisation. The tribunal cost the Met £37 000.00 in settlement fees (BBC, 2015).

Nonetheless, it is without question that there has been some level of improvement as it relates to diversity within the organisation. Still, the reoccurrence of similar racist issues and incidents illustrates there is still much to be done (Muir, 2001; Morris, 2004; Rowe, 2007). Borough Commanders and line managers on borough teams are in a variety of ways, responsible for the progression of BME and female recruits. But it appears as if they have been disinclined to embrace diversity initiatives in the past (Police and Crime Committee, 2014).

The issue of race and discrimination arose yet again on the 22nd September 2014. In response to longstanding concerns about the Met's treatment of female, BME and LGBT officers, the Commissioner at the time, Bernard Hogan-Howe, was informed by the Equality and Human Rights Commission or EHRC (an independent and external organisation) that an investigation into unlawful discrimination, harassment and victimisation of employees by the Met would be conducted. This investigation was initiated as a direct result of complaints made by the various minority groups within the Met.

The inquiry found that there are significant inadequacies in how the MPS handles internal complaints and the outcomes of recent employment tribunal judgments in discrimination cases is testament of this deficiency. It concluded that the MPS does not demonstrate a willingness to be held accountable or apologise but instead, the focus has too often been on apportioning blame and issuing sanctions. Police culture and the organisation's history of race issues have both played significant roles in this reality (EHRC, 2016).

There seems to be a pragmatic recognition to accept a variety of resolutions to address institutional racism, without sufficient consideration of whether its dominant or peripheral features have been addressed (Holdaway & O'Neill, 2006). I therefore feel confident in arguing

that the source of the problem has not been resolved, and hence the constant relapse of pertinent issues regarding race, gender and other discriminatory factors within the London Metropolitan Police Service.

Internationally and within the nations of the UK, we have seen more direct attempts to address imbalances in the recruitment of BME officers. Some police forces have employed hiring quotas to improve diversity shortcomings. The Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) for example, was obliged by law to enact an affirmative action strategy of recruiting 50% of its officers from a Catholic background and the other 50% from other religions. As a result, the organisation currently stands at 70% protestant and 30% catholic (PSNI, 2017). The New York Police Department (NYPD) also used hiring quotas to increase minority group recruitment and as a result, is considerably more illustrative of New York than the MPS is of London. However, such options are currently unavailable to policing entities in England and Wales (Police and Crime Committee, 2014).

1.2 Operational vs Executive

The London Metropolitan Police Service (MPS or Met) can be compartmentalised into two separate hierarchical structures, Constables to Chief Superintendents which represents its operational policing and then the National Police Chief Council (sometimes still referred to as ACPO), which consists of Commanders to Commissioner and epitomises the executive and political element of policing. Operational policing represents the entity of the organisation which the public are more likely to interact - from stop and search on the street, to reporting a crime at the front office of a police station. Lower ranking officers execute their duties and higher ranking officers ensure that this is done efficiently and effectively through the provision of strategic direction.

The executive element represents the entity whereby public contact is significantly mitigated. These officers manage the political influence on the organisation from its governing bodies and implement the policies which the operational policing entities are to adopt. Albeit the majority of the service's members are within the operational policing component of the organisation which also poorly reflects the diversity of the community (Jones & Williams, 2013), this research primarily focuses on the strategic or executive management of the business.

Previous research conducted on British Policing has been unbalanced in focussing far more on the operational facet of policing. The tendency has been to trace the origins of police racism in the sub-culture of the junior ranks (Waddington, 1999). Diversity reports have mainly addressed recruitment and retention of officers, poor management of critical incidents, employment tribunal hearings, stop and search, use of Taser, death in custody, and progression issues mainly between middle management. Even less is known about the ways in which leadership and management in policing establishments are gendered (Silvestri, 2007). Contrary to existing research, this thesis endeavours to unveil the possible reasons for the lack of diversity within the National Police Chief Council (NPCC), the upper segment of the London Metropolitan Police.

The study brings a fresh perspective through its empirical and theoretical focus. It looks at higher echelons of the Met with regard to diversity, especially racial diversity, and it uses different approaches, including social network analysis and the police culture approach, to explore the methods for the reproduction of the existing demographic profile of the top tier of the organisation. It also sheds light on diversity issues from a different viewpoint and employs the use of this novel British Bobby Physiognomies typology to highlight these shortcomings in a way that has not been done previously.

This adds value and contributes to existing literature in policing, diversity and leadership. It is crucial that the organisation's elite is closely examined to comprehend why the Met has been so slow to evolve into an adequately diverse institution which is reflective of London communities. However, before delving into the empirical aspect of the study it is important to firstly outline its aims and objectives, and also highlight the key questions which drive to the heart of the discussion.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

This study delivers rich empirical evidence on the underpinning factors which contribute to the NPCC's poor representation of BMEs.

In doing so, the research considers the following key questions:

1. Are there specific patterns and/or characteristics determining the outcome of promotion to and within the MPS NPCC ranks?

2. Do social networks, play a significant role in the under-representation of BMEs within the MPS's NPCC echelons?

3. Does Police Culture, contribute to the under-representation of BMEs within the organisation's NPCC ranks?

4. What strategies may be employed to create a more diverse balance of leaders within the MPS NPCC?

The consideration of these specific questions within the context of this research is an endeavour to mitigate the gap in existing knowledge on the said topic. They explore the explicit issues which potentially have a direct impact on the reproduction of the elite within the MPS. The questions also seek to ascertain how this underrepresentation is understood by the dominant

culture within the service and decipher precisely how officers climb the ladder into these executive ranks. The objectives of the research will therefore be:

1. To identify whether the lack of BME representation within MPS NPCC is based on merit and criteria.

2. To understand why under-representation of BME officers at executive ranks has continued for such an extensive period of time.

3. To determine innovative approaches which may be more likely to improve the diversity within the NPCC ranks of the MPS.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis contains eleven chapters. Chapter one illustrates the research aims and objectives, and highlights the pertinent questions that the thesis seeks to examine.

Chapter two introduces social networks and the reproduction of the elite and discusses various theories of this nature which are relevant to the Metropolitan Police and the reproduction of its leaders. It scrutinises the power of social networks and studies its behavioural patterns in attempt to achieve a more in-depth understanding of such theories and to optimise the prospects of successfully examining its relevance during the field research stage of the study. The bearing of social capital and social structure are also included in this chapter.

Chapter three presents police culture. However, prior to the introduction of police culture as a theoretical framework it provides an overview of organisational culture within public sectors. The chapter also scrutinises occupational culture. It then proceeds to discuss the specifics of police culture and explores how police culture impacts on diversity within the police. The chapter also explores how police culture influences leadership within policing establishments.

In addition, chapter three also investigates whether police culture has been known to be resistant to change initiatives in the past and if so in what way.

Chapter four provides a holistic overview of previous commissioners. This exploration spans from the inception of the organisation to present-day and focusses on the common characteristics of these individuals to comprehend the organisational expectation of its ideal leader. In doing so, it allows for better understanding of the type of individuals who would be more likely to be appointed NPCC within the MPS. The chapter then subsequently introduces and explains the typology of the British Bobby Physiognomies. It describes the elements of the typology and its relevance to the research. The BBB Induced Cycle is also introduced and explained in this chapter, also using a diagram as a form of clarification for describing this typology.

Chapter five presents the considerations for the research methodology. It encapsulates the alternatives considered for use and justifies why specific approaches seemed more apposite for the purposes of this particular research. It highlights the course initially pursued by the author and the significant factors which affected the diversion of this pursuit.

Chapter six describes the actual methods employed during the field stages of the study. It provides tables to illustrate the research sample, questions and outlines precisely how data was collated. It discusses the challenges encountered when attempting to engage the officers in research and how these challenges were negotiated. It also discusses the limitations of the study and other considerations such as ethical obligations. This chapter also explains why being a part of the direct entry inspector process played an important role in the research.

Chapter seven analyses the complexities, existence, and prominence of social networks within a policing context. It dissects and unveils the empirical data collated during the field exploration stages of the research. In so doing it analyses interviews from participants in order

to highlight and differentiate between individual volition and the action imminent within the social network within which individuals are embedded. It applies the theoretical framework from the social networks chapter and employs a robust examination of its existence and impact on the research question in its comparison of results vs theory.

Chapter eight focusses on an analytical discussion on the police culture within the organisation. It illustrates its existence, prominence, origination, and impact on BMEs. The chapter also gauges whether police culture has an impact on the underrepresentation of BMEs at NPCC level. In addition, chapter eight also depicts different elements of this culture and explains that BMEs are not exclusively vulnerable to the negative ramifications of elements of its existence. The chapter also employs five sequential police culture diagrams to explain not only the impact of external influences on police culture, but also the reaction of the organisation when faced with such pressures.

Chapter nine explains the value of both the British Bobby Physiognomies and the BBP Induced Cycle typologies. It discusses the lived experiences of officers within the executive element of policing and makes useful comparisons to the narratives obtained from interviews with officers of a senior rank within the operational element of the organisation. In doing this, chapter nine is able to address the specifics of these innovative typologies and examine the precision of their existence in not only the presence of a dominant group but the programmed movement of BMEs subsequent to any lateral or promotional achievements. In addition the chapter also examines the impact of this typology on the BME population within the MPS.

Chapter ten discusses the combination of the three theories and provides a comprehensive description of the birth of these frameworks. It also highlights how the existence of police culture, social networks and the BBP framework impact on the organisation. In addition, chapter nine identifies that the MPS employs a closed system which is responsive to external

influences and justifies this argument by providing a timeline of examples of how and when the MPS endeavoured to implement diversity changes. The chapter also responds to research questions one, two and three and objectives one and two. In doing so it explains the shortcomings of underrepresentation and clarifies precisely why the issue of underrepresentation has persisted and been so difficult to change.

Chapter eleven is broken into two sections. The first component contains the recommendations which are based on the findings of the research. At this initial stage, the chapter discusses the reasons and benefits of each recommendation and the consequences of failure to make the suggested amendments. The second element of the chapter concludes the thesis and in doing so, summarises the purpose of the research. Chapter ten then also encapsulates the findings and explains precisely how the organisation operates and why there is such a deficit of BME officers within the executive ranks. The chapter then concludes and provides recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two

Social Networks and the Reproduction of the Elite

2.1 Introduction

Succession planning and management is an ongoing issue which has been of much interest to scholars since the 1960s (Pramodita, 2003). The question of how the key players within organisations are replaced may indeed differ between each individual institution or with the progression of time (Rothwell, 2005). However, it is arguable that this process is not only created and implemented by the very leaders who are to be replaced but heavily influenced by the organisational culture of the business in question (Kilian et al, 2005).

Arguably, the fact that these leaders are involved in the process by which they are replaced, creates an opportunity for bias within this procedure as undoubtedly, personal preferences, organisational culture, social capital, race, discrimination, social networks, norms, values, and employee status are all just a few variables which are likely to have significant influence on the selection and recruitment process which is eventually adopted and implemented (Kandola & Fullerton, 1998; Pramodita, 2003; Rothwell, 2005; Rivera, 2012). Whether or not the "best person for the job" will actually get the job is a rule which is worthy of debate.

This chapter examines how movement up the organisation is influenced not only by merit and explicit criteria, but social networks, and more importantly, how the existence of such networks impact on the process which may be influential in determining the reproduction of the elite within the London Metropolitan Police. Over the course of this chapter I will define social

networks and social capital, as these are both important theoretical resources I will employ to examine the historical and empirical observations made earlier on the low representation of BME officers in the elite echelons of the MPS. I will discuss how social networks can be beneficial for its members particularly through the sharing of information and opportunities. The chapter encompasses the use of theories derived mainly from relevant journals and articles by alternate scholars and will depict one of the two sources of literature employed during the field research phase of this investigation.

2.2 Defining Social Networks and Social Capital

2.2.1 Social Networks

In defining social networks, Wasserman and Faust (1994) state that they are a set of nodes (or network affiliates) that are tied by one or more types of relations. Brass et al (1998) describe social networks as sets of actors and groups of ties signifying some degree of relationship - or lack of relationship between actors. Snijders (2001) says that social networks are relations (friendship/collaborations) between actors (individuals/corporations). In addition, Marin & Wellman (2009) explain that a social network is a group of socially-applicable nodes linked by one or more relations, and existence within the social environment is created predominantly by the patterns formed by these relations.

It seems reasonable to argue that the consensus illustrated by various scholars albeit in a variety of styles, is that a social network is a connection between individuals, groups or organisations. The connection or link between these entities are usually formed and engendered by traits or attributes that tie the groups together. With such connections those in the network gain some level of benefit or reward that is shared evenly or unevenly to members of these respective groups.

Further examination of social networks literature exposed more specific benefits for its members. For example, Chow & Chan (2008) explain that a key aspect of social networks is their ability to share information and knowledge. They argue that the more widespread the social network between organisational members, the more positive the attitude toward knowledge distribution. In support of this theory, Chow & Chan (2008) further explain that organisational members who possess a broader social network with their associates would feel more obligated to share their knowledge because of the social pressures within the network. This is because favourable relationships would initiate a higher expectation between co-workers which inevitably results in favourable actions. Therefore, building a social network may be coupled with the expectation that its members would share their knowledge.

2.2.2 Social Capital

Social capital is secured from entrenched resources within social networks and, in its various forms and contexts, has developed as one of the most salient concepts in social sciences (Lin, 1999). Cohen & Prusak (2001) explain that social capital comprises the stock of dynamic relations between people, the belief, shared understanding, and common values and behaviours that bind communities and human networks and make cooperative action possible. They further suggest that social capital makes any organisation or corporate group, much more than a mere collection of individuals committed to attaining their own individual aspirations.

Social capital provides a bridge for the gap between people via high levels of trust, strong personal networks and strong communities, mutual understandings, and a sense of equitable participation in joint enterprise. The unanimity seems to be that social capital symbolises the ability of actors to obtain benefits by their respective memberships in social networks. More specifically on an organisational level, rewards may include access to knowledge and

information where this may not have been available otherwise (Inkpen & Tsang, 2005). However, Mouw (2006) emphasises that the main notion here is that social capital is not a personal attribute or a singular characteristic but a resource that exists in the groups and networks to which individuals belong.

In his article entitled *Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology*, Portes (1998) offers a comprehensive discussion about social capital by reviewing the work of various scholars who have defined its existence over the years in a variety of ways. He peruses Bourdieu, Loury, and Coleman in particular, and summarises social capital in a manner which highlights both its positive and negative attributes. According to Bourdieu (1985) cited in Portes (1998) social capital is "*the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition*" (Bourdieu 1985, p. 248). Portes explains that Bourdieu's description clarifies that social capital can be broken down into two components - firstly, the social relationship itself which permits individuals to claim their access to resources controlled by their acquaintances, and secondly, the quantity and quality of said resources (Portes 1998, p. 4).

Furthermore, the consequence of having "ownership" of social capital often has a direct impact on one's economic capital. However, there is no standard procedure or protocol in place to build and sustain the relationships and reciprocity within networks which possess social capital. They each possess their own individual dynamics, and are often characterised by more uncertainty and less transparency. Transactions which encompass social capital are inclined to be characterised by indeterminate obligations, ambiguous time horizons, and the possible abuse of exchange expectations. Nonetheless, it is by this very lack of transparency, these transactions can assist to mask what would otherwise be regarded as plain market exchanges (Bourdieu 1979, 1980).

However, Glen Loury critiques the general consensus of conventional economic theories. He argues that they have been far too individualistic as they seem to focus completely on this existence of human capital and on the acquisition of a level field for competition which is to be centred on such skills. Loury puts forward that by themselves, legal injunctions against companies' racial preferences and enactment of equal opportunity agendas would not diminish racial inequalities. He justifies this statement by listing two reasons - firstly, the poverty of black parents (often inherited), which would inevitably be conveyed to their children within the realms of inferior material resources and educational prospects; and secondly, the subordinate connections of young black workers to the labour market which often results in exclusion from, or reduced access to information about opportunities. Loury states -

> "*The merit notion that, in a free society, each individual will rise to the level justified by his or her competence conflicts with the observation that no one travels that road entirely alone. The social context within which individual maturation occurs strongly conditions what otherwise equally competent individuals can achieve. This implies that absolute equality of opportunity, is an ideal that cannot be achieved*". (Loury, 1977, pg. 176)

Portes (1998) goes on to explain that regardless of the different descriptions of social capital by various scholars, it seems a developing consensus that social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure profits by virtue of their association with social networks or other social structures. This is the sense in which it has been more frequently applied in the empirical literature. Nonetheless, the manner in which it is employed varies significantly.

Portes also explains that there are negative connotations affiliated with the existence of social capital. Examples of these include excess claims on group members, exclusion of individuals regarded as "outsiders" and restrictions on individual freedoms. He argues that the very strong

ties that affords benefits for group members frequently bars access for others. Waldinger (1995) provides an example of this in describing the tight control applied by white ethnics - descendants of Polish, Italian, and Irish immigrants over the construction trades and the police and fire unions of New York. The emerging control of the produce business by immigrants from the Korean community within numerous East Coast cities in the United States, traditional domination of Jewish traders over the New York diamond trade, and the Cuban monopoly over many sectors of the Miami economy are all viable examples. In each illustration, social capital engendered by circumscribed unanimity and trust are at the heart of each group's economic development. However, as Waldinger notes -

> "*The same social relations that…enhance the ease and efficiency of economic exchanges among community members implicitly restrict outsiders.*" (Waldinger, 1995, p. 557)

2.3 The Strength of Weak Ties in Social Networks

Granovetter (1973) in his analysis of social networks argues that weak ties such as associates and colleagues, provide richer job information than strong ties (such as friends and family). He argues that individuals or networks whom one is in more contact with are more likely to possess an overlap into contacts or networks which one is already affiliated. Therefore the information or knowledge which they are privy to is likely to be similar to what one already has or knows.

In his investigation, Granovetter found that weak ties (defined by the regularity of interaction with the individual/network) provided more information about new employment opportunities when compared to the information obtained through strong ones. Granovetter further argues that there is an intrinsic link between micro-level interactions and macro-level patterns. He maintains that through networks, these interactions in small groups accumulate to large scale

patterns and it is these interpersonal networks which afford the most productive micro-macro bridge.

Granovetter (1973) describes individuals within the network as being connected. "Connected" within this context refers to the strength of the "ties" between people which can often be illustrated by the quantity of time spent together, the level of emotional intensity, mutual confiding and the reciprocal services which characterise the connection between the individual or groups. In addition, he argues that this strength or connection in the relationship between actors is greatest when the tie is strong - mediocre when weak – and significantly reduced when the tie is absent. This hypothetical connection (or lack of it) between actors determines the strength of the tie and as a result, the probability of the information received regarding employment opportunities.

However, in his paper entitled *Bringing Strong Ties Back In: Indirect Ties, Network Bridges, and Job Searches in China*, Yanjie Bian critiques Granovetter's findings. He argues that the coordination of state job consignment has profound implications for the comparative value of both strong, and weak ties in the process of searching for employment. He found that within this institution, personal networks are often employed to attain personal advantage from the authorities responsible for assigning jobs as opposed to gathering employment information. Bian argues that even when these individuals are in possession of information, job-seekers generally cannot apply for jobs. Instead, employment opportunities are covertly allocated by officials as favours to aspirants who are directly or indirectly linked to them.

He found that this unofficial activity is enabled by trust and obligation, or in other words, strong ties. Bian further explains that because there are limited job-seekers who seem to be in contact with high-level executives, it is crucial that indirect ties are used to gain the much needed influence to secure employment opportunities. Therefore, this institution of conveying job

opportunities creates prospects for power networks to operate in which "bridges" amongst strong ties are able to link otherwise detached job-seekers and job-assigning authorities.

He argues that these strong ties can construct network bridges connecting otherwise "isolated" individuals. His analysis was based on job searches in China and paid specific attention to how Chinese job-seekers are linked to job-assigning authorities through direct and indirect ties of exchange relations (Bian, 1997). In summary, Bian submits that Granovetter's argument is not irrelevant, however, his theory of the strength of weak ties cannot be blanketed across all labour markets within various societies. There is a societal or cultural effect or context that shapes the value of strong and weak connections between individuals. His research demonstrates that in some instances, strong ties are far more valuable than weak ones.

2.4 Structural Holes and Good Ideas

Burt (1992) adopts a somewhat different stance on social networks in his theory of "structural holes" which he describes to be the gap between individual network clusters (Burt, 2004). He argues that individuals who are hypothetically positioned close to the "holes" in social structures are far more strategically placed to have better ideas. Better ideas within this context refers to novel approaches to improve organisational performance.

He explains that behaviours and beliefs are much more consistent within, as opposed to between groups. Therefore, individuals who are connected across groups would be more conversant with other ways of thinking and working. This in turn presents them with a broader range of options to select from. Burt also argues that fresh initiatives arise from variety and fusion across the structural holes amongst groups and elements of such initiatives are often extremely beneficial to organisations. He states that "*Brokerage across the structural holes between groups provides a vision of options otherwise unseen*" (Burt, 2004, p. 354).

Burt further explains that the simplest and most effective act of brokerage is to promote awareness for individuals on either side of a structural hole. Awareness within this context refers to interests and difficulties which exist in the other group. He adds that people who are able to communicate such issues between groups are essential - simply because confusion and conflict in organisations often result from misinterpretations of the constraints on associates in other groups. Therefore transmitting best practice results in a superior level of brokerage. Individuals who are acquainted with the undertakings in two groups are more effective in comparison to individuals who are restricted within either group. They are better equipped to see how a particular practice or belief in one group could produce value in the other and to recognise how to convert the said practice or belief into a language which is comestible in the target group.

In his research, (Burt, 2004) adds that people who are able to establish that the way other groups behave or think may impact on the value of operations in their own group will possess an advantageous position over those who do not. He explains that this can be a challenging step, particularly for those who may have spent long periods inside one group. Individuals in this position habitually look for dissimilarities between themselves and others to substantiate their avowal that "*our situation is different*" so that they are more at ease when disregarding the views and behaviours which are dissimilar to their own. He maintains that people who are conversant with activities in two groups are better able to identify novel beliefs or behaviours which amalgamate features from both groups.

Nonetheless, the concept of social networks and their benefits remain the same (Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 1992; Bian, 1997; Burt, 2000, 2004; Chow & Chan, 2008). Therefore, it seems fair to argue that exclusion from or limited access to such a structure within any organisation (in this case the MPS), could diminish opportunities for development (despite potential) due to lack of "referrals" or linkage by, or to key players. In simple terms, people who are not

professionally connected would find professional development far more of an inordinate task (Burt, 2000). These implications may possibly impact on the manner in which the elite reproduce themselves within the labour market but in this instance, the NPCC ranks of the Metropolitan Police Service.

2.5 Social Networks and Recruitment

Subsequent to exploring, Granovetter's theory on the strength of weak ties and Burt's structural holes, I sought to explore how social networks operate within a recruiting context. Montgomery (1991) explains that employee referral is both common and deliberate within social structures and the configuration of the social ties between individuals or groups may indeed play a pivotal role in establishing labour market outcomes. Simon & Warner (1992) add that within the recruitment process, it is common practice for companies to recognise job applicant referrals from existing employees within the social structure as being far more useful in comparison to equally qualified but unknown applicants.

Rivera (2012), who observed elite professional firms within the private sector, describes cultural similarities within the context of hiring as shared experiences, self-presentation, tastes and leisure pursuits (for example a mutually shared sport interest), between employers and potential job candidates. She argues that these issues do have a significant impact on the employer's recruitment decisions. She reiterates that the recruitment process is not simply one of a skills sorting process whereby candidates are assessed and sifted purely on their relevant skills and academic qualifications; it is also a procedure whereby there is "cultural matching" between evaluators and candidates. And albeit this does not define the sole purpose of elite reproduction, it is reasonable to argue that recruiters can possess the tendency to pursue aspirants who are not only proficient but also culturally similar to themselves.

2.6 Social Networks and Public Bureaucracies

Public bureaucracies are somewhat different to the private sector in that public organisations are in many ways much more exposed to the external environment (Smith-Ring & Perry, 1985). The state may be under much more obligation to be seen as acting "fairly" and within the law. Despite such public visibility, the formalisation of rules can also create advantages for ethnic groups, as explored in Waldinger's research on how Irish immigrants "captured" the police service in New York, and kept out other ethnic groups (Waldinger, 1995). Ethnic niches arise when a particular group is able to seize control of a specific sector and, as a result, members of that group inherit privileged access to new job openings, whilst outsiders are restricted. Examples can range from clothing factories all the way to fire and police departments and certain divisions of the Miami and New York civil services (Doeringer & Moss, 1986; Stepick, 1989; Waldinger, 1991; Waters, 1994; Bailey &, Waldinger, 1996). As such, it was also a prerequisite to examine social networks in public bureaucracies as part of my research.

Cross et al (2002) state that a significant amount of coordination and work within organisations occur through the use of informal networks as opposed to via channels firmly prescribed by official reporting structures or detailed work processes. They explain that people tend to rely very heavily on their network of relationships to solve problems and find information. A consistent finding derived from research in social sciences is that who you know is often directly correlated with what you come to know (Cross et al, 2002).

However, Cross et al add that both practical experience and academic research illustrate that there are substantial challenges in getting people from different backgrounds and problem-solving styles to effectively assimilate their unique perspectives within one forum. Yet, despite the fact that studies have indicated ways managers can influence informal networks at

individual and whole network levels, it seems as if executives arguably do relatively little to evaluate critical, but often unseen, informal networks in organisations (Cross et al 2002).

Research on network management and network structures in public management is fairly new to the academic field and has developed largely out of studies in inter-governmental relations (Waldinger, 1991; Waters, 1994; Bailey &, Waldinger, 1996). Both the networks in public management and the participants in them have been studied not only to appreciate whether networks exist but to understand how they operate and, how individuals function in networks as managers (Berry et al, 2004).

In their analysis, Berry et al further explain that public managers do in fact utilise networks to solve problems, however, this should not prompt an oversight of network activities which in fact reflect the application of power to aid narrow, rather than common interests. They argue that the act of homophily within networks i.e., the propensity for individuals of similar status and backgrounds to cluster together, inhibits the discussion of diverse perspectives and therefore preserves the interests of elites whilst hindering opportunities for others.

Agranoff (2006) reiterates the argument that public networks are collaborative structures that harvest representatives from municipal agencies. It deals with issues which are of common concern between the entities and their networks and can be described as bodies which connect public policies to their strategic context. He further explains that public management networks should be distinguished from social network and disputes that public management networks are, in fact, collaborative connections which goes beyond analytical modes.

He argues that the use of the term network needs to be further defined within this context into a term which fits the activity of "cooperation" without being so generic that it comprises every human connection. Cooperation within this context refers to the act of working together with

others, usually to rectify an issue of some sort. It can be infrequent or consistent, and it can transpire between, within, or outside formal organisations.

Edward et al (2008) argues that a distinctive advantage of networks within public bureaucracies is the ability to transfer information across the network through its channels or relationships between participants. The sharing of information across a network could be as simple as providing the technical capacity to do so. The structural dimension of a network, for example its density, the degree of centralisation, and quantity of "bridges" within the network, as well as the geographic closeness of the network members all play a crucial part.

However, Edward et al (2008) also argue that managers need to be skilled at expediting and initiating communication across organisational or group boundaries and ensure the evolution of rules or norms which may be crucial in guiding or inhibiting the sharing of information within a network. Yet, some focus on the common interests, background or training which members of a network may have to facilitate the transfer and sharing of information. Furthermore, they add that when participants in a network have a common focus or set of experiences, they may share a common lens or framework for interpreting and using the information that is passed throughout.

In his book *"A Social Network Perspective on Human Resources",* Brass (1995) explains that the characteristics of the organisation or the strategy of the said establishment defines the pertinent individual attributes to be deliberated in the selection, recruitment and promotion of its employees. He uses a simple diagram to explain the impact social networks can have on power within an organisational setting. Brass (1995) states that in looking at the diagram, most people would correctly say that "A" represents the most powerful position within the constraints of the drawing.

Figure 1 (Source) Brass, 1995
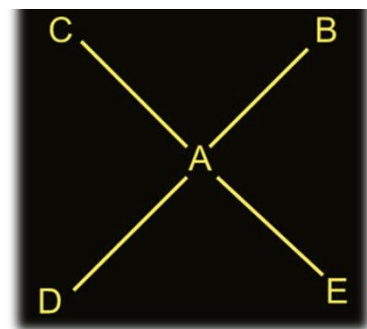
When pressed to discover why they had drawn this conclusion people mostly articulated the instinctual notion of centrality. "A" is at the centre of the group and as such has access to all other players or positions. An alternate explanation is that all the other players are dependent on "A" i.e. in order to access each other players must firstly go through position "A" – and as such, position "A" controls the group. Therefore "A" is arguably the dominant group or network within the organisation. This simple diagram illustrates that most people possess an instinctive idea of what social networks are, what centrality is and how these may have a direct relationship to power. As a result, few people would be shocked to know that their spontaneous prediction of this diagram has been supported in a large quantity of settings (Brass, 1995).

Although my research on the London Metropolitan Police does not allow for the construction of socio-graphs as explained here by Brass, it is important to illustrate the relationship between centrality and power within social networks. The influence and control of "A" within this diagram clearly shows how centrality and power can affect other groups within an organisational setting and this may very well be relevant to the research. Bourdieu (1993) also supports this theory and explains that the state of power and influence of networks is established and maintained by the extent to which the network succeeds to inflict its own norms and sanctions on the entire set of procedures.

2.7 Social Networks and Change

Whilst positive action and equality has prompted increased opportunities for women and ethnic minorities in terms of entrance into organisations, scholars have argued that it has not tackled the development and progression of these groups. As a result of this, organisations therefore miss out on the competitive rewards which are concomitant with fully exploiting such talent pools (Cox & Blake, 1991; Kandola & Fullerton, 1994).

Therefore a crucial aspect of ensuring diversification within networks would be for the organisation to recognise that it has to change to adjust to employee differences. Burt reiterates that opinion and behaviours are more homogeneous within as opposed to between groups therefore diversifying members within the network would both encourage and enable fresh ways of thinking (Burt, 1992). It would therefore be beneficial for organisations to re-think its cultures and structures so that they are more harmonious with the characteristics and requirements of dissimilar employees ensuring that there are supplementary procedures designed to assist minority groups to fit in (Liff, 1999).

Montgomery (1991) asserts that social structural constraints may indeed differ across groups. Ethnic minorities or women for example, may in some instances, have fewer employed friends and thus have inferior network densities. In addition, Reagans et al (2004) echo that people's network associates habitually share their demographic traits and the demographic face of an organisation can inherently place boundaries on a manager's capability to shape the demographic configuration of a team. Furthermore (and similarly to Burt), they argue that perspectives, information, and resources, are more inclined to be similar within as opposed to between network clusters. Therefore recruiting team members who belong to various groups within the organisation's social networks would afford the team with a better prospective for success.

Reagans et al (2004) reiterate that when the prerequisite for network members become less about specific attributes, so does the propensity for strong ties to be concentrated amongst those who retain those specific qualities. The regression of the level of identification refers to the specific and informal preconditions often employed as a benchmark for individuals to be "awarded" membership to any particular network or group. An example of how the impact of such networks can be mitigated is via "independent" talent spotting and management whereby individuals can be given a fairer opportunity to prove their potential and possibilities of

acceptance (Liff, 1999). Leadership is crucial if organisations are to bridge the gap between current practice and genuine change. However, there first of all needs to be a genuine acceptance that change is necessary coupled with a fierce desire to implement change on a macro level.

2.8 Chapter Summary

Chapter two introduces and defines both social networks and social capital, and highlights the value of these theories as it relates to the research (Loury, 1997; Bourdieu, 1985; Portes, 1998). The chapter explores the possible benefits and behavioural patterns of networks within the work environment, for example, the benefit of information sharing between members, and sponsorship (Chow & Chan, 2008).

It then explores the theory of the strength of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) and also provides a counter-argument by Bian (1997) who argues that strong ties are used to seek employment opportunities and information as opposed to weak ones. Structural holes and good ideas were also discussed (Burt, 1992, 2000, 2004). The chapter then explored tributaries of Granovetter's theory i.e. the preference and behaviour of employers when seeking to recruit employees (Montgomery, 1991; Simon & Warner, 1992; Rivera, 2012).

The chapter then discusses social networks and public bureaucracies (Waldinger, 1995; Agranoff, 2006). It highlights various theories on how managers operate within this context and shows that social networks are directly correlated with power and centrality (Brass, 1995). The literature also illustrates that the tendencies of the network mitigates the propensity for diverse groups to be integrated and executives tend to do very little to address such issues. The chapter reiterates a common issue within organisations whereby social clusters become limited

due to the similarity of its members which can reduce the prospect of fresh ideas and different ways of thinking (Burt 1992, 2000, 2004).

Chapter two explains that social networks are prevalent in organisations and the strength of networks may vary according to the strength of the ties or connections between individuals or groups. It highlights that trust plays a key role both in recruiting and seeking to be recruited. In addition, individuals are more likely to pursue job opportunities when informed through personal contacts. It also encapsulates that personal references or the act or sponsorship is key when pursuing job opportunities or promotion and recruiters are more likely to hire culturally matched candidates as opposed to individuals who can be viewed as eccentric (Rivera, 2012). Therefore being part of the network positively contributes to the progression of its members

More specifically in relation to the investigation at hand, the chapter interlaces these principles in order to see if they may function within the London Metropolitan Police as a possible explanation for the under-representation of BMEs within the NPCC component of the organisation. The ideas in the chapter therefore provide a platform to be used for a purposeful enquiry during the field stages of the research in attempt to achieve the objectives which have been clearly outlined in chapter one.

In addition to social networks, writers have suggested that the distinct culture within an organisation may function to reproduce particular patterns, and therefore I will now progress to the second and final concept of – "Police Culture" in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Police Culture

3.1 Introduction

Police research has been conducted by various scholars internationally, however, in Britain, police studies really only commenced during the early 1960s – a recent endeavour when compared to most disciplines (Reiner, 2010). A central concern of this fairly new disciplinary research has been around the concept of police culture - which has been a popular subject of discussion for researchers and continues to be a complicated issue (Cockcroft, 2012). More generally, it is a topic which has many dimensions and has been examined by several scholars via numerous police forces internationally (Paoline, 2004). Westmarland (2008) adds that police culture (widely acknowledged as an academic term), has become commonly recognised as a means of referring to issues which are largely considered to be problematical areas of policing.

During the course of this chapter I will discuss the contrasting opinions by various scholars on the impact of the presence of this culture. The general consensus has been that police culture impacts police behaviour in the way officers interact with the public, partake in "banter", and cope with the unique stresses of the job (ReussIanni and Ianni, 1983; Waddington, 1999; Paoline, 2003). However, against this focus, my interests in this study concern the role of police culture as it impacts the promotion into the executive leadership within the MPS. This chapter seeks to review research on police culture in order to locate my specific interest in the role it might play in career development and opportunities which is core to this thesis.

3.2 Organisational Culture

Before delving into the minutiae of police culture, firstly, I will explore the holistic definition of organisational culture and what it represents within the public sector. Wallace et al (1999) explain that every organisation is composed of two dimensions – formal and informal. Furthermore, they state that it is simply impossible to comprehend or appreciate the mechanisms of an organisation if there is no understanding of its informal character – and although this is by no means new to the academic forum, I feel that it is relevant and therefore requires some level of exploration.

Ogbonna & Harris (2002) probe even further into the concept of organisational culture. They state that as a result of the wide variety of perspectives from which culture has been reviewed, there has been a broad range of tailored perceptions and explanations amongst scholars and practitioners. Still, while there is no distinctive or conventional definition, there seems to be some consensus that such definitions should underscore the diverse nature of the concept while including its tangible and intangible attributes. In their definition of culture they describe it to be:

> *The collective sum of beliefs, values, meanings and assumptions that are shared by a social group and that help to shape the ways in which they respond to each other and to their external environment* (Ogbonna & Harris, 2002, p. 34)

In their monograph, *The Effect of Organisational Culture and Leadership Style on Job Satisfaction and Organisational Commitment,* - Lok & Crawford (2003) explain that organisational culture can and does in fact play a prominent role in how individuals establish both personal and professional goals. It is also an influential factor in how people perform in the execution of their roles and how they manage the resources to complete them. They argue

that organisational culture impacts on the manner in which people make decisions and is a driving factor in the way they act, both consciously and subconsciously.

The word 'culture' claims its theoretical heritage within social anthropology. Initially, it was used in a universal way by anthropologists to label the virtues of groups which tend to filter through from present to succeeding generations (Maull, 2001). Black (2004) reiterates that there is no real standardised definition of organisational culture as such and therefore most authors would presumably agree that organisational culture has a variety of defining attributes. Therefore naturally, authors tend to disagree on how challenging it may be to modify organisational culture within any setting. The disparity in any aspiration to bring about such changes can range between extremely difficult to manageable.

Drawing on Spataro (2005), Montgomery et al (2011) assert that organisational culture not only impacts on how people behave, what they pay attention to and the manner in which they respond to various situations – but in addition, organisational culture can also influence how people may mingle with new members and, disregard those who do not fit in.

They explain that existing research conducted on organisational culture directs that the comportment of employees within the organisation is established more by the informal as opposed to the formal processes that operate within an organisation. They further explain that features of this culture are often unseen and therefore far from evident in exchanges between organisational members. Correspondingly, certain aspects of the culture are "taboos" used by insiders to converse within the organisation. Therefore such "implicit rules" exist without the cognisant knowledge of the membership.

3.2.1 Occupational Culture

Now that I have explained organisational culture I feel that it is relevant to this research to also summarise occupational culture as defined by various scholars. Occupational culture is believed to be the consequence of analogous occupational backgrounds and experiences of different groups of organisational members. To be more specific, occupational culture (or subculture) matures through shared experiences, social interaction, common training and affiliation, associated values and norms, mutual support, and similar personal characteristics of members of a certain occupational group. Similar to organisational culture, occupational culture develops distinct jargon and shapes perceptions of reality by developing classification systems to describe experiences and concepts (Hansen, 1995).

It (occupational culture) may even have more influence over work styles and viewpoints in comparison to the organisation's official policies and procedures (Dellana & Hauser, 1999). In Paoline & Terrill's article entitled *Police culture: Adapting to the strains of the job*. They define occupational culture as "*the attitudes, values, and norms that are transmitted and shared among groups of individuals in an effort to collectively cope with the common problems and conditions members face*" (Paoline & Terrill, 2014, pg. 5). It is important that I distinguish the differences between organisational culture and occupational culture. Although similar, in terms of how a culture can develop based on similarities, and experiences - organisational culture is far more holistic and inclusive of more variables. However, occupational culture tapers downwards, it hovers around the specifics of the occupation itself and develops various rules which are explicit and very individual to that particular occupation.

Various scholars have highlighted the significance of police occupational culture and its propensity to evolve. Holdaway (2013) states that no matter what changes occur, they will be mediated by the occupational culture within policing, but acknowledges that this very

occupational culture may be susceptible to change via the pressures of "Big Society" ideas coupled with significant cuts to police budgets. However, Loftus (2009) argues that the occupational culture within policing endures and is likely to continue to do so because the essentials of the police role remain intact. The role of the police officer is very unique - having been charged with the responsibility of enforcing the law in a liberal democratic society. Loftus adds that unless there is a patent modification of the very basic principles of this role stemming from wider social change, there is seemingly little hope of realising any radical reconfiguration of police culture.

I will now move on to the specifics of police culture and discuss a variety of the "older" perceptions documented by various scholars on police culture before delving into more recent arguments submitted in light of the variety of significant events which have impacted on policing and the occupational culture within these establishments.

3.2 A Collage of Police Culture

Although culture is an intangible product of perception (Handy, 1993), I will now discuss a variety of police cultural concepts from various scholars spanning over a period of twenty-nine years. My aim is purely to explain these theoretical concepts to underpin their continued validity throughout periods of change and modernisation – as undoubtedly, there have been multiple events within the last two decades which would have more than likely impacted on police culture in modern society.

ReussIanni and Ianni (1983) in their analysis, have differentiated what they call "street cop culture" from "management cop culture". They explain that street cops possess a different cultural attitude to cope with the demands of the job whilst officers in managerial positions are inclined to be more objective and business-oriented to deliver organisational objectives. They

describe the police as being a cohesive, independent organisation divided by these two separate cultures whereby ingredients for success are generally based on an amalgamation of luck, ability, politics, ethnicity, family connections and personal sponsorship.

The authors have also noted that the pressure of politics is changing police culture. As a result of this political impact, there is greater emphasis on accountability and productivity with an increased demand to mitigate cost without impacting on performance. ReussIanni and Ianni (1983) further explain that politics has also impacted on the minority groups who were marginalised in previous years. Consequently, policing entities are not only much more accountable in providing better service to those groups, but also in ensuring that there is affirmative action in seeking minority recruitment.

Eugene Paoline (2004) describes it from a more holistic perspective. He states that police culture is often cynical with a view which supports a "we against them" mind-set. This theory illustrates a clear separation between police officers and the communities they serve, and has also been referenced as the 'blue wall of silence' or the 'blue curtain' (Bittner, 1970; Westley, 1970). This perception of police culture is suggestive of a unique bond between officers, and the "blue curtain" merely stands as a hypothetical reference to the importance of sticking together, "having each other's back", and a code that says officer cannot "snitch" on each other.

In another article entitled *Taking stock: Toward a richer understanding of police culture,* Paoline (2003) submits that most connotations of police culture are negative. He explains that police culture has taken the blame for the barriers encountered in attempt to reform the police, abuse of police authority in the line of duty, and the violation of citizens' rights. Additionally, Paoline also argues that the overall resistance to improved accountability has also been blamed

on police culture as officers become protective of each other when faced with any malicious allegation which can be of individual of organisational detriment.

Nonetheless, he maintains that it (police culture) is in fact a necessary part of policing as it assists officers to deal with the pressures of everyday work. He argues that the collectiveness of police culture helps to cushion the pressures that officers face on a daily basis whilst also teaching new officers about the day-to-day craft of police work. Pauline argues that these are positive aspects of police culture that should not and cannot be understated.

Manning (1995) holds a different view of police culture and argues that police culture is hierarchically specific in that the culture is flexible and can be altered according to rank. This theory compliments ReussIanni and Ianni (1983) who differentiate police culture between street and management cops. However, in more recent years, Campeau (2015) argues that police culture should not be referred to as the factor which makes such a significant contribution to the behavioural patterns of officers. It is in fact a resource which officers rely upon within the execution of their duties. Like many other scholars, Campeau argues that police culture is a necessary element of policing which officers can utilise to enhance their professional performance.

In my perusal of the literature I found that scholars have commonly examined police culture as a phenomenon which either unifies police or in most cases, influences police behaviour when dealing with members of the community (Paoline et al, 2000). Albeit there seems to be contrasting opinions on the actual impact police culture holds on the efficacy of the professionalism of police officers, the general consensus is that it does in fact play a significant role within policing.

However, the utility of police culture as a descriptive concept has been critically reviewed by scholars. Janet Chan (1996) argues that this concept (police culture) has been poorly defined

and as a result, is of little, if any analytic value. In her research, Chan provides examples of various definitions in support of her argument, three of which are from Manning (1989), Reiner (1992) and Skolnick (1966).

Cited in Chan (1996), Manning (1977: 143) refers to police culture as the "core skills, cognitions, and affect" which define "good police work". It (police culture) defines what is often translated as 'accepted practices, rules, and principles of conduct that are situationally applied, through generalised rationales and beliefs' (Manning 1989: 360). Chan also refers to Reiner (1992) who suggests that police culture is directly linked to the "perspectives, norms, values, and craft rules' which frequently inform police conduct.

To reiterate her point, she also makes reference to Skolnick (1966) who speaks of the 'working personality' of a police officer - a response to the danger of police work, the authority of the police constable, and the pressure to be 'productive' and 'efficient' in police work [(also stated in Paoline (2003)]. Chan also makes mention of Reiner's (1992) direct link between police culture and its influence on this 'working personality' highlighted by Skolnick - including a cynical view of the world, a strong sense of solidarity with other officers, a machismo and racist attitude, and a conservative political outlook. Chan highlights that these various explanations of police culture and its existence within policing establishments are too vague and therefore cannot be employed as a "blanketed" approach to any analytical attempt to understand the holistic impact of police culture and change.

Having examined the somewhat broad and varying literature on police culture I felt that Tom Cockcroft provided an accurate explanation of some of the issues which have resulted from this type of dialogue over the past six decades. In his book entitled *Police Culture, Themes and Concepts* he summarises that the academic review of police culture is "loosely" held together by a mass of explanations, definitions, disciplinary orientations, methodologies, and

focuses. As a result, this has translated into a phenomenon which has benefited from the acumens of an extensive range of views and scholarly orientations focused on a moderately narrow range of issues. He explains that due to the expansiveness of the term, police culture represents an extensive body of work and the cultural themes or topics which have been largely discussed under the parasol of police culture such as gender, corruption and ethnicity to name a few, are in fact substantive topics in their own right which arguably warrants individual discussion.

Cockcroft explains that as a result of the variety of explanations and descriptions, traditional ideas of police culture have largely fallen out of favour, which has led to a range of ideas about what police culture is, how it works, and evolving notions on how best to investigate it. Due to the fact that all these variables are susceptible to further analysis from a variety of perspectives, any endeavour to isolate them would amount to an act of gross over-simplification. However, Cockcroft also notes it is impossible to ignore that the police service is a domain of its own whereby almost everything is related to everything else and as such, it is exceedingly challenging to isolate any sole aspect for separate examination (Cockcroft, 2013).

The purpose of this illustration of a "collage of police culture" is to highlight the general context in which it has been received by scholars over the years – i.e. the direct relationship with police behaviour, professionalism, and community interaction. *"Police sub-culture is often portrayed as a pervasive, malign and potent influence on the behaviour of officers"* (Waddington, 1999, p. 287). As illustrated, the focus seems to be on the link between police culture and police behaviour in the execution of their roles as opposed to how this culture impacts on the progress of police officers within the elite echelons of the organisation. This investigation on the advancement of BMEs within the MPS' NPCC ranks aims to mitigate the gap in the literature specifically within the milieu of police culture and progression within the elite.

3.4 Police Culture and Diversity

Chan (1996) explains that many of the complaints which have been made against police by minority groups can be linked to aspects of the police occupational culture - the consistent use of racist language, unfair harassment and targeting of minorities, stereotyping of ethnic communities, and in some instances the abuse of police powers or excessive use of force against suspects.

In his research, Robert Reiner (2000) effectively abridges the core attributes of police culture by using descriptors such as mission-oriented, conservative, masculine, isolated, suspicious and pessimistic, which he uses to produce —an 'ideal-type' that he suggests has withstood the test of time. He emphasises on the cultural requirement for police officers to be suspicious and explains that possessing this cultural attribute forms an integral component of police training. Within the realms of the policing profession, suspicion in fact permits the officer to be more effective in his or her duty.

Reiner explains that in his opinion, police culture originates from puritanism. He states that the cultural domain of policing is one of old-fashioned machismo and as a result, sexism and discrimination inevitably impacts on recruitment and promotion. This machismo culture overspills into the personal lives of officers who are not known for their aversion to illicit heterosexual activities or love of alcohol. Furthermore, he explains that women were only permitted entry into this machismo culture of policing after a protracted campaign and as a result, it has always been challenging for female officers to gain acceptance.

Paoline (2003) asserts that in light of this fairly recent transformation of police forces into more diverse organisations, one would anticipate a single unified police culture to submit to a more multifarious business group. The ideal cop of previous years (working class, male, white,

military experienced and educated only to secondary school) is consistently shifting as the variety, and enlistment of officers has expanded over the years. Police sectors are epitomised by more ethnic minorities, females, and officers educated beyond secondary school levels. He explains that representation from these groups permits diverse outlooks and attributes based on the past experiences of these groups and therefore may, in theory, influence the way in which officers communally construe the world around them.

Cockcroft (2006) on the contrary, holds a completely different perspective of police culture. In his article entitled *"Socio-environmental Influences on the Police Culture of the London Metropolitan Police Force between the 1930s and 1960s"*, he explains that police culture at times, appears to be an expedient but simple tool often used to make sense of the values or behaviours displayed by police which we commonly consider to be inappropriate, unlawful or simply unpleasant.

He states that it seems a perfectly logical argument to be made that police culture, as a generic term, is unreflective of the range of opinions, experience, and actions of police officers as an occupational group. Police culture has developed into an influential term in respect of both its scope and prevalence. It has been used to unveil the presence of informal values and behaviours within police society.

The underpinning factor in Cockcroft's argument is that the concept of the police institution itself being used as the vehicle to explain police conduct instantly lures attention away from both the individual and the broader societal environment. He puts forward that the disinclination to truly define what institutes police culture, its scope and its boundaries, betrays the prospect that 'police culture' is, in many regards, an unrealistic means of explaining what the police do and why they do it.

In his argument, he states that the use of "non-defined" phrases such as 'police culture' serves to eradicate behaviour from its precise and personalised context through its loose meaning. Moreover, in doing this, not only do we simplify our comprehension of the motives for individual behaviour but also restrict our understanding to that of 'rationalisation' rather than 'real motive' (Cockcroft, 2006, pg. 192).

However, research conducted by Loftus (2009) entitled *"Police Culture in a Changing world"* summarises that white, heterosexual male officers are resentful of the increasing demand for more diversity in police recruitment. On the contrary, female, BME and LGBT groups have been naturally inclined to embrace this fairly recent lobbying for equality. She explains that to date, policing establishments within the UK continue to be dominated by male, white, heterosexual individuals despite the relentless endeavours to increase equal opportunities through novel policies and legislations.

> *The considerable resentment and hostility displayed by the dominant white, heterosexual, male culture towards the increasing recognition of their minority colleagues shows that the challenges made to the 'old' police culture remain partial. In furtherance, minority officers continue to feel discriminated against. Whether or not feelings of exclusion translate into real experiences is largely irrelevant; they demonstrate that minority officers believe that their social difference still poses problems for them* (Loftus, 2009, pg. 193).

Loftus argues that diversity policies were implemented not only to change police culture but also to alter the perception of the characteristics and practices of police officers. Naturally, this negative reputation which has resulted from past occurrences, continues to have a negative impact on serving and aspiring police officers from these minority groups who are not only underrepresented in supervisory positions but often report experiences of discrimination.

Furthermore, she argues that there has in fact been acknowledgment of the need to change police culture, and progress has been made since the early investigative measures taken by various scholars (Morris, 2004; Rowe, 2007). Officers are now much more aware, and try to be extremely professional when dealing with ethnic minority communities in fear of reprisals should there be complaints made against them. Nonetheless, Loftus presents a comprehensive argument in explaining that whilst management initiatives may be deemed as being successful in implementing cultural change by virtue of expressed behaviour, it may in fact be premature to accept such instances as bona fide cultural alteration. She notes that there are deep-seated attitudes within the police which are impervious to real change and therefore the authentic voices of officers' attitude remains questionable "*The extent to which these changes reflect a genuine desire to provide a better service to those emphasized in reform agendas is less clear*" (Loftus, 2009, pg. 194). However Loftus argues that:

> "*If senior officers demonstrated robust commitment to truly diversifying the workforce, there is a possibility that the embedded dispositions would become drowned out by the arrival of new ways of seeing and being in the social world*" (Loftus, 2009, pg. 196).

3.5 The Resistance of Police Culture

Zhao et al (1999) state that the existing literature on police culture is awash with patterns of resistance to change at both individual and organisational levels. Numerous academics studying the dynamics of organisational reform in police establishments have suggested that the administrative model of policing is inherently resistant to change. Zhao et al looked at an American police force faced with adopting a new approach to policing its streets - community oriented policing or COP. In their research, they found that the attempt to alter current police practices through the implementation of novel initiatives entails a fight for the hearts and minds

of the conventional "patrol officers". They argue that police officers are in fact, by and large, resistant to change.

In addition, Zhao et al submits that a major characteristic of value change derived from an appraisal of the literature is that change in the majority of cases is induced by extraordinary events or actions. Any measure of change development is in fact dependent on the level of effective persuading instruments at work. Simply put, the significance of the incident and the propensity of the said incident to impact on the perception of the organisation has substantial influence on how quickly the organisations acts on the necessity of change. Furthermore, change in individual values is more important than the alteration of individual attitudes. In other words, something significant and substantial must be presented as a viable element to initiate change.

Zhao et al (1999) add that the final ingredient of value change at the individual level concerns the size of the initiated result. They argue that holistically speaking, the prospective of change is much more likely to occur if the induced effect is directly related to one's immediate environment, or is in some way, directly related to a social issue which impacts on a variety of people simultaneously. In other words, the significance of the event which initiates the prospect of change must either have a direct impact on the immediate environment of the officers, and or, impact on a wide array of individuals all at the same time.

In my examination of Zhao et al's research, naturally, I reflected on the significant events which clearly induced some level of change within the MPS. The Brixton Riots, Stephen Lawrence murder, and Tottenham riots alike, were all significant events which initiated organisational shock waves not only in the MPS but in UK policing as an entity (Scarman, 1981; Macpherson, 1999; Fox, 2004). This supports Zhao et al (1999) and as such contextualises the theory put forward by these authors.

Although Zhao et al focussed on American policing, the concept remains the same, i.e. the existence of police culture, and how this culture impacts on organisational change within police establishments – or, the lack of it. If we revert to Loftus (2009), who also, and rightly so, commends British Policing. In her article she accurately highlights that there is in fact increased transparency in British policing and closer scrutiny of police budgeting plans. The Windsor Report for instance has placed significant pressure on policing entities and today police do not only prevent crime but also work outside the box in trying to prevent suicide for example. British policing today is far more diverse than it was ten or twenty years ago.

Nonetheless, what the subchapter shows, is although there is change, it seems as if change is slow and reluctant. The culture within policing establishments does not embrace change quickly – on the contrary it resists change, especially changes within the realms of diversity. In my review of police culture theories, there is a clear demonstration that research on police culture is suggestive of this (ReussIanni and Ianni, 1983; Zhao et al, 1999; Reiner, 2000; Loftus, 2009).

Cited in Chan (1996), Brogden *et al.* (1988) distinguish between two main methods to police reform: the first advocates "rule-tightening" as a means of increasing the regulation and control of police discretion, while the second believes in altering the informal culture of police organisations. In a published assessment of the British law reforms in the 1980s, McConville *et al.* question the efficacy of this (law reform) to be employed as a method of changing police practice, since the occupational subculture of the police 'appears resistant to change' (McConville *et al.,* 1991: 193). McConville *et al.* suggest that in order to change police practice, it is fundamental that the occupational culture of the police is attacked and dismantled. They further explain that this can be achieved by instituting new forms of accountability and redefining the police mandate.

Reiner has also noted the uneven influence of law reform on police practice. He concludes that legal regulation by itself is of limited value in shifting police practice, he states that *'the key changes must be in the informal culture of the police, their practical working rules'* (Reiner, 1992: 232). However, Brogden *et al.* do not see the key question as 'whether or not official rules should be constricted or police culture co-opted', but the relationship between these formal rules and subcultural values. On the contrary, they contend for a position opposite to Reiner's. They explain that the key is to tighten the formal rules, since it is the 'permissiveness' of the formal rules that 'creates the space for occupational culture to flourish' (Brogden et al., 1988: 167, 170).

In her article entitled "*Dominant Culture Interrupted*" Loftus identifies that the notion of police culture has been broadly used to comprehend the inner world of the police and broadly refers to a set of values, beliefs, and shared informal norms, which informs and underpins police attitudes and behaviour towards people. Savage (2003) adds that these seemingly engrained norms and assumptions of officers often act as an impediment to efforts to reform the police.

Policing remains an overwhelmingly white, heterosexual, male-dominated occupation (Heidensohn, 1992; Walklate, 2000; Brown, 2007), and this demographic datum poses significant challenges for those who do not correspond with this norm because of their sexuality ethnicity or gender. As police officers, women have faced significant challenges in gaining genuine acceptance within police organisations. In particular, the 'cult of masculinity' (Smith & Gray, 1985) has invigorated many forms of discrimination and sexual harassment against this group (Martin, 1980; Heidensohn, 1992; Brown, 1998; Silvestri, 2003). The sometimes overlooked ethos of robust heterosexual masculinity has similarly excluded gay and lesbian officers from attaining full social membership (Burke, 1993; Miller *et al.,* 2003). Harassment and marginalisation of BME groups working within white-dominated police organisations has been branded as one of the most central, and problematical features of policing culture.

Minority ethnic officers have, without fail, articulated their experiences of seclusion and discrimination within policing establishments (Holdaway & Barron, 1997) and the omnipresent use of overt racist language has been vividly documented (Holdaway, 1983; Smith and Gray, 1985; Young, 1991).

According to Loftus (2009) what such works depicts is that aspects of the police identity have undergone two decades of equal opportunities legislation and policies which have been aimed at altering everyday practices and assumptions (see also Walklate, 2000). Attempts to reform police establishments have many dimensions, including changes in recruitment and training, policy, recruitment; amendments in the composition of the workforce; an emphasis on progressive leadership; the introduction of measures to mainstream equality; and shifts in the organisation's guiding principles. Yet, as Chan (1997) submits, social and political sensitivities in the wider policing milieu also possess the potential to shape the culture of police organisations. Nonetheless, albeit the extensive reform effort, change within the police appears to be slow and rutted.

Albeit the somewhat contrasting views on police culture, it is undeniable that there is a culture within policing establishments which does in fact have an impact on each facet of policing. In my endeavour to understand why black and ethnic minorities are so very underrepresented in the executive ranks of the MPS it seems pragmatic to examine if the existence of this phenomenon does in fact play a role in this issue. Research around the MPS's Chief Officers and how they are recruited is limited and this study intends to shed light on the causation of this predicament. Scholars have already highlighted the culture's resistance to reform and diversity. This research will decipher if there is a link to the progression of BME officers to Chief Officer rank within the Met.

3.6 Chapter Summary

Chapter three introduces the debates around the idea of police culture. It starts by discussing organisational culture (Wallace et al, 1999; Maull, 2001; Ogbonna & Harris, 2002; Lok & Crawford, 2003; Black 2004; Spataro, 2005; Montgomery et al, 2011) - and reiterates that it is broadly accepted that there are two processes within an organisational setting – formal and informal. In addition, it highlights that is very important to not only acknowledge this but it is also necessary to understand the informal character to appreciate the mechanisms of the organisation in question. Chapter three also summarises occupational culture and highlights that there is a difference between organisational and occupational cultures. The chapter discusses the impact that these cultures can have on the organisation's employees, and explains that this culture within the organisation can influence both behaviours and attitudes (Montgomery et al, 2011).

Chapter three then examines the specifics of police culture and considers research conducted by various scholars on this topic (ReussIanni and Ianni, 1983; Manning, 1995; Waddington, 1999; Eugene & Paolines, 2003; Paoline, 2004; Campeau, 2015). In doing so, it was illustrated that the main tensions in the literature were described as the holistic theoretical perception that police culture is a significant contributing factor to police behaviour. In particular, scholars would draw on police culture in explaining how officers cope with the challenges of the job and deal with members of the community. Chapter three also highlights that there are criticisms of how police culture has been used as a blanket explanation for police behaviour (Chan, 1996; Cockcroft, 2012).

The chapter then discusses the bridge (or lack of) between police culture and diversity which is significant to this research. It explains that the culture within the police is one which is often reluctant to embrace diversity initiatives. It highlights the broad range of perceptions held by

an array of scholars and summarises that from a holistic perspective, police culture is an attribute which can influence the behaviour of officers in the execution of their duties (Reiner, 2000; Paoline III, 2003). However, recent research conducted on two British constabularies reiterates that male, white, heterosexual officers are, and continue to be, resentful of diversity initiatives within their respective forces in England (Loftus, 2009).

Chapter three then concludes by arguing that policing establishments are not only reluctant to embrace change (Zhao et al, 1999), but effective change is often initiated by the occurrence of significant events. Such significant or critical incidents impacts on the organisation and as a result, demands change due to this level of external pressure. The chapter submits that diversity in particular seems difficult for policing entities to embrace and this has been evidenced in the manner in which diversity initiatives have been seemingly forced on police by the occurrence of significant events which have caused the MPS reputational damage (Scarman, 1981; Macpherson, 1999; Fox, 2004).

In summary, chapter three raises the notion that policing entities are reluctant to embrace reform, however, diversity in particular is often met with significant resistance. The organisation is culturally reactive to this pressure (as opposed to being proactive) and makes alterations to its diversity to save face – instead of a genuine appreciation of the need to be diverse. Loftus (2009) found that white, male, heterosexual police officers were resentful of these diversity initiatives which police establishments are under pressure to act upon. This cultural reluctance may very well contribute to the underrepresentation of BMEs within the MPS NPCC ranks.

Chapter Four

The British Bobby Physiognomies Typology

4.1 Introduction

To address the aims and objectives illustrated in the first chapter i.e. to grasp a deeper understanding of possible reasons for such a significant underrepresentation of BMEs specifically within the NPCC ranks of the MPS - it was essential to firstly understand the previous appointment of Commissioners throughout the decades.

Exploring this background gives an indication of what and who the organisation deems suitable for this position, and in grasping a better understanding of this trend, I have been better equipped to pilot the research in a purposeful way. Furthermore, my knowledge of the attributes common to Commissioners, assisted my understanding of pertinent issues which required particular consideration when questioning respondents during the field stages of the research.

4.2 Historic MPS Leadership

On researching the organisation's historic appointment of past Commissioners it was established that between 1829 (inception) and 1993 there have been twenty-two Commissioners of whom only six were from non-military backgrounds. In other words, 72% of all appointed Commissioners in one hundred and sixty five years were ex-military personnel. Therefore it seems fair to conclude that early appointments of senior police officer positions were reserved for senior military officers and the judiciary (Silvestri et al, 2013). However, it

is worthy of mention that there have been six Commissioners since 1993 until present none of whom have military backgrounds. This illustrates a significant shift in the pattern of what seemed to be an important prerequisite in the reproduction of Metropolitan Police Commissioners.

As an integral part of my attempt to contextualise elements of historic British policing, I examined the research conducted by Robert Reiner as he is arguably one of the most authoritative and comprehensive long-term researchers of policing in Britain. A review of his research revealed that the end of the 1980s saw renewed public disorder, policing scandals, and tumbling public confidence in the police (Reiner, 1992). On conducting further investigation it came to light that as a result of this, a new policy package was produced in 1993, the White Paper on Police Reform (Reiner, 2010).

The Sheehy report on pay and career structures, and the 1994 Police and Magistrates Court Act were also novel initiatives which were designed to create a more "business-like" police (Reiner, 2010). One of the many suggestions was that the police appeared too "top heavy" and more power should be apportioned to officers who were on the ground and more in touch with the community. These occurrences may well be a plausible explanation for such a significant change of preference in appointing predominantly ex-military Commissioners.

For the purposes of this study I decided to focus on the period between 1972 and present as this allows for a comprehension of recent appointments whilst still including some level of historic activity. In doing so, it was established that there have been nine Commissioners appointed between 1972 and 2015, and all but one of these Commissioners have been White, English, Heterosexual (assumed) Males with the only outstanding Commissioner within this forty-three year period being White, *Scottish*, Heterosexual Male – Scottish being the only exceptional difference between the appointees during this timeframe.

Reiner (1991) in his research entitled "*Chief Constables*" asserts that the police's elite today may differ somewhat in terms of societal derivation but commands as much power, prestige and pay as other groups habitually examined in elite studies and as such, should be considered alongside them. There is, however, one social parallel between the police and other elites, they are all male and white.

Further analysis of the Commissioners appointed during this specific time frame (1972 - 2015) exposed additional interesting discoveries in terms of the similarities of the educational backgrounds of these men. It was observed that of the nine Commissioners appointed during this time, all but one of these senior officers would have either attended Grammar School, and/or, attended Oxford/Cambridge, or attained an LLB (Rivera, 2012). Only one Commissioner fell outside of this parameter; the only Scottish Commissioner. Immediately we see Berry et al's (2004) act of homophily within networks and the propensity for individuals of similar status and backgrounds to cluster together which consequently preserves the interests of elite whilst hindering opportunities for others.

The average age of the appointment of these Commissioners within this period is fifty-three and all the individuals who have held this post have either started their police careers elsewhere or transferred in-between forces before their respective appointments, for example, the Commissioner in office at the time of the research, Bernard Hogan-Howe was Chief Constable of Merseyside before transferring to the Metropolitan Police as Assistant Commissioner. It was also observed that all Commissioners were educated to the minimum of degree level despite there being no prerequisite for police officers to have any higher education. Being a sports enthusiast also seemed popular amongst the choices of Commissioners.

An apparent exception to this rule emerged two years after the start of this study, when Cresida Dick was appointed as the first female Commissioner of the MPS. However, it has been noted

that Commissioner Dick also possesses similar prerequisites to that of her predecessors. Her academic background, race, and route to the top, show close similarities to that of previous Commissioners. Nonetheless, this will be discussed in detail in the BBP analysis chapter of the thesis.

The Chief Officer ranks of the organisation create the opportunity to be appointed this prestigious role of being the most senior officer within the United Kingdom, however, already we can see that despite the declaration of equality and diversity, there seems to be very specific requirements for any potential post holder. This brings us back to the theory of social networks and the reproduction of the elite, a theory which highlights how senior members of any organisation are likely to be replaced. However, before progressing any further into this discussion I must first look at the NPCC as an entity.

It was considered that the national guidelines for the recruitment of Met officers (particularly BMEs) should be included in this research. However, the guidelines and recruitment strategy for the organisation has little if any influence on the manner in which BMEs are promoted into the executive ranks of the MPS (outside of the direct entry management schemes). For this purpose, this information has been omitted from the study.

4.3 NPCC Synopsis

According to Reiner (1991) the Metropolitan Police Service, was established under the guidance of the Police Act (1829) on a configuration which was not implemented in regional forces, and to this day remains unique in its own right. Its administration was initially placed in the hands of two justices (later called Commissioners and was fairly quickly reduced to one as we now know it). The police authority who the Commissioner at the time and still currently remains accountable, is the Home Secretary.

This research focuses on the Chief Officers within the Met who form the biggest component of the NPCC - whereby of the thirty officers, four of those fall within the BME category (which has been since reduced to two). In comparison, the total number of British whites residing in London equates to 45% (3.87 million) of the entire population with "other whites" making up another 15% (1.29 million) of the capital's inhabitants resulting in a combined total of a 60% white population in the Capital (approximately). The supplementary estimated 40% (3.44 million) of the populace represents the BME community within London (Black Police Association, 2014). Yet the figures illustrate that a mere 2 of the 30 officers of the NPCC ranks are made up of the BME group. Quite clearly, the Met does not have enough BME and female officers in senior positions (Police and Crime Committee, 2014).

The National Police Chief Council is an amalgamation of the most senior officers in all the Police Services within England, Wales and Northern Ireland. It is made up of the Chief, Deputy Chief, and Assistant Chief Constables of all County Forces within these countries and combined with the Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, Deputy Assistant Commissioners and Commanders within the Metropolitan Police Service. It embodies the most senior levels of policing and has, debatably, the key responsibility of 'steering' policing policy under both local and central government (Charman & Savage, 1998).

Although the Council collectively forms one entity (inclusive of all Chief Officers and not just the Met) which is managed by the Home Secretary, the research focuses only on the London Metropolitan Police which contributes the highest amount of NPCC members from one force due to the size of the organisation and the inevitable demands which are affiliated with its magnitude. In addition, London is home to the largest BME population within the United Kingdom and as such, the MPS professes to be aspiring towards ensuring police officers and staff reflect its diverse community to enhance credibility and build better relationships (MPS, 1998).

However, even without conducting any field research, a clear pattern has emerged within the reproduction of the Commissioners and officers within its NPCC ranks. The common factors seem to be that these officers are predominantly Male, English, White Heterosexuals who have been educated above and beyond the prerequisite for MPS student constable applicants. Furthermore, the academic background has also been quite specific in that Commissioner appointees have been educated at Grammar School and/or attended Oxford/Cambridge, or possess a Law Degree (LLB). This common social background has been scrutinised and is discussed in the empirical work later in the thesis.

Albeit it has been noted that the desire to transform policing to a more business-like approach has influenced the appointment of Commissioners, (a move away from ex-military) there were four characteristics that seems to have stood the test of time. Those characteristics are Male, White, English, and individuals who present themselves as heterosexual. These traits are clearly very crucial aspects to be considered when appointing the leaders of the Metropolitan Police. I have referred to these as the British Bobby Physiognomies - which stems from an ethnicity perspective. The appointment of the first female Commissioner in 2017, whilst significant, does not necessarily alter what is perceived as ideal for the organisation and this will be analysed and discussed in detail in the social network analysis chapter of the thesis.

4.4 The Guidelines vs Reality

The College of Policing summarises the guidelines for appointing Chief Officers within the Metropolitan Police and other forces. This guidance provides those responsible for appointing Chief Officers with the knowledge and skills to deliver an appointment process which is built on fairness, merit, and transparency to appoint the right candidate to the available position. The guidance states that "*All those employed by the police, including police staff and those from*

non-Home Office forces, should follow the guiding principles outlined in this document. While these principles may not directly apply to non-Home Office forces, they may be a helpful guide where appropriate" (CoP, 2018, pg. 4).

The Equality Act 2010 is a fundamental part of the guidelines for Chief Officer recruitment. This also includes positive action for minority or disadvantaged groups. This has been included in Section 159 of the Equality Act 2010 which refers to positive action in the context of recruitment and promotion processes. It states that "*in certain circumstances an employer can treat one candidate more favourably than another if they suffer a disadvantage or have difficulty participating in certain activities in connection with a protected characteristic. An employer can treat the candidate more favourably if they are equally qualified to the other candidates*". (CoP, 2018, pg. 22).

The ensuing table illustrates the guidance for both the specific requirements and good practice for Chief Officer selection in the MPS.

The table below outlines the chief constables roles and responsibilities in appointing assistant chief constables, deputy chief constables and equivalent chief officer ranks in the Metropolitan Police Service:

Requirements	Good practice
■ Ensure the appointment process is based on the principles of merit, fairness and openness (public sector equality duty)	■ Ensure the appointment process considers the Code of Ethics and organisational competencies and values
■ Convene an appointments panel including at least one independent panel member (HO Circular 013/2018)	■ Agree the content of the advert and where this should be placed
■ Ensure the vacancy is advertised for no less than three weeks	■ Ensure that the vacancy is publicised widely to all potential applicants
■ Ensure a discussion with the PCC is undertaken regarding the proposed appointee prior to confirmation of the appointment	■ Ensure those involved in assessing candidates have undertaken appropriate training in selection and assessment practices
■ Ensure the appointment process is undertaken in accordance with relevant legislation	■ Direct the appointment panel to this guidance
■ Ensure the appointment process adheres to the Equality Act 2010 and the DPA	■ Develop an application and assessment process which includes a robust decision-making model
	■ In collaboration with the appointment panel, assess, shortlist and appoint applicants against the agreed assessment criteria
	■ Confirm that the potential appointee's conduct is satisfactory
	■ Submit the independent panel member's report to the PCP and inform them of the preferred candidate
	■ Provide feedback to all candidates

Figure 2 Guidance for MPS Chief Officers Appointment

Understanding these guidelines further highlights the importance of this research. In examining the actual number of BMEs being promoted throughout the organisation but more specifically

within the Chief Officer ranks of the MPS, it appears as if there is a "chink in the chain" between the national guidelines and what occurs in reality.

The below figure is a guide which has been retrieved from the Black Police Association archives.

| Police Officer | 30 November 2018 | | | | | |
| | Overall Total | | | BME Total | | |
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Commander & above	5.00	24.00	29.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
Chief Superintendent	9.00	24.00	33.00	0.00	4.00	4.00
Detective Chief Superintendent	1.00	16.00	17.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Superintendent	23.00	66.00	89.00	5.00	6.00	11.00
Detective Superintendent	24.21	84.00	108.21	1.00	2.00	3.00
Chief Inspector	25.76	109.00	134.76	1.00	4.00	5.00
Detective Chief Inspector	36.00	111.80	147.80	3.00	9.00	12.00
Inspector	147.93	599.77	747.70	9.00	47.00	56.00
Detective Inspector	122.09	353.00	475.09	11.99	33.00	44.99
Police Sergeant	492.48	2,350.54	2,843.02	39.95	200.80	240.75
Detective Sergeant	359.65	1,091.69	1,451.34	39.55	118.24	157.78
Police Constable	4,915.86	14,024.34	18,940.20	652.05	2,377.76	3,029.81
Detective Constable	1,776.79	2,995.32	4,772.11	270.48	449.49	719.97
Police Officer Total	7,938.77	21,849.46	29,788.23	1,033.02	3,252.28	4,285.30

| Police Officer | End April 2016 | | | | | |
| | Overall Total | | | BME Total | | |
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Commander & above	8.00	19.00	27.00	2.00	1.00	3.00
Chief Superintendent	12.00	34.00	46.00			0.00
Detective Chief Superintendent	2.00	10.00	12.00		4.00	4.00
Superintendent	19.00	49.00	68.00	4.00	5.00	9.00
Detective Superintendent	14.00	81.00	95.00		6.00	6.00
Chief Inspector	27.65	112.00	139.65	2.00	2.00	4.00
Detective Chief Inspector	27.00	116.00	143.00	1.00	3.00	4.00
Inspector	132.10	620.89	752.99	3.00	41.00	44.00
Detective Inspector	117.26	395.00	512.26	8.00	33.00	41.00
Police Sergeant	510.16	2,515.96	3,026.12	26.83	179.95	206.78
Detective Sergeant	333.90	1,124.09	1,457.99	37.88	97.59	135.47
Police Constable	5,239.08	15,262.38	20,501.47	642.09	2,231.32	2,873.41
Detective Constable	1,737.73	3,155.13	4,892.86	225.40	417.47	642.87
Police Officer Total	8,179.88	23,494.45	31,674.33	952.20	3,021.33	3,973.53

Figure 3 – Illustration of BMEs by rank 2016 - 2018

The statistics demonstrate a gap between the amount of minority groups being recruited and the amount being promoted to executive rank. In perusing the guidelines and set rules for this process, one cannot assume that there is any breech. However, this research aims to take a closer look at this process during the field research stage of the study.

4.5 A Contextualization of Ethnicity

Before entering into this discourse concerning the BBP typology I believe it is firstly important to consider the term ethnicity and what this really entails. The study has been dissected into different pieces – and naturally, due to the nature of this typology, ethnicity is a phenomenon which requires some level of exploration. It will however, not be covered in great depth as the nature of this research does not facilitate this approach. Nonetheless, I feel compelled to touch on some very important factors in light of this BBP notion.

The concept of ethnicity did not come into prevalent anthropological use up until the 1960s (around the same time as police culture) beginning in the United States with American anthropology (Jenkins, 2008). The cumulative employment of an ethnicity model was part of a longstanding and ongoing alteration from race - to culture - to ethnicity (Wolf, 1994). It can be considered as a modification from the scrutiny of the *tribe* to the *ethnic group,* and through its evolution, it is now perfectly logical from an anthropological perspective, to consider ethnic and nationalism in the same analytical breath. Race, however, is far more problematical. Ethnicity is a matter of "peoplehood" (Ruane & Todd, 2004) and stems from the primordial Greek word "*ethnos*" which referred to a variety of circumstances in which a group of people lived an acted together (Ostergard, 1992). The anthropological model of ethnicity is a somewhat expansive "church", which captures a broad range of phenomena under its roof (Jenkins, 2008).

Richard Jenkins, an established anthropologist who speaks extensively about ethnicity, suggests that human beings irrespective of cultural dissimilarities have more in common with each other than not (Jenkins, 2008). In his book entitled *"Rethinking Ethnicity",* he evaluates this subject and provides an analytical discussion which is worthy of mention in this thesis.

Jenkins scrutinises the work of many other academics but in particular, the work of Weber, Hughes, and Barth – with Weber and Hughes being of particular interest to this research.

Cited in Jenkins (2008), Weber explains that ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only enables group creation (of any kind) but above all, in the political domain. On the other hand, it is in fact largely the political community that indeed inspires the belief in common ethnicity (Weber, 1978). In his book entitled *Economy and Society,* Weber also perceives that race creates a group only when it is subjectively perceived as a common trait. He further explains that this only occurs when a neighbourhood or the sheer immediacy of racially diverse persons is the root of joint (habitually political) action, or equally, when some common experiences of members of the same race are connected to some antipathy against members of a different group (Weber, 1978).

Weber submits that shared interests inspire ethnic identification and collective action is a sense of monopolistic social closure which outlines eligibility, access and membership. Any "cultural stuff" which is particular and common to that group can provide a foundation and resource for ethnic closure; for example, kinship, rituals, language, the division of labour, economic way of life, and lifestyle more generally, are all likely possibilities in this respect (Ruane & Todd, 2004). The sense of what is "correct and proper" which constitutes individual "honour and dignity" and, mutual "intelligibility of behaviour of others" are also prerequisites for any ethnic group. It is by these tokens an ethnic group becomes a particular form of status group.

Jenkins also discusses the work of Hughes during his "rethinking of ethnicity". On the contrary, he (Hughes) submits a somewhat different perspective on ethnicity. He explains that an ethnic group is not one because of the amount of quantifiable or recognisable dissimilarities from other groups – on the contrary, it is an ethnic group, because both the people in and out of it know that it is one; because both entities talk, feel, and behave as if it were a separate group.

This is conceivable only if there are ways of distinguishing who fits or belongs to the group and who does not. Additionally, and very importantly, if an individual learns early, intensely, and typically irreversibly to what group he or she belongs, then this would arguably significantly influence their sense of belonging/loyalty to that particular ethnicity. Hughes also adds that if members should find it easy to resign from the group, then it is not truly an ethnic group (Hughes, 1948; 1994).

In Jenkins's (2008) evaluation, he explains that ethnic groups suggest ethnic relations, and ethnic relations encompass a minimum of two collective parties, these parties are not autonomous in the sense that they each require the existence of the other to exist. Identity or existence is matter of the ins as well as the outs. He states that a concomitant of this perception is the injunction that we should not, for instance, study a minority group – which is, after all, a relational concept – without also studying the majority. In summary ethnic groups are inherently dependent on perceptions which are held both in and out of the group in question. Ethnicity is relevant to the BBP typology as it (the typology) looks at two groups which are perceived to be different due to their supposed position within ethnic groups; and it suggests that one group is far more successful hugely in part of this difference.

4.6 The British Bobby Physiognomies

This section now introduces the typology of the British Bobby Physiognomies (BBP) which is what will form the backbone of this discussion. It suggests that officers who are male, white, English and presumed heterosexual are by default more strategically placed to be promoted into the elite echelons of the organisation whilst officers who fall outside these parameters commence at an immediate disadvantage simply due to their ethnicity.

I developed this typology as a direct result of researching and analysing the previous appointments of all Metropolitan Police Commissioners. The noted similarities have been consistent and indicate that officers with particular physiognomies appear to be better positioned to become future leaders of the organisation. The historic and consistent behaviour of the Met is unequivocally suggestive of this. However, due to the fact that this BBP typology has been developed prior to any empirical research, it is limited, and requires further exploration. My own personal experiences as a police officer within the MPS, and hence personal knowledge of its procedures, have also contributed to my development of this typology. Still, it is important that I reiterate that it is through a combination of existing research and personal experience which has initiated this innovative framework.

Hambrick (1984) argues that typologies tend to be over-simplified with limited descriptive or analytical power and as such, can lead to "oversimplified" interpretations of organisations. But although typologies have been criticised and sometimes viewed as classification systems rather than as theories, it still proves to be a popular and effective method of thinking about organisational structures and strategies. A valuable benefit of typologies is that they are able to simplify complex processes that determine the focal organisational outcomes (Doty & Glick, 1994). Typologies, through this process of classification, can also help scholars to form and test theories whilst still permitting a level of flexibility in recognising that "a one model fits all" may not exist (Slater, 2005). I will discuss the validity of this typology and use the empirical data which I have collated from my field research to test the legitimacy of my argument.

Reiner (1992) notes that the British Bobby, along with double decker busses, Big Ben, and red telephone boxes, can be regarded as one of United Kingdom's most celebrated icons. He explains that the first Metropolitan Police Commissioners, Rowan and Mayne, strove to

cultivate an image of the British Bobby as the independent personification of the rule of law and the tenet of public service.

Additionally, the growth of the media in the mid-nineteenth century also aided in the popularity of the Bobby's image (Mawby, 2012). The influence of popular film and television series such as *Dixon of Dock Green* has reiterated the perceived image of what the British Bobby looks like (Sydney-Smith, 2002). I walked around central London and visited numerous tourist shops and could not help but notice that all the "stuffed" British police officer toys looked the same, male and white. Even fictitious characters such as Sherlock Holmes supported by "Inspector Lestrade" share these common attributes (Doyle, 1892; 1894; 1905; 1917; 1927).

Mc Laughlin (2005) supports this argument and explains that the English 'Bobby' has been culturally established through a variety of narratives which accentuates his indispensable 'difference' from police officers in other countries. The "Bobby", as he has come to be known, is the corner stone of English policing and an important symbol of 'Englishness'.

He can be found in practically every tourist souvenir shop in London, in an almost baffling variety of formats - puppets, key rings, postcards, dolls, teddy bears, t-shirts coffee mugs, all carry this instantaneously familiar image of the English police. The benevolent 'Bobby' has even been featured on the cover page of brochures for vacations in London. Arguably, no other European capital conveys such a display of police-based tourist ornaments (Mc Laughlin, 2005).

These concepts contain, so to speak, an inner psychic model of organisational reality (Sievers, 2008) and complement the consistencies of the appointment of MPS Commissioners. The amalgamation of the aforementioned occurrences further engenders my construction of the BBP typology.

Holding the office of Metropolitan Police Commissioner is in essence a representation of what the organisation believes to be an appropriate exemplification of itself. The individual who holds such a prestigious position therefore represents all the officers and staff within the service and thus must fall within certain parameters. Furthermore, the MPS Commissioner is regarded as the most senior police rank within the entire United Kingdom as the rank of Commissioner supersedes that of all Chief Constables which is the highest rank attainable in the county forces. It is far from uncommon for Chief Constables to be promoted to Assistant or Deputy Commissioner within the MPS therefore one can argue that the Commissioner's face is one which represents not only the MPS but British police officers as an entity.

Both time and consistency in the construct of the appointees have illustrated what and who the organisation finds most fitting to "fly the flag" and be "the face" of the organisation. Very few females, individuals from minority ethnic groups, or overtly LGBT officers occupy posts, particularly in senior positions (Loftus, 2009). In addition, it is not uncommon for officers from such groups to report experiences of discrimination from white, heterosexual male officers (Loftus, 2009; EHRC, 2016). It seems fair to suggest that following many of the organisational restructurings within recent decades, leadership styles in policing today runs parallel with a ''smart macho'' culture (Silvestri, 2007). The trends are telling and carry significant influence in the typology of the BBP.

Furthermore, the fall out of the pattern of this historical process of appointing MPS Commissioners into the realms of appointing officers within the lower ranks of the NPCC, although not an exact replica of the very narrow BBP, still illustrates significant similarities in terms of the reproduction of the elite group of individuals who are chosen to lead the organisation. The Police and Crime Committee (2014) explain that ultimately, the diversity of an organisation is not just a measure of how it looks but also how it behaves; and the patterns

suggest that individuals who possess specific characteristics are far more strategically positioned to be accepted into this elite circle of leaders.

The high profile of Commissioner is one which can be quite easily researched. Information such as early years, schooling and career progression can all be quite easily attained. However, the data on other ranks within the MPS' NPCC officers are not as easily obtained and therefore requires direct dialogue with each individual to obtain such an account.

Diagrams can often simplify what can be construed to be seemingly complex information. The below diagram illustrates and abridges the typology of the British Bobby Physiognomies (BBP) within the MPS work environment, its power, and potential progress for officers who fall under its parasol. There is also a subsequent explanation of the diagram, its contents, and this framework which presents a typology whereby a specific populace within the MPS forms the "backbone" of the organisation and hence culturally and socially lead the way through nepotism. This, the right side of the diagram, will be referred to as the *"Route A"* of the organisation, and the left side will be addressed as *"Route B"*. See Figure 2 illustrated below:

The BBP Diagram

Figure 4- BBP Diagram

ROUTE B

White Other

Female

BMEs

LGBT

SSG
TP
EHRC
PO
IPCC
OEI

ROUTE A

PROGRESSION

CAREER

Male

Straight BBP White

English

SSG	Staff Support Groups
TP	Talent Programs
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
PO	Public Opinion
IPCC	Independent Police Complaints Commission
OEI	Other External Influences
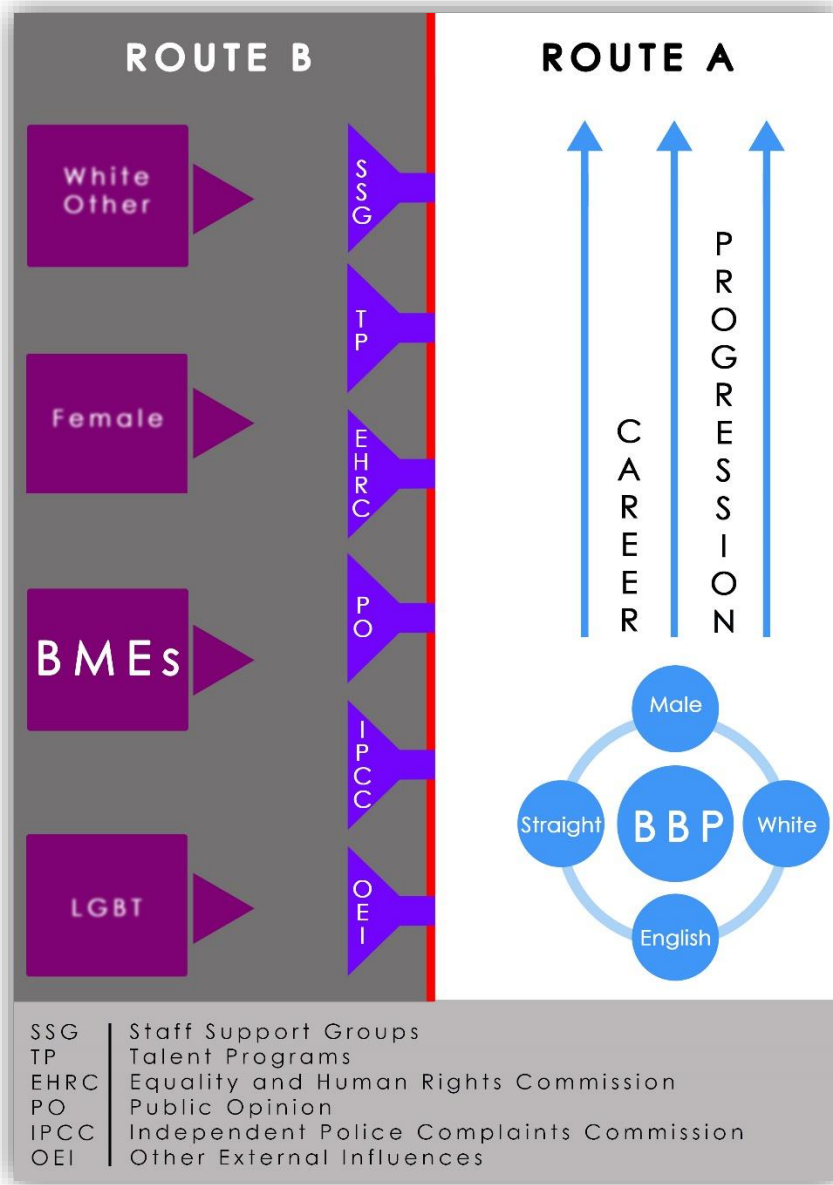
4.7 The BBP Diagram Explained

The BBP Diagram depicts what has been illustrated during this initial examination of all the previous Commissioners (prior to the current one). Quite clearly, the information suggests that having such characteristics within this organisation immediately places individuals at an advantageous position in the pursuit of career progression. However, my own personal experiences of having served as a police officer and previous reports conducted on the MPS

such as Smith (2004); Morris (2004); Rowe (2007); Police and Crime Committee (2014); EHRC, (2016), have also contributed to the creation of this typology.

A consolidation of the information indisputably indicates that there is a mainstream within the organisation and any group outside of this mainstream faces the challenges of acceptance. Promotion or, rather, the lack of ethnic minority officers in the promoted ranks is indeed a matter of concern (Grieve et al, 2000; Muir, 2001; Morris, 2004; Holdaway & O'Neill, 2006; Rowe, 2007). In addition, the number of women in leadership positions continues to be limited (Silvestri 2007). The Police and Crime Committee (2014) add that the lack of diversity on some of the specialist departments in the Met is highly concerning.

Research suggests that the mainstream within the organisation carries significant influence within both promotion and access to prestigious specialist teams (PCC, 2014). There is segregation amongst officers and my own personal experience within the MPS supports the framework whereby there is an "ideal" and a requirement to be "accepted" into the ideal. Being employed as a police officer has permitted my understanding of these mechanisms. However, it is important to emphasise that at this stage, this framework merely outlines the perceived layout which is limited to secondary data and personal experiences. Therefore it was crucial that I vigorously investigated its validity during the field stages of the research.

The Red Line - From the reported evidence and my direct experience, it appears that the rhetoric of equality and positive action has successfully influenced the propensity for women and ethnic minorities to be permitted entry into organisations. However, researchers argue that it has been unsuccessful in addressing the development and progression of these groups (Linton, 2014). This red lined boundary illustrates the pivotal separation between the BBP and the other officers within the MPS, for example, the Black and Minority Ethnic group (BME), Females, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender group (LGBT) and "white others". These

groups albeit also serving police officers who should in theory commence their careers on an "equal playing field", by its position in the diagram, depicts that in reality they fall into what is referred to as the *"Route B"* of the organisation (Loury, 1977).

As a result of being positioned within the outer flank of the Metropolitan Police Service, these groups are far more likely to encounter resistance and/or obstacles in their pursuit of promotion or even lateral movement. An endeavour which seems far less bureaucratically indirect for their BBP colleagues. It is also worthy of mention that the *"Route B"* groups experience prejudice and resistance on different levels in terms of their propensity to be accepted into the BBP forum (Brown et al, 2006; Jones & Williams, 2013). For example a Female, White, English, Lesbian officer may encounter less resistance than a Male, Black, British, Homosexual officer.

There may be a multitude of reasons for this, for example, females were first recruited into the organisation in 1914 and the first black male was recruited over a half century later in 1967. It can be argued that as a result of this occurrence white females would be far more likely to be accepted into the dominant group as they have had much more time to "tap into" the mainstream in comparison to their BME colleagues who are also positioned on the left side of the diagram.

This has been clearly illustrated in the recent appointment of Commissioner Cresida Dick. However, this is a separate topic and as such, requires its own research. The main focus of this study is channelled towards BME progression within the MPS NPCC ranks as opposed to comparing the level of prejudice potentially undergone by different minority groups within the Route B section of the diagram. It is for this purpose, the other entities are represented in a more faded shade to illustrate their existence but lack of relevance within this particular discussion. Nonetheless due to this recent appointment, it became necessary to discuss elements of this occurrence during the analysis chapters.

The "Filters" - Another important aspect of the diagram are the *"filters"* amidst the red line which separate the Route B from the Route A, or, the "other" officers from the BBP. These filters are a variety of internal and external pressure groups which can assist Route Bs into being "accepted" into the Route A or the BBP component of the diagram and as a result, permit the progression of such individuals – in other words, bridge the structural holes (Burt, 2004). Talent Programmes such as the High Potential Development Scheme, PC to Inspector and Inspector to Superintendent Programmes are all corporate schemes which officers can apply for and if successful, benefit from the support of a dedicated talent management team and a process which supersedes the traditional route of promotion.

Associations such as the Black Police Association (BPA), National LGBT Network and Jewish Police Association, are all examples of pressure groups within the organisation which can be used by its members to lodge corporate complaints if they feel as if they have been treated unfairly or discriminated against. Miller et al (2008) explain that the views of BPA officials are essential for an understanding of institutional racism within police constabularies. They provide a voice for numerous ethnic minority police officers, often having a seat at policy development and monitoring committees, and many other constabulary forums.

External influences such as public opinion, critical incidents involving BMEs (such as Steven Lawrence's murder) and the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) are just a few examples of external pressures which can play a significant role in pushing the Route B members of the organisation into the mainstream. Chief Officers (NPCC) have had to respond to the external pressure from the Home Office to review and amend many policies and practices affiliated with race and ethnic relations as a direct result of Macpherson's ideas (Holdaway & O'Neill, 2006). The list of filters on the diagram is far from being exhaustive and as such, only represent the existence and examples of such entities. For example, supervisors can also be filters as they can both grant or restrict access to the Route B officers (Police and Crime

Committee, 2014). However, it would be impractical to include all existing filters within the BBP typology diagram.

Managers now possess a much better appreciation of equality issues and not only how bias occurs but how it should be prevented. Nonetheless, we also see that such guidelines and measures are not always charted in practice (Liff, 1999). The Police and Crime Committee (2014) assert that BME and female officers seldom have access to the informal networks which are crucial for career progression. While there may be mentoring schemes for female and BME officers, the Committee was informed that sponsorship was the most effective means of helping officers to secure promotion. NPCC officers are officers of the highest rank whereby word of mouth and recommendations (sponsorship) carry the most influence and the BBP typology alludes that it becomes significantly more difficult for the BMEs at this stage. This is referred to as the BBP Induced Cycle.

4.8 The BBP Induced Cycle

Police organisational discrimination tends to transpire when conflicting informal subcultural principles and practices unfavourably impact and influence the application and administration of official organisational frameworks, processes and initiatives (Jones & Williams, 2013). The BBP Induced Cycle (BBPIC) framework is typical of this informal subcultural principle articulated by Jones & Williams. It highlights that not only is there an informal cultural process of acceptance at each stage of promotion for the BME, but also that the propensity to be accepted becomes increasingly difficult when pursuing higher ranks. This extension of the BBP typology is based on my own personal observations and experiences as a police officer within the MPS. The BBPIC is also reinforced by the observation that the higher the rank within the MPS, the less BME presence there seems to be.

Within the BBP diagram and in understanding the position of each employee within its framework, Route B officers are filtered and accepted into the Route A of the diagram in order to be promoted. However, the BBPIC framework suggests that once this promotion (or lateral movement into a prestigious specialist group) has been achieved, the officer in question then reverts to the left side of the diagram. This process repeats itself through every promotion of that Route B officer's career and becomes increasingly difficult the higher the rank attempted to be attained by the officer.

Figure 5- BBP Induced Cycle

Figure 5- BBP Induced Cycle
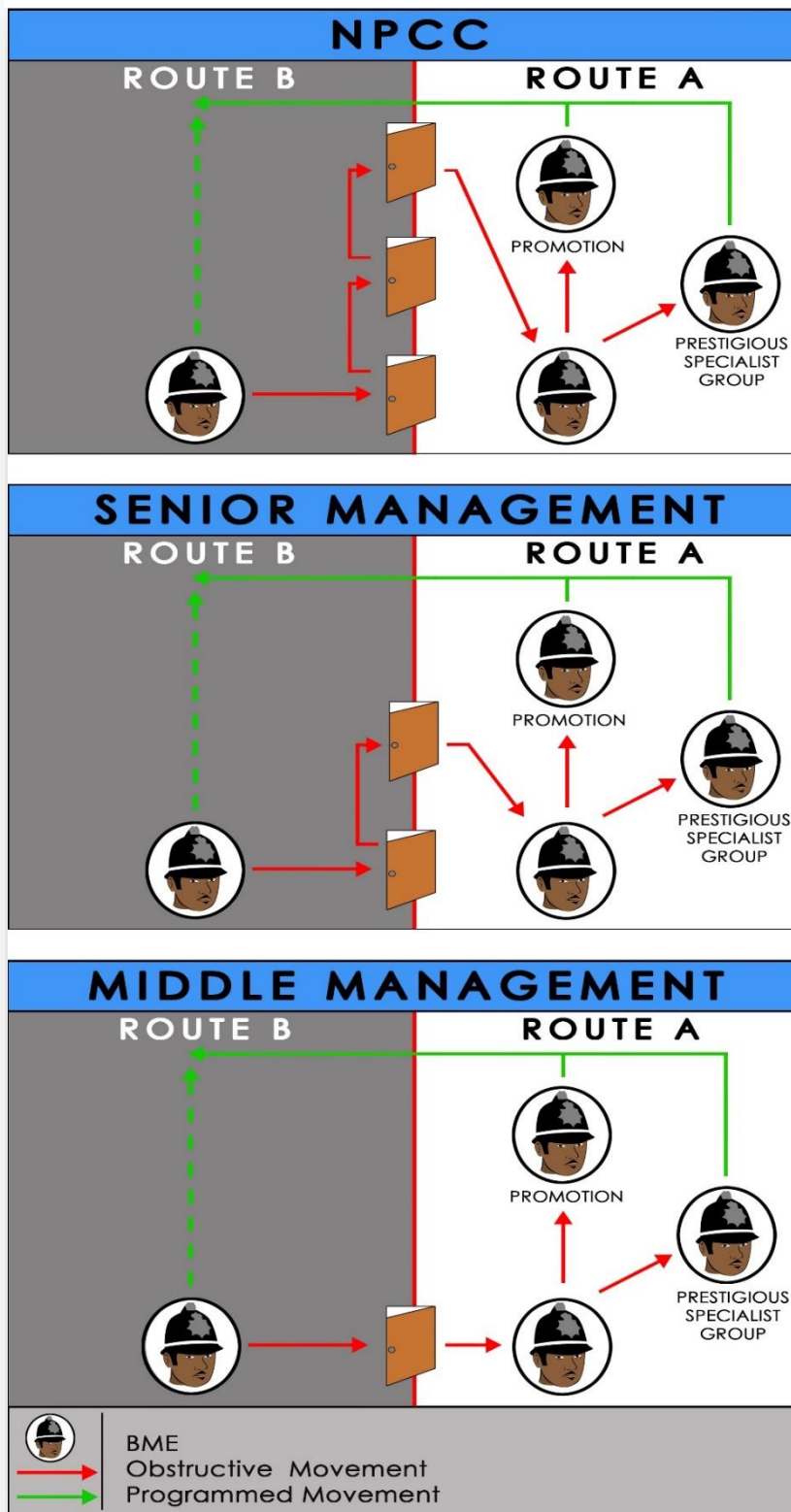
Similar to the BBP Diagram, the BBPIC Figure illustrates two facets, one illustrating Route A which signifies the pathway for officers within the dominant group, and Route B which denotes the conduit for minorities but more specific to the interests of this research, BMEs. It specifies the position of each group on entrance to the organisation and then further illustrates what is referred to as "**programmed movement**" and "**obstructive movement**". Programmed movement within the specifics of this typology alludes that this movement is set by the culture as default movement for BMEs. This movement indicates that they are recognised as being different from the mainstream and ensures this subtle but yet very prominent separation continues to exist even after there has been some level of acceptance exemplified through upward or specialist lateral movement.

Once the desired movement has been achieved by the BME, the BBPIC suggests that albeit there has been some level of success, the BME still reverts to the default or Route B position in the diagram. This demonstrates that in order to achieve subsequent success in endeavours to either be promoted again or move to another prestigious specialist department, the BME needs to then replicate this movement of acceptance and reversion. Liff (1999) reiterates that managers still consider certain jobs unsuitable for women and fellow workers on the basis of difference and ethnicity and that these things often occur in organisations which seem at a formal level to have exemplary policies.

Obstructive movement suggests that such undertakings within this direction is affiliated with significant challenges; more specifically, any pursuit of promotion (which is what the thesis seeks to comprehend). The precise reason for these challenges is directly correlated with difference and it is important that we recall that all minorities positioned on the Route B element of the diagram are subjected to this obstructive movement, however, this research focuses on that of the BME. Furthermore, although the BBP Induced Cycle Diagram exhibits this obstructive movement, what the typology does not and cannot confirm is whether this

obstruction is deliberate prejudice, unbiased prejudice or any other unknown sources. This is a factor which was further investigation during the field research phase of the thesis.

The BBP Induced Cycle typology also proposes that the higher the BME seeks to advance the more difficult acceptance into the dominant group becomes. This is simply because there are far fewer BMEs positioned in the higher ranks of the service. As a result, the power and centrality resides within the BBP group at these levels and therefore it becomes more difficult for "outsiders" to gain admittance (Waldinger, 1995; Bian 1997). This difficulty is clearly illustrated by the use of the doors incorporated into the red line which separates both entities. As we can see, the disparity between middle management and NPCC promotion is depicted by the illustration of three doors as opposed to one to reiterate the substantial increase in difficulty at this stage.

Liff (1999) explains that a key component of effective diversity management would be for the organisation to recognise that it has to change to adjust to employee differences as opposed to merely expecting employees to conform to its pre-existing practices. This means rethinking policies, cultures and structures so that they are more harmonious with the characteristics and requirements of dissimilar employees and contrasts with the maintenance of the dominant group but has some add-on procedures designed to assist minority groups to fit in. Loftus (2009) adds that innovative ways must be found to accomplish a more extensive reform and erosion of this seemingly determined and traditional police subculture in order to attain a complete appreciation of diversity.

4.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter discusses the history of the appointment of previous Commissioners and identifies common factors which seem prevalent amongst the chosen individuals for this prestigious and

powerful appointment. It also highlights the occurrence of a clear alteration in the pattern of previous ex-military Commissioners when the organisation adopted a more business-like approach to policing in the early nineties. The chapter clearly outlines that the British Bobby is an icon with very specific characteristics and is portrayed as such via the media, film industry, successful novels and tourist shops (Reiner, 1992; Sydney-Smith, 2002; Mawby, 2012).

In addition, the chapter describes the MPS and its formation including a brief explanation of the creation of the Association of Chief Constables (ACPO) now known as National Police Chief Council (NPCC) and the entities which holds it to account. Chapter four also examines the dynamics of the populace within London and reiterates the importance of a police workforce which is reflective of its diversity. It then encapsulates the formation of the BBP framework and how this came to fruition. The chapter echoes that due to the fact that this typology was created prior to any empirical research, it is limited, and requires further exploration.

Chapter four explains that there are in fact two entry points into the MPS - one for the dominant group referred to as the BBP and the other for minority groups. These entry points seem perfectly equal when viewed through formal lenses but the existence of informal sub-cultures and processes means that members who enter outside of the dominant group commence their careers at an immediate disadvantage. A diagram is used to further explain the framework and various theories on diversity perspectives were incorporated to support the typology (Reiner, 1992; Holdaway 1997; Liff, 1999; Brown et al, 2006; Holdaway & O'Neill, 2006; Silvestri, 2007; Miller et al, 2008; Sievers, 2008; Loftus, 2009; Mawby, 2012; Jones & Williams, 2013; Linton, 2014; Police and Crime Committee, 2014).

The chapter subsequently introduces the BBP Induced Cycle (BBPIC). This cycle is then explained in detail and also benefits from an authentic diagram to describe the theoretical concept of its speculated behaviour within the workplace. The BBPIC builds on the BBP typology and illustrates how the process of acceptance becomes necessary throughout every stage of career development for the BME. It also highlights that acceptance becomes increasingly difficult the higher the rank being pursued. The chapter then concludes on completion of this explanation and introduces the methodical approach of the thesis which is now explained in detail in the ensuing chapter.

Chapter Five

Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

In my deliberation to employ the most appropriate method of piloting the research, careful thought was given to the cross cultural, deduction and induction methods. In doing so, I took time to not only fully comprehend the parameters of the research question, but also to provide adequate scope for any preconceived theoretical conceptions - as these factors could both render significant influence on the feasibility of each option.

Bryman and Bell (2007) state that deductive theory epitomises the most popular understanding of the nature of the affiliation between theory and research. The investigator, prompted by what is already known about a specific field in conjunction with any speculative contemplations in relation to that field, infers or deduces a hypothesis (or hypotheses) that must then be subjected to empirical scrutiny.

Contrary to the deductive approach, the inductive method permits for the theory to be formulated as a result of the outcome of empirical or grounded study; in other words, the investigator draws inferences as a direct result of his or her field observations. A breakdown of the two processes further elucidates the main differences; induction involves a process which entails – Observations - Findings - Theory, whilst deduction entails the "reversed" order of Theory - Observations - Findings (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

During the initial stages of the study, and even having had my own personal experiences working within the MPS, the research question proved to be the primary impetus which propelled the direction of the research. I had no specific theories of blocked career progression for BMEs in organisations to be examined during the field research stage of the inquiry. As a result of this, the inductive approach seemed a more appropriate strategy to be employed.

However, after conducting a literature review on social networks and police culture - and having created the BBP typology, the approach was amended to quasi-deductive to facilitate these initiatives. In other words, I formulated ideas for examination prior to fieldwork, but using interviews as the main means of data gathering. I also allowed for the fresh ideas from fieldwork to modify the structure or typology I was seeking to examine.

The BBP typology was initiated by my observations during my examination of the historic appointment of all the MPS Comminssoners since the organisation's inception in 1829. Nonetheless, I was aware that constructing typologies prior to the collation of any empirical evidence is unconventional within qualitative research. However, my position as a researcher is unique, as I am not only employed by the MPS but I also fall within the BME group which is being examined. This may raise questions as to my ability to be fair or objective in my approach. However the mere fact that I am cognisant of these factors has been helpful for me to conduct a thoroughly objective research. Furthermore, I will discuss the precise impact of such methods later on in this chapter.

5.2 Research Type

Cross-cultural and international research had also been a serious contender during the embryonic stages of the study. Bryman and Bell (2007) examines cross-cultural and international research and state that such tactics would necessitate the assemblage and

exploration of data from two or more countries. Cross-cultural studies in management and business tend to assume that culture is a significant illustrative variable that applies insightful stimulus on organisational behaviour.

In considering this method, a comparison between the New York Police Department (NYPD) and the London Metropolitan Police was considered based on the reputation and somewhat similar international stance of both organisations. It was thought that there may have been opportunities for learning as a direct result of this comparison. However, time and funding constraints made this option difficult. I concluded that obtaining an accurate and detailed understanding of the issues here within the MPS would then provide a much better platform for such a comparison that might be considered in future research.

Once there was a full appreciation and confident endorsement of the most feasible type of approach to be employed (the deductive approach), it then became necessary to choose the most appropriate strategy to extract the required information from participants. I considered that the research questions were somewhat sensitive and therefore meticulous deliberation was crucial in seeking to formulate the most suitable approach to ask such questions.

According to Creswell (2002) in his explanation of qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods, the research method does not merely enlighten the research design but it also provides the researcher with the chance to critically examine how each of the different methodologies may contribute to, or limit, his/her study, permit him/her to explore the objectives and devise an approach which best fulfils the necessities of the research.

To employ the most plausible strategy to facilitate the third stage of the deductive process, further consideration was given to the wide variety of options available for this purpose. Also, due to the sensitivity of the information and the research itself, particular attention was paid to the ethics and limitations of the study. Specific consideration was afforded on how to set about

obtaining information from such high ranking officers who may have been reluctant to participate.

In formulating the most fitting technique to safeguard success, the subsequent research methodologies were considered prior to electing the preferred option or options: quantitative research, questionnaires, surveys, qualitative research, the ethnographic (and auto-ethnographic) approach, action research and the case study approach. The following section of this chapter lists the thinking behind the choices made both for and against each deliberated approach.

5.3 Qualitative and Quantitative Research

In my comparison of the qualitative and quantitative approaches, I reviewed an array of literature from various scholars on the aforementioned research methods. Fryer (1991) explains that qualitative researchers are typically concerned with attempting to accurately decode and interpret or describe the specific meanings of a particular type of behaviour which occurs in a "normal", social, or corporate context. Bell (1987) further adds that qualitative researchers are more focussed on understanding individual's opinions, seeking insight - as opposed to statistical analysis.

Mack et al (2005) explain that qualitative research is a type of scientific enquiry which is predominantly beneficial in attaining culturally unequivocal evidence about the views, values, social contexts and behaviours of a specific population. It affords a superior level of flexibility which can be tailored to individual preferences and personalities, and as such, delivers an elasticity that the more "process based" quantitative method cannot. Patton (2005) further reiterates that this type of approach can not only exhume the motives behind particular

outcomes but can also, and quite importantly, potentially afford a much profounder understanding of the explanations.

In my analytical dissection of this literature I felt as if the qualitative approach was more suitable to the challenges of this research. A qualitative approach seemed more appropriate for use in this instance as I am trying to determine *why* this underrepresentation of BMEs in the MPS' Chief Officer ranks has existed for such a long period. However, I felt that it was crucial that I examined the pros and cons of the quantitative style before finalising my decision.

Bell (1987) argues that quantitative researchers are researchers who not only gather the facts of a particular study but also examine the relationship between one set to another. In other words, how much one factor influences the other. They quantify findings, choosing from a variety of available scientific techniques which are specifically designed to produce valuable conclusions. Aliaga & Gunderson (2002) state that quantitative research involves explaining phenomena by gathering arithmetical data which is evaluated using mathematically centred procedures.

Thomas (2003) also compares qualitative and quantitative methods. He differentiates qualitative research as being analytically descriptive without predominant use of measurement or amounts, whilst quantitative research relies predominantly on measurements and comparison to deliver the research objectives. Muijs (2004) further debates that in order to effectively employ mathematically based methods as is commonly done in quantitative research, it is necessary for the data to be in numerical form. This, is not the case when conducting qualitative research.

In an endeavour to address the research question – why is there such a lack of BME officers in the MPS NPCC ranks - a deeper comprehension is required to reveal the true reasons behind this occurrence. Facts and figures would only provide a more quantitative illustration of the

current state of affairs within the MPS's NPCC as opposed to the core factors affecting this position. Also, the facts and figures are available, yet this does not shed light on the situation, beyond identifying that there is a problem and it is widespread. Therefore, a more interpretative and subjective strategy needed to be employed. The more rigid process of quantitative research (although beneficial in its own right) would more than likely be restrictive and as a result place a limit or a "cap" on the responses of participants. Therefore after considering these two strategies (quantitative and qualitative), the qualitative research method was selected as the preferred option.

Having confidently established that the qualitative approach would be used to achieve the aims and objectives of the research, focus was now channelled towards choosing the most effective strategy under this qualitative colloquial. The initial inclination was to employ an ethnographic research methodology to capitalise on the benefit of being a police officer in terms of access. However, before committing to this decision, it was crucial to ensure that adequate research was conducted to ensure my confidence in the feasibility of the chosen strategy.

5.4 Ethnography within Policing

Having reviewed a variety of work which had been accomplished using the ethnographic method, it became apparent that ethnography had already proven itself to be a successful method when conducting research on policing entities. Clifford & Marcus (1986) argue that ethnography decodes, recodes and describes real life occurrences from an analytical perspective. They explain that it provides an opportunity to "live the experience" of the intended research and as such, decode and analyse specific behaviours which can be extremely challenging to capture otherwise.

Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) explain that it can be seen as a reflexive process which can arguably overlap other labels such as "case study", "interpretive method", "field work" and "qualitative enquiry". Nonetheless, the assertion to observe events in their routine settings is inspired by the acknowledgement that people have only a restricted aptitude to describe what they do and how they do it (Sears & Jacko, 2009).

Within an organisational setting, ethnography is, in essence, "hanging out" with the subjects where and when one can monitor up close and "first hand" how work and the work force is organised and operates. Disputably, this cannot be captured in any questionnaire or interview (Ybema et al, 2009). It is about telling a reliable, rigorous and authentic story (Fetterman, 2010).

Field notes are also an integral part of ethnographic research, as this provides an authenticity that is of significant value. However, some scholars tend not to acknowledge the importance of the incorporation of field notes into the study due to the sometimes lack of structure and neatness. Arguably, this is an issue which should be addressed by ensuring that an increasing amount of these original notes are made available as a direct link to any ethnographic research to enhance its authenticity (Emerson et al, 2011).

My personal experiences of working as a police officer has afforded me with the knowledge that officers work in real time scenarios and recording notes in a "pocket notebook" or "evidence actions book" (EAB) are essential components of illustrating evidence. This is not only admissible in a court of law, but helpful in the quest to secure criminal convictions as it provides "real time notes" of criminal activities which is widely known to add a very valuable authenticity to any prosecution case. These notes are often supported by recorded face to face interviews which are subsequently transcribed and submitted as elements of the case file.

This process has proven itself to be extremely effective in its application over decades. Emerson et al (2011) reiterate the importance of field notes within the ethnographic setting and I argue that similar to policing strategies, ethnographic field notes in its authentic presentation coupled with supporting interviews provide a validity within this forum which arguably may be exceedingly difficult to capture otherwise.

However, ethnography is by no means the "perfect methodology" and like any method, has its shortcomings. Neuman (2003) states that people's behaviour may change when they know they are being studied, whilst Sangasubana (2011) says it can be time consuming and labor intensive. The limitations of such an approach rely heavily on the researcher (Singleton & Straits, 2005), however, I argue that within the realms of qualitative research this is a common factor and the quality of all research is heavily dependent on the researcher (Anderson, 2010).

It seemed logical and made perfect sense to become embedded as an officer within the organisation in an attempt to observe organisational behaviours and develop trends and patterns which would then provide answers to the research question. In addition, I am also a BME officer with personal experiences of the hierarchy and promotion structures and as such, may possess a rather vital perspective on the issue that others might lack.

It also seemed to make sense that as a police officer, "hanging around" for the purposes of the research in places where access can be limited would inevitably add value to the study. It would mitigate the amount of questioning which would possibly make participants uncomfortable whilst still permitting valuable conclusions to be drawn from observations being made. However, subsequent to having conducted the literature review it became apparent that in fact, the ethnographic approach, although beneficial, would create limitations. The literature review not only reduced the range of the questions but heightened my appreciation of the direction of the research, the type of questions required to be asked, and very importantly, revealed that this

could not be obtained through ethnography despite its benefits. Based on this, the methodology was revised and altered to semi structured interviews.

Nonetheless, this decision did not circumvent the possibility of employing auto-ethnographic strategies. The following subchapter highlights the benefits of auto-ethnography, and illustrates the thought process behind my consideration of this as a method to assist in the delivery of the aims and objectives set by the research.

5.4.1 Auto-ethnography

Chang (2008) talks about the concept of auto-ethnography and explains that it is somewhat different to traditional ethnographic methods. In his paper entitled *Auto-ethnography as Method*, he explains that auto-ethnography embraces and focuses on the researcher's subjectivity as opposed to repressing it. Chang adds that whereas ethnography is accepted as a qualitative method in the 'social sciences' which predominately uses fieldwork to describe human social phenomena, auto-ethnographers differ in that they are the primary subject of the research in the way that they incorporate personal experiences and narratives. Nonetheless, Chang reiterates that the boundary between ethnography and auto-ethnography is ambiguous. He uses Stacy Holman Jones (2005) as an example and describes how, in her article entitled *Mothering Loss,* this author used her own experiences of adoption and infertility to both understand her own story, and to alter some of the views around such issues.

Ellis et al (2011) also examine auto-ethnography and state that it allows researchers to be reflective and employ hind sight to write about epiphanies that stem from being part of a culture and/or by having a particular cultural identity. They explain that in addition to talking about experiences, auto-ethnographers are also required to analyse these experiences through the use of methodological tools and research literature. In order to accomplish this, auto-ethnographers

may need to compare personal experience against existing research, interview cultural members, and examine the relevant cultural artefacts.

Paul Atkinson's "*Rescuing Interactionism from Qualitative Research*" is very critical of this auto-ethnographic approach. He commences his argument by stating that "*The very popularity of qualitative research, and the widespread evidence of poor qualitative work, represents a threat and a betrayal of the legacy of empirical social science in the broad interactionist tradition*" (Atkinson, 2015, pg. 467). Atkinson singles out three methods, the indigenous, narratives, and ethnographic fiction – and explains that these methods are extremely ineffective ways of demonstrating any ability to conduct any type of critical analysis as a qualitative researcher. Auto-ethnography, of course, comes under fire during his description of these approaches.

In discussing indigenous methods, Atkinson uses Kovach (2009) as an example and submits that this particular style of research promotes individual or collective story-telling. The result of this being that the methodological literature which comes with this growing custom is deplorably thin, and mentions little about the range of methods that "indigenous" people may actually employ in the mien of their daily lives. Atkinson further explains that the activism of indigenous methodology is centered around the celebration of identity as opposed to the examination of difference. He summarises that it is not really a matter of indigenous methods but rather a matter of indigenous personhood that is celebrated in this particular approach. He argues that methodologically, this directs us to an illogical deduction, that people who are social researchers can only conduct fieldwork with people who are as like them as possible and this consequentially initiates what he refers to as sociological absurdities.

In his second argument Atkinson considers the employment of narrative as a form of critical analysis and uses, Bochner's (2014) *Coming to Narrative* as his baseline for debate. He

critiques that Bochner's case is fundamentally self-referential in that much of the writing comprises of personal, autobiographical accounts, concerning his individual intellectual expedition toward the celebration of narrative. However, albeit it may be dexterously done, and can make for entertaining reading, his approach brings his chronicles into configuration with the genre of autobiographical writing – which is described as auto-ethnography. This, according to Atkinson is counterproductive in the analysis of social sciences.

Atkinson's third exemplar is unsurprisingly closely related and refers to a genre of writing that encompasses the construction of ethnographic fiction and interrelated textual styles and uses Ellis's (2003) as the fortification of his argument. The underpinning dispute presented by Atkinson is that these three styles (of which auto-ethnography is closely related) are three types of qualitative research which falls far beneath the standards of what any descent research endeavour should entail. He argues that they denote a social science which is hollow and stripped of the forms of mutual social and cultural life. He argues that such methods remove the analytical value of research and promotes a type of self-glorified narrative which is riddled with personal experience and prejudice.

Aware of both the pros and the cons, I have employed this strategy during the course of my investigation. Auto-ethnography was used in my construction of the BBP typology, and my reflective account of my own experiences as a black police officer in the Metropolitan Police. It was also applied during my attempt at the Direct Entry Inspector process (explained in detail in the ensuing Methods chapter). My previous and very recent role of working within the MPS is in itself a valuable contribution of reflective observation as I have already accumulated five years of lived experience within this environment. This experience is an asset. Through the use of auto-ethnography, I was able to draw upon personal experiences which have been relevant to the research. I will now elaborate on the interview approach, its benefits and draw backs.

5.5 Interviews

"*Asking for reasons and giving answers are commonplace habits for everyday life*" (Lazarsfeld, 1935: 26). Interviews can perhaps be seen as one of the most natural strategies to disinter the motives behind particular behaviours or outlooks, and as a result, can be a vital tool in any scholar's armory in an attempt to collect data to be used in any given research on an international scale (Hutchinson et. al, 2007). However, Myers & Newman (2007) argue that interviews can be taken for granted and perceived as a fairly straightforward method of collecting data.

On the contrary, conducting interviews is far from being a negligible activity. It not only necessitates the use of different skills, such as active listening and note taking, but also vigilant planning and adequate preparation (Qu & Dumay, 2011). Turner (2010) refers to three different types of interviews, the informal conversational interview, the general interview guide approach and the standardised open-ended interview. Each interview is different depending on the nature of the design - from fully structured interviews to casual conversations.

Opdenakker (2006) explains that interviewing can be broken down into four main types - the traditional "face to face" option (which also includes focus groups), email, MSN messenger, and also the telephone interview option. Face to face interviews can be perceived as the most valuable method within the realms of interviews simply because social prompts and cues (which can be missed otherwise) such as body language, voice, and intonation, can afford the investigator with the capability to connect unintentional messages with the actual retorts of the participant, and as such, add value to the process itself. It is an approach which, with the support of trust, can potentially reduce the barriers that can be implemented by sex, race, status and nationality, hence can be an exceptionally effective means of data collection (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

However, interviewing is indeed very much a skill which, like any other, demands preparation and practice to attain excellence. It is essential that the dialogue set by the interviewer is chronological and organised in such a way whereby there is a beginning, middle, and an end (Seidman, 2013). In contrast Mishler (1991) argues that any avowal of standardisation must be advanced with care. This author claims that the key to successful interviewing is in the interviewer's ability to be flexible in his or her approach. For example, body language interpretation and spontaneous reactions to the respondent which would be appropriate and specific to only that particular scenario is key.

In summary, interviews, if conducted efficiently, can provide the researcher with the key ingredients required for the completion of any successful research. The quality of any information offered by the respondent is heavily reliant on the skills set of the researcher (Silverman, 2013). Smith & Elger (2012: 4) in their discussion of critical realism, explain that *"without conducting investigations into action as experienced by actors, it is not possible to get insights into the actual and empirical representations of action"*. This encapsulates the true benefit of changing my strategy to employ the interview method. Through the attainment of primary data gathered from speaking directly with these elite officers, lays the potential prospect of achieving the objectives of the research in seeing the subject matter from their perception and lived experiences.

Having concluded that interviews would have been the most appropriate method to investigate the research aim and objectives, there was still much to be considered to ensure the effective execution of this strategy. For example - I needed to be mindful of the structure of my questions for what can be classed as a sensitive subject – I also needed to employ strategies to maximise the opportunities for candid responses - the diplomacy of disclosure and options of full or staged disclosure during the course of the interview - choosing face to face, Skype, telephone or focus group interviews - the edifice of the interview itself i.e. semi-structured interviews,

structured interviews, or a mixture of both. Qu & Dumay (2011) reiterate that there is a real risk of idealising the interviewing strategy on the supposition that participants are competent and moral truth tellers. Therefore preparation was key in ensuring the best possible outcome from these interactions.

In revisiting the research questions and considering the underpinning factors which were to be determined, it was considered that face to face interviews would be employed wherever feasible in line with the benefits outlined by Opdenakker (2006). One to one face to face interviews as opposed to group interviews was my preferred option as comfort for the participants was a central aspect of these conversations. To be specific, I decided that one to one interviews may have reduced any feelings of apprehension for the interviewee in the knowledge that no one else was present during the course of the interview.

Interview questions were carefully constructed in manner which avoided any direct queries which may have caused discomfort for the respondent. They (the questions) predominantly consisted of early years, background, education, personal achievements, and a detailed account of the individual's journey in policing (the questions have been included in the ensuing methods chapter). A conscious decision was made to avoid asking any direct questions which related to race, gender, or any subject matter affiliated with diversity and inclusion. In doing so, I allowed the common findings derived from the combination of each individual story to provide the answers to these sensitive questions.

5.6 Mixed Method

The objective of mixed methods research is not to supplant either of these styles but rather to draw from the strengths and curtail the weaknesses of both in single research studies. If you envisage a continuum with qualitative research affixed at one end and quantitative research

fastened at the other, mixed methods research covers the large set of points in the middle area (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Employing the use of quantitative options such as questionnaires and surveys in conjunction with the chosen qualitative approach were strategies also considered as an option. Denscombe (2007) articulates that questionnaires are a written set of questions considered specifically to amass information which can subsequently be used as data for analysis. The author then explains that the survey tactic is a research strategy and not a method. A variety of methods can be assimilated in the use of a social survey as it is an extensive and inclusive coverage at a specific point in time with a panoramic view usually to bring an ongoing research up to date. This is not an attempt to provide a census or update an ongoing research and therefore the survey option was not employed during the course of the research.

Although mixed methods in a cursory view seemed to be a viable approach, further contemplation suggested otherwise. Albeit surveys were now rejected as a method to be employed, questionnaires to be disseminated amongst the potential sample base still seemed to be a possible option. However, in revisiting the aims and objectives of the research it was considered that, questionnaires could be seen as generic, limited, and time consuming. It was an unsupervised and hopeful request which, could in many ways, decrease the potential of candid responses, and in a variety of ways also force a particular type of response. A closer perusal of the aims and objectives suggested that this may not have been the ideal option and therefore the questionnaire strategy was removed as a possibility.

Nonetheless, having used secondary and organisational resources as measures of data collection – such as various reports on the Met, data from published articles, parliamentary discussions, statistics from the Black Police Association, various organisational policies, annual reports and press releases. And, having also employed auto-ethnography in my

construction of the BBP typology, the research is predominantly qualitative, but mixed in that approach.

5.7 Chapter Summary

Chapter five provides an account of the methods which have been deliberated and employed to deliver the aims and objectives of the research. It highlights the disparities between the inductive and deductive methods (Bryman and Bell, 2007) and explains precisely why I chose to employ the deductive as opposed to the inductive system. It also argues the benefit of choosing this strategy. The chapter then chronologically explains how my consideration of research methods progressed thereafter, and in doing so, discusses my contemplation of both qualitative and quantitative research methods (Bell, 1987; Fryer, 1991; Aliaga & Gunderson, 2002; Thomas, 2003; Muijs, 2004; Mack et. al. 2005; Patton 2005; Anderson, 2010). It then subsequently shows that the qualitative style was considered to be the most apposite method of approach; and highlights why this option was chosen.

The chapter then discourses the consideration of ethnography and highlights why this was deliberated as a feasible option (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Sears & Jacko, 2009; Ybema et al, 2009; Fetterman, 2010; Emerson, 2011). The chapter puts forward the benefits of ethnography and my initial thoughts of how this may have been the ideal option to successfully attain the research aims and objectives. It provides a balanced argument in also highlighting the shortcomings of this technique (Neuman, 2003; Singleton & Straits, 2005; Sangasubana, 2011). The chapter then introduces auto-ethnography, explains its advantages and disadvantages, and depicts precisely why auto-ethnographic methods would be considered to be appropriate throughout the course of the research. It shows how this (auto-

ethnography) was used in the construction of the BBP typology through my own reflection and lived experiences as a black police officer.

Interviews, its benefits, and the reasons why it was chosen as a replacement for ethnography has also been explained in this chapter (Lazarsfeld, 1935; Opdenakker, 2006; Hutchinson et al, 2007; Myers & Newman, 2007; Turner, 2010; Qu & Dumay, 2011; Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Smith & Elger, 2012). The chapter also discusses the consideration of using mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative) and takes time to justify why this option was not utilised. Nonetheless, the chapter also acknowledges that having used secondary and organisational resources as measures of data collection and, having also employed auto-ethnography in my construction of the BBP typology, the research is predominantly qualitative, but mixed in that approach.

In summary, chapter five shows the natural progression of the research and my thinking behind the choices which were made to progress with the enquiry. It shows how initial decisions were made and then submits precisely why some choices were then revisited and altered as the research progressed. I will now explain the research design, how the participants were selected, my access to interviewees, limitations, ethical analysis, and how the data was analysed.

Chapter Six

Research Methods

6.1 Introduction

Having conducted an in-depth perusal of the strategies which are available for use in my endeavor to conduct the research as stated in the previous chapter - in this chapter, I will now discuss the practical elements of the investigation. Chapter six discusses how I went about accessing these high profile individuals, the procedure to engage them in research, and the questions put to participants during the course of interviews. It also justifies the selection of the sample, highlights the limitations of the research, ethical analysis, disclosure technique, and elaborates on precisely how the data was analysed.

The chapter will also illustrate exactly how the data was collected, and highlights the importance and relevance of anonymity in this particular study. Chapter six also explains my use of auto-ethnographic principles in applying for the Direct Entry Inspector scheme as part of the research, and also discusses the relevance of this endeavor in terms of how it links to the aims and objectives of the study. I will now commence with the design of the research.

6.2 Research Design

This thesis assumes the format comprising of an in-depth appraisal of literature, methodological deliberations, field research, exploration of discoveries, and writing-up of the final product. Although the process was holistically initiated by the successful completion of

the literature review, the different stages often became interweaved and as such, were re-examined whenever fresh insights were obtained at any given stage. Nonetheless, this segment discusses the research design in a chronological order, while endeavouring to highlight the periodic ebbs and flows during the course of the research process.

6.2.1 Selection of the Sample

The sample of respondents selected for the purpose of this research was fairly simple. The interests of the study reside predominantly within the realms of the National Police Chief Council specifically within the Met (the NPCC is a national entity as previously explained in chapter four). The ranks within this portfolio of the organisation span from Commanders – Deputy Assistant Commissioners – Assistant Commissioners – Deputy Assistant Commissioner – Commissioner. The table below shows this rank structure and the precise amount of officers employed in this role at the time of this study.

TOTAL	RANK
01	Commissioner
01	Deputy Commissioner
04	Assistant Commissioner
07	Deputy Assistant Commissioner
15	Commander

Table 1 - Chief Officer Participants By Rank

The research ensured that a significant sample of all Chief Officers at each rank were interviewed to get as close as possible to the full population of the study, and each interview was conducted independent of the other. I interviewed 10 of the 15 Commanders (66.66%), 5 of the 7 Deputy Assistant Commissioners (71%), and 3 of the 4 Assistant Commissioners

(75%). I also attempted to interview the Commissioner, although cursory research illustrated that most of the required information for this particular appointment is available via secondary sources. However, during the course of this research, the Commissioner at the time was in the process of leaving, whilst the new Commissioner was preoccupied with getting settled. Unfortunately, both sent their apologies. Though, I did interview the only appointed Deputy Commissioner, who also assumed the role of Acting Commissioner during the handover period.

Albeit the research focused primarily on the NPCC component of the organisation it was also necessary to interview a few other individuals whom I believed could have made valuable contributions to the research despite not being appointed to the rank of Chief Officer. These included the first black officer to join the Metropolitan Police, the president of the Black Police Association (BPA), and BME officers who attained a very senior rank within the operational facet of policing but have not been able to progress to the rank of Chief Officer despite this status being positioned only one rank above. This was a deliberate attempt to obtain contrasting accounts of policing journeys to identify and understand any disparities which may have come to light and be of benefit to the research. BME officers who found themselves in this position were in the minority (4 to be precise), therefore I felt strongly that their accounts could complement the research.

The table below illustrates the rank structure for operational officers.

Chief Officers

(NPCC Rank)

↑

Chief Superintendent/Detective Chief Superintendent

↑

Superintendent/Detective Superintendent

↑

Chief Inspector/Detective Chief Inspector

↑

Police Inspector/Detective Inspector

↑

Police Sergeant/Detective Sergeant

↑

Police Constable/Detective Constable
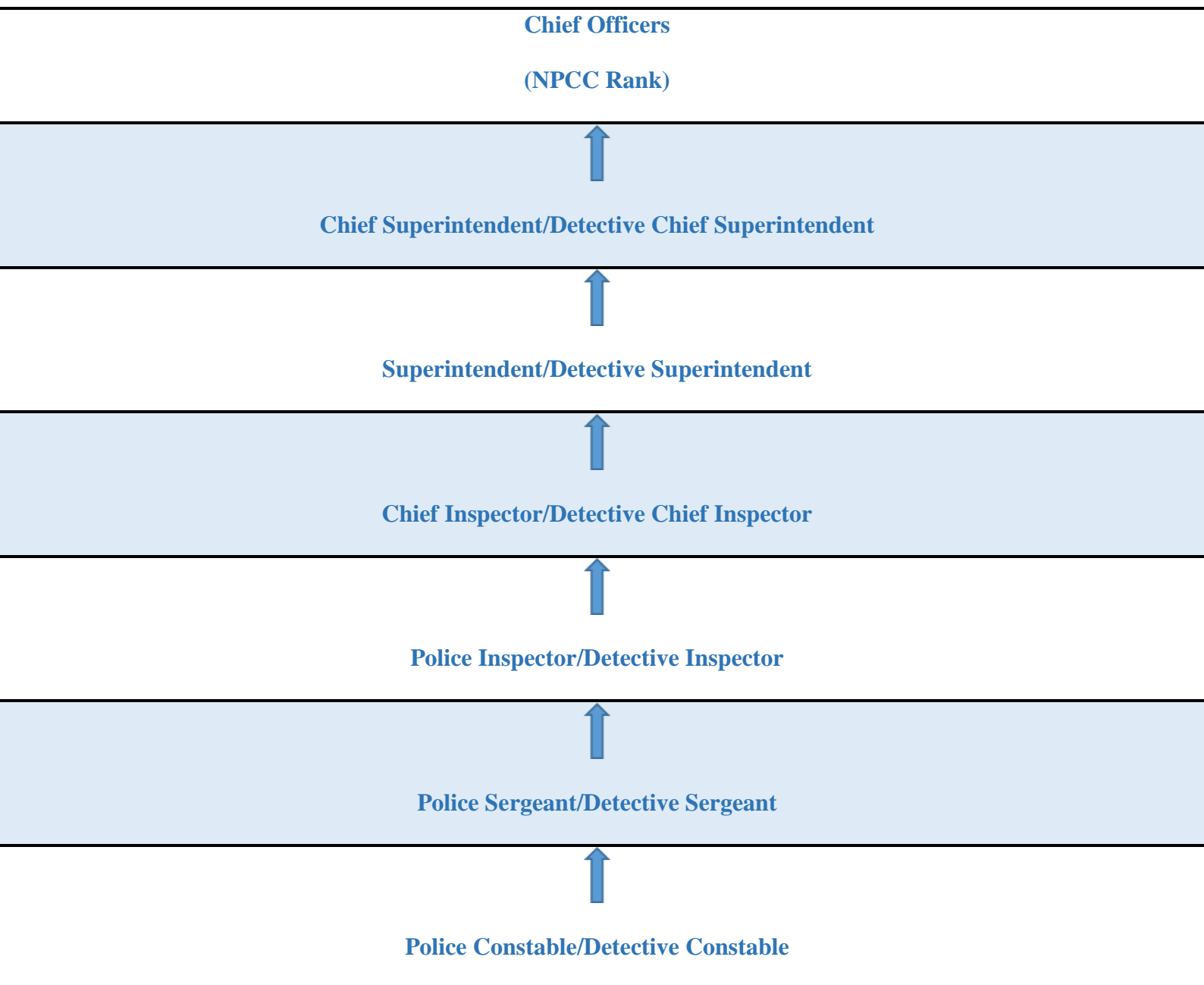
Table 2 – Met Police Rank Structure

The above table clearly illustrates that the rank of Chief Superintendent immediately precedes Chief Officer ranks (NPCC ranks). As a part of the research I thought it necessary to obtain an account from the most senior BME officers in an attempt to understand whether or not they were interested in becoming promoted to the NPCC or if they were simply content to stay at this rank. I also believed it would have been beneficial to observe the physical characteristics of these officers in comparison to their BME colleagues who had made it to the top tier of the

organisation. I interviewed 3 of the 4 BME officers at Chief Superintendent ranks. The fourth officer rescheduled his appointment and subsequently retired shortly after. Unfortunately we were never able to arrange a fixed time and date for an interview.

6.2.2 Research Questions

Interviews were semi-structured and allowed participants to speak freely about their individual experiences. The questions were designed for officers to give a truthful account of their journeys both within policing and prior to joining the service. I found this to not only be a creative method to engage the participants in the research, but also a useful way to compare narratives which then in turn provided an effective means of understanding the similarities displayed which seemed common to the elite. In doing so, I was able to grasp a better comprehension of the "ingredients" to successful appointments within the elite circle of the organisation. Questions were both consistent and chronological and I found that most interviewees responded well to this strategy. It was in fact, an excellent way to engage the interviewees in the research.

The table below illustrates the set questions which were used during the course of each interview.

1.	Unrecorded preamble introducing myself, disclosure, my background employment history, my achievements and general conversation about myself.
2	Reiterate that the interview will be recorded, place the recorder on the table and commence the official interview – recording begins.
3.	Request that interviewee state their full name, rank, and role.
4.	Request that the interviewee talk about themselves prior to joining the police for example, childhood, schooling, and general background.
5.	Request elaborations as appropriate.

6.	Request that interviewee explain in as much detail as possible, their journey in policing from inception to current rank.
7.	Probe or request for interviewee to expand whenever deemed necessary.
8.	Request an explanation of how interviewee was selected to attend the PNAC process, their experience of the process, and how they then got a job within the NPCC post the PNAC process (PNAC is the national assessment to become a Chief Officer). **
9.	Probe where necessary.
10.	Request that the interviewee explains what had been a crucial aspect of their ability to be successfully promoted through all of the ranks.
11.	Probe where necessary.
12.	Request that the interviewee explain the most significant challenges throughout the journey of promotion and elaborate on how such challenges were successfully dealt with.
13.	Probe where necessary
14.	Ask what advice would be given to an aspiring Constable, who has aspirations to excel or perhaps get to Chief Officer rank within the organisation in future**
15.	Politely ask if there was anything the interviewee would have liked to add.
16.	Expression of thanks. Recording ceased.
** (8)	This question (regarding the officer's negotiation of PNAC) was not presented to Chief Superintendents as they had not completed this process. Instead, these officers were asked if they were interested in pursuing promotion to the next rank and if not why?
** (14)	This question was not posed to Chief Superintendents for obvious reasons as they themselves had not made it to Chief Officer rank.

Table 3 – Interview Questions

At a cursory glance the number of questions may appear to be fewer than anticipated for a research of this magnitude, however, a closer look will reveal that the type of questions asked permitted the interviewee to speak for very long periods in delivering each response. In addition, prompts and sporadic requests for the interviewee to elaborate on something which was said provided even more scope for valuable information. The semi-structured interview

approach created a very relaxed and conversational environment and each respondent seemed to thoroughly enjoy reminiscing on their individual journeys.

The questions were deliberately designed to encourage the officer to paint a vivid description of their life from childhood to their current position. In doing so, individuals were able to feel comfortable to speak about themselves and their own personal experiences as opposed to having to respond to questions which were directly linked to the diversity or rather the lack of diversity within the NPCC ranks of the Met. This strategy provided an enhanced opportunity to obtain candid and authentic narratives which meant little individually but proved to be very powerful collectively.

The additional participants who were interviewed but were not Chief Officers were asked exactly the same questions. However, they were not asked about the PNAC process as this was only applicable to officers who held the rank of Commander and above. Instead, the BME Chief Superintendents were asked if they wanted to apply to become Chief Officers and if not, why not?

Nonetheless, it is important to note that due to the semi-structured interview technique, interviewees often spoke without interruption for considerable periods of time. Therefore, in the analysis component of this thesis it is near enough impossible to include the precise question which initiated a particular response or statement. For example – the question "describe for me in as much detail as possible, your professional journey within policing from the day you joined as a recruit to your current rank. This question allowed respondents to speak freely about themselves, and this often involved very detailed descriptions of their professional experiences. It was often necessary to politely "steer them back on track" as interviewees would sometimes get carried away talking about themselves. This created an ideal opportunity to retrieve a very rich source of data from respondents, however, the data was extracted from the

narrative provided from very open questions as opposed to responses which were attained from more "closed" ones. As a result of this, questions have not always been included prior to providing quotations from respondents in this study.

6.2.3 Securing Research Access

I intended to utilise my own knowledge of the organisation to ensure access was granted and corresponded with both the Home Office and the Metropolitan Police Commissioner to inform them of my intent to conduct the research. I was also hopeful that my status of being a fellow police officer would have been helpful when attempting to gain access. I was conscious that officers may have felt somewhat more relaxed if they were reassured that I was "one of them" and as such, could be held directly accountable for the responsibilities affiliated with conducting a research of this magnitude.

Having tactically elected to conduct face to face interviews with the envisioned participants (as explained in chapter five), the initial and most logical step was to initiate the necessary contact to secure appointments. There was no requirement to arrange a chronological strategy to conduct the interviews at this stage due to the fact that the sample was specific and relatively small. Therefore the order in which interviews were conducted did not impact on the outcome of the data. It was only important to ensure that a significant sample of officers at each rank had been interviewed. Nonetheless, what I found to be of significant interest to the research at this stage was that in attempting secure interviews, NPCC officers in most instances, would not respond to my emails even though I would have explained that I was also a police officer (in an effort to mitigate their feelings of apprehension). In light of this, I altered my strategy and devised an alternate method of arranging these appointments.

My first two interviews were secured as a direct result of sponsorship from a personal contact of mine. Having had these initial interviews I then became "sponsored". I was then able to obtain subsequent interviews with other key participants who in some instances, had previously refused to interact with me in my initial attempt to engage them in the research. On completion of each interview, I would politely ask the interviewee to recommend one or two more individuals of Chief Officer rank to engage in the research. This endeavour proved to be very successful and as such, this "snow ball" effect was employed once this strategy had been established.

This approach proved to be quite effective which further endorses the power of social networks within this particular forum, as before even commencing my interaction with these elite officers, it already seemed as if it was far more unlikely to secure an appointment unless there was a personal recommendation from a colleague. What proved to be equally interesting about this method was that even though this snow ball strategy was effective, there was no guarantee that it would continue indefinitely throughout the field research stage to ensure the continuous attainment of subsequent interviews.

There was nothing to prevent any of the Chief Officers from desisting to provide any further recommendations for future interviews. However, on realising that this was in fact what their colleagues had been doing prior to their interview, most respondents seemed to be content to fall in line and adopt the lead initiated by their colleagues. This was of particular interest as it echoed the power and influence of how this network operated in having trust and confidence in each other.

It was also noted that in interacting with these individuals, one of the first queries would be *"so how do you know x?"* (X being the person that contacted them on my behalf to obtain the interview). This seemed to be of relevance to the respondents which prompted further scrutiny

and analysis of this occurrence during the research. As a fellow police officer I felt as if I should have been accepted as "one of them". I felt as if this gave me some level of legitimacy, however, it became apparent that knowing a colleague of theirs within their "circle", whom I had already interviewed, gave me a level of trust which I would not have attained otherwise.

It was also established that in discussing more details about myself and my background, officers seemed to feel far more comfortable and in turn, appeared more inclined to volunteer more information about themselves. As a result, I ensured that this was incorporated as a standard part of my unrecorded pre-interview preamble to engage participants in the research. This strategy not only provided me with access to interviews but also access to a rich source of information derived from the process of interviewing.

Over a thirteen month period I interviewed twenty-seven subjects. Interview times ranged between thirty one (31) minutes and two (2) hours; and totalled approximately twenty-five hours of data. Participants consisted of mostly the elite officers within the Chief Officer ranks of the MPS with a few exceptions such as the national president of the Black Police Association, the first black officer to join the MPS, and three of the four BME Chief Superintendents.

Most interviews were conducted face to face in a deliberate effort to capture social prompts and cues (which can be missed otherwise) such as body language, voice, and intonation. Each interview was conducted independent of the other and telephone interviews were used on three occasions as a compromise whenever the face to face option became unavailable.

Some officers raised valid concerns about anonymity. They argued that the NPCC component within the MPS is relatively small in comparison to the other elements of the organisation, therefore they were fretful that if they were either BME or female, it would not be difficult for the organisation to work out exactly who said what even if names/gender/ethnicity were

withdrawn. Some of these officers questioned whether gender and or ethnicity would also have been anonymised. For this reason, and having reassured them that their confidentiality was a priority for me, I have taken steps to ensure that apart from the first black officer to join the MPS, the president of the Black Police Association, and the Deputy Assistant Commissioner, all other respondents were kept completely anonymous with no revelation of their gender or ethnicity when using quotations.

6.2.4 Data Analysis

I examined and contemplated the use of NVivo software which is available for coding. However, I decided to subscribe to independent transcriptions after having conducted interviews. Interviews were transcribed verbatim. Immediately after conducting the interview (which were on average, twice per month) I would review the recording in detail before subsequently typing the transcriptions. In doing so, I manually compartmentalised quotations which were fitting to one of the three analytical lenses highlighted in the literature review chapters. I used different colours to highlight specific quotations which were relevant to each particular framework. For example, green highlights for social networks, blue highlights for police culture and yellow highlights for the BBP typology.

In doing so, I was able to have a deeper understanding of the empirical data as the recordings were fresh in my mind and typing the transcriptions reinforced things I perhaps may have missed initially. I was comfortable with this method and stuck with it during the entire course of the field stage and as such found it unnecessary to use NVivo. This in turn, assisted with my analytical dissection of the interviews. Quotations were selected based on its clarity. Some interviewees seemed to be nonchalant and forthcoming in providing their accounts, whilst others seemed to be quite cautious and brief in their responses. I felt that it was important to

ensure quotations which were used in the analysis chapters were precise and as clear as possible, as opposed to quotations which were summarised and provided as an encapsulation of what was said. As a result of this some interviewees were used more than others.

6.2.5 Auto-ethnography and Direct Entry

During the course of the research I noted that the MPS were partaking in a novel initiative - recruiting officers at Inspector and Superintendent rank in an endeavour to disrupt the occupational culture of the organisation by bringing "fresh" perspectives into managerial roles. This seemed to be of particular interest to this research as in my perusal of the literature in relation to police culture it is widely acknowledged that modifying the occupational culture of the police is a task which is considered to be arduous at the very least (Loftus, 2009). Although this research focusses on the promotion of BME's into the NPCC ranks of the Met and not on recruitment, it seems difficult to deny that not only does being recruited into the organisation three or five ranks up from the bottom significantly increase the chances of promoting to executive rank during a much shorter career span - but this process challenges the status quos in that if the Met is embracing such an initiative and in particular, if this is being used as an opportunity to recruit BMEs into higher echelons of the service – then this is arguably a clear insignia that the inherent occupational culture of the organisation has taken a gigantic leap towards positive change.

I questioned what the process would entail, who would be potential candidates, how would they be assessed and most importantly, how would this be received by existing officers in the Met. This project provides an enormous opportunity for the organisation to disrupt its occupational culture which is reluctant to embrace diversity initiatives. It means individuals from external organisations would be recruited into management roles from the onset and by

consequence bring different ways of thinking and working. I decided to partake in the process, apply as a Direct-Entry Inspector and experience the process first hand as a BME applicant. My analysis of this endeavour would be highlighted in the analysis chapter of the thesis.

6.3 Limitations of the Methodological Approach

Although careful steps were taken to ensure the integrity and credibility of the study, it is also important to highlight the limitations of the strategies employed.

I.   Limitations within the semi-structured interviews - I anticipated that due to the level of political influence and high profile of the respondents, interviewees, specifically within the NPCC, may not have been forthcoming with their responses due to the possible lack of trust between us. I was aware that they may have been concerned with the possible implications of any negative media coverage on the publication of a thesis of this potential. Therefore it was crucial that I tailored my interviews to the specifics of each individual participant to ensure the success of the research.

II.   Limitations within target group for interviews – The roles within the NPCC are extremely demanding and as a result, appointments were occasionally postponed or sometimes cancelled at the last minute. This undoubtedly impacted on the availability of potential respondents. Therefore cancellations and the postponement of scheduled appointments were catered for by ensuring ample time was allocated to conduct the field research. I was also flexible in terms of travel, and accepted telephone interviews where this was necessary as a means of contingency.

III. Limitations of interview questions - I recognised that all the respondents may not have taken the questions as seriously as I would have liked and this mind-set may have impaired the validity of responses. It was therefore imperative that interviews were conducted with careful forethought. I also recognised that despite my explicit endeavor to construct the simplest possible interview questions, there was no guarantee that all respondents would have been comfortable to provide honest responses (or any responses at all) as it relates to their personal history. In light of this, I made significant attempts to reassure them of their anonymity to alleviate this concern.

IV. Boundary Limitations – I ensured that the reliability and validity of the research provided accurate qualitative data of the NPCC only as it relates to the London Metropolitan police and not as a national entity. Therefore the investigation remained within the realms of the Met and as such, was limited to interaction with officers within the portfolio of the Met.

V. Limitations of the researcher's perception – I was mindful that being a part of the BME community which falls within the "Route B" component of the BBP framework could have prompted levels of biasness (on my part) when conducting interviews. It was therefore mandatory that in accordance with this awareness, constant, careful deliberation, and consistent reflection, was employed during the entire course of not only the execution of interviews but the entire research process itself.

6.3.1 Ethical Analysis

I recognised that not only was there a requirement and obligation to be ethical during the entire course of conducting the research but the casualness by which certain facets of this element of the methodology may have been contravened. Luck (1999) contends that informed consensus, confidentiality, anonymity and legality are all issues which require close examination before embarking on the suggested research. Vigilance and consideration was therefore illustrated in my construction of questions and execution of interviews.

I also ensured that I liaised with the appropriate figures of authority prior to commencement of the research. In addition, I was mindful of religious beliefs, gender, and cultural backgrounds during my interaction with participants. I was aware that different cultures are associated with different beliefs and therefore avoided simple things like initiating a hand shake in order to avoid being "clumsy", insensitive or ignorant of individual preferences. This was important as it mitigated any opportunity of commencing interviews in a negative fashion. Ethical forms constructed as by RHUL were also utilised during the course of the research.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter recapitulates the precise method which was used to conduct the research during its field stages. It illustrates the research design and the chronological approach which was employed to deliver the objectives during this crucial stage of the study. Chapter six describes how the sample of respondents was selected and how they were engaged to take part in the study. It breaks down the rank structure of both the NPCC and operational components of the MPS, and explains how many officers at each rank were interviewed and why. The chapter also explains why a few BME Chief Superintendents were interviewed and highlights why this

information may have been of benefit to the research. Tables were also used to assist with such descriptions.

Chapter six also illustrates and discusses the questions which were put to the interviewees during the course of the research. It explains why these questions were used, the benefits of these questions and uses a table to depict the sequence of the questions and structure of the interview. In addition, chapter six also discusses the challenges of securing access to this elite group of professionals. It touches on how the network operates, and reiterates the importance of sponsorship in obtaining appointments to conduct interviews. The chapter shows that there was an unequivocal reluctance to engage in the research unless there was some form of endorsement by someone who was already accepted as an elite member of the NPCC. My status of being a Police Officer seemed irrelevant at this stage and therefore I needed to revisit my strategy in seeking to secure access.

Chapter six also includes a discussion about my filed notes and explains why these notes were taken. The chapter then divulges how the data was retrieved and collated. It discusses what tools were considered to be employed when analysing the data and explains why NVivo was not used. A detailed discussion about how the interviews were transcribed has also been included in this chapter. Anonymity, and limitations of the research were also discussed. Anonymity in regards to why the gender and ethnicity of most participants have been excluded and how this supports the ethical standard of the study. Limitations with regards to the semi structured interviews, target group, interview questions, boundaries of the research and my own personal bias.

Chapter Seven

Social Networks and Chief Officers in the Met

"So largely male, so largely middle class, so largely from the same type of build. People who enjoy either rugby or golf or shooting, that type of stuff. Familiar people trying to talk and network and that type of stuff. Familiar stuff for people to be comfortable with, uh and talk to each other about - because it's easy, comfortable conversation, and it's enjoyable to them. And it's easy in that type of way, because people are either talking about a Sunday afternoon, whether they are talking about a game, or whether they are talking about how they've all misbehaved or drank too much between 18 and 21 before joining the police force. It's very uh, very, very familiar to them all - and they resonate with that" – Chief Officer MPS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the research. In particular, it discusses the impact of social networks on the recruitment of officers specifically within the NPCC component of the organisation, and explores the existence and validity of this theory as outlined in the literature review. It reveals specific and collective outcomes of the interactions with individuals who were interviewed for this purpose. Direct reporting has been extracted from these interviews and linked in a method which denotes similar acuities and experiences to highlight the presence of social networks, their significance, and the impact they have on the degree of representation of BMEs within senior ranks of the Met.

Some quotations have been slightly altered wherever appropriate to ensure clarity and safeguard anonymity. However, in such instances, alterations have been simple replacements of names, events, county forces or specialist groups, and executed in a manner which permits the core meaning of the quotation to remain intact. For example, Essex Police or Surrey Police might be replaced by "a county force", a name would be replaced by "senior officer", "Chief Officer", supervisor, "mentor" etc. Additionally, all quotations would be highlighted in italics. It is also important to mention, that the participants were very concerned about their anonymity particularly due to the size of this part of the organisation. It was their concern that even in withholding names it would still be fairly simple to work out the identity of the respondent. In order to safeguard this issue, gender and ethnicity will also be withheld in all quotations.

7.2 The Co-Production of Opportunities

The co-production of opportunities highlights the fact that it is the presentation of the opportunity rather than the act of seeking the opportunity which often proved to be key in the development of these executive officers. During interviews, I noted the casual way most interviewees spoke about the existence of this network and how much it would have assisted their movement up the corporate ladder. This section not only highlights this occurrence but also unveils how the network operates in choosing individuals who it perceives fit to become part of the elite group. One Chief Officer in particular was brutally forthcoming in describing the NPCC component of the organisation as a "club" with members of a certain class and calibre -

> "*It's almost like an unholy club at times uh, institutionally throughout the decades and the years, we just sort to recruit people from its own image, if I'm really honest with you, uh and that's why it's hard to break into the circles and any degree of difference,*

any degree of difference that isn't similar to their own characteristics uh becomes

uncomfortable, becomes uncomfortable for this institution of Chief Officers".

This Chief Officer then further elaborated,

"*And when I say club I don't mean it's a select club which is being defined and there's*

an intention behind it. But it's behaving like a club and the club then becomes

strengthened and further engendered by the way people are recruited and the way

people are then groomed to be a part of their club".

This account obtained from one of the Chief Officers within the NPCC arguably supports the view enunciated by most interviewees. Social networks proved to be an invaluable asset in assisting select officers to be promoted consistently and repeatedly to achieve the rank of Chief Officer. The interviewee saw it appropriate to refer to the NPCC as a club with members, expectations, and a process outside of the corporate procedure which entails recruiting and grooming new members. This then inevitably further engenders the existence of this metaphoric club – according to the interviewee.

The respondent highlights that any small differences from what is considered to be the norm for the "club" (in the participant's words) creates discomfort for its members and is therefore perceived as unacceptable. The term difference within this context refers specifically to gender and ethnicity, i.e. groups falling within the periphery of the dominant network. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult to "break into the club" as although there may have been changes in different elements of the organisation, the rules for this elite group have remained the same. Therefore, this element of the organisation has continued to exist in its authenticity for an elongated period of time.

This is further supported by interviewee 22 who, in describing how he was able to successfully manoeuvre through the ranks, described a development opportunity presented to him by a senior officer. He explained;

"I was having a career chat with the Senior Officer who ran the area. He pulled me aside and said - you probably need to do something a bit more difficult you've found your feet as a Sergeant ……….., and I ended up being swapped round with somebody else. So, that was um and that was probably I think where my confidence and leadership ability really grew……took off I would say".

Here we see how existing members of the elite identify potential members to be recruited and commence the process of succession planning through the art of grooming. Members of this elite network create opportunities for chosen successors often in instances whereby the candidate may be lacking in confidence, professional direction, or even ambitions to pursue a specific opportunity. However, having being offered the chance, the candidate systematically becomes more confident, competent, and effective, due to this level of support.

This clearly highlights the existence of a gap between 'individual volition' and 'social network volition' and further suggests that it is the influence of this elite network as opposed to personal ambition which holds true power in grooming and preparing individuals as future leaders of the organisation. What is fundamentally important here is that this volition which is initiated by the network and its members is eccentric to organisational protocol and very much specific to the traditional values of what has been referred to as a "club". This, of course, is in total contradiction of the guidelines outlined by the College of Policing (2018).

The research suggests that it is common for opportunities to be presented in this way and this narrative is supported in the most casual of ways by the vast majority of Chief Officers interviewed. Another example was presented when interviewee 16 described a situation where

being accepted within the "right circles" proved to be advantageous – this Chief Officer explains;

> "*A prestigious specialist department became free as the Chief Superintendent said that he was going to leave and I was asked if I would be interested in applying to be Chief Superintendent there which seemed terrifying to me. I thought wow - I was astonished that you would think that I could go and do that job. Um… and in the end thought, ok well they've, obviously seen something in me so I applied for it and I got it*".

In speaking with respondents during interviews I began to slowly realise that in order to progress to the NPCC component of the organisation, it is mandatory for individuals to be accepted and supported by sponsors and *reputable* mentors from this unofficial network. It became consistently apparent that behind the corporate process of being promoted, there seems to be an unofficial route via recommendations from officers in key positions. Hand-picked opportunities for personal development and/or mentorship are presented to selected candidates from respected officers who already exist within this elite network. Once officers have been endorsed or accepted by this exclusive group (and it must be from reputable officers) through private "off the record" discussions, then barriers are broken and opportunities become available.

In the aforementioned interview, the Chief Officer makes it abundantly clear that there was a feeling of astonishment and flattery in realising that an influential member of this elite group felt it appropriate to initiate this promotion. Nonetheless, this display of confidence provided the additional self-assurance for the candidate which was required to accept such a prestigious and privileged offer of promotion. Yet again, this highlights the co-production of opportunities through the network's volition as opposed to the individual's.

However, it is extremely important to reiterate that these officers are intelligent individuals who are in fact capable of success. Still, the empirical evidence shows that ability, ambition, and potential, although prerequisites, seem to be far from the only elements necessary for upward movement. The research indicates that it is the support from respected members of this elite group which proves to be crucial for any individual aspiring toward the rank of Chief Officer.

Once a potential candidate obtained the buy-in from the sponsor, this then provides a platform to become more rounded, confident and competent as a contender for promotion through subsequent opportunities which are presented via access to projects or departments which would not have been available otherwise. Another Chief Officer provides an example of this in describing a situation whereby he was, through no official process, elected to be part of a prestigious team which was pivotal to the success of his career. He states;

> "*they (the elite group) looked at a list of people who have high potential, and a senior reputable officer turned to a friend of his, who happened to be a close friend of mine in policing, and my close friend turned around to the senior officer and said, he is a really good blend - and that's how I got into what was a very, very specialist, handpicked group of individuals to work on this project. I say this because it was a watershed moment in my career*".

Another interviewee who was also part of this exclusive team of handpicked officers proudly described the recruitment process as -

> "*Let's just say this was one of those big finger out of the sky things…… so you never applied for it or anything like that and I learned a huge amount from being a part of it*".

In this instance both Chief Officers spoke about this specific opportunity as one which opened doors to their success. They both spoke about this appointment in detail during the interviews and reiterated how much of a privilege it was to have been part of this very elite team. Additionally, and very importantly, both Chief Officers emphasised that it was only through sponsorship that this opportunity was presented.

This highlights that it is the power of the social network and its elite members which holds real influence on the creation of opportunities and as a result, scope for future promotion once access to this exclusive circle is gained. The quotations also reveal that career changing opportunities such as these are not attained through any corporate process. One respondent refers to selection as a "*big finger out of the sky*" whilst the other overtly states that it was a direct result of sponsorship after an "off record" discussion amongst elite members or potential sponsors.

Another interesting factor which arose from the investigation was that within this elite group of officers within the NPCC, there were also officers who may not have been as respected amidst the majority and recommendations or endorsement from such officers would be harmful for an aspiring officer's career. It became apparent that despite the true potential, abilities, competence or confidence of any aspiring officer, recommendations or sponsorship needed to be from "well-regarded" officers within elite group of Chief Officers. Interviewee 6 concurs and explains;

> "*Having a mentor like that it clearly…… all of my bosses have opened doors for me in, not by giving me a specific job but clearly the way they talk about me behind my back to other people, has got me noticed, and because of that other people have come looking for me to do a job*".

This Chief Officer then elaborates on the complexities of having a mentor from this elite group and says;

> "*Some people are unlucky to get senior officers (mentors) who are not well respected, that talk about them and that doesn't do you any good. I had some people who were well thought of and were saying good things about me. Those people were two of the most celebrated police officers so that helped me enormously. So regardless of any official mentoring the way those two people described me opened more doors than anything else could have in my career*".

In this example it becomes apparent that this elite group within the organisation is not without hierarchy and some members quite clearly possess more power or influence than others. The interviewee explains how through having an effective mentoring relationship with well-regarded members opened doors and broke barriers "*in a way that nothing else could*". However, what is equally important is that it was also explained that sponsorship from "unpopular" members would create significant hindrances for career aspirations.

Arguably, this further endorses the legitimacy of this elite network. The narrative reveals that not only does it exist in its unofficial capacity, but there are also subliminal etiquettes and policies through its concealed hierarchy. This further highlights the power and influence of the network and its ability to either create or diminish opportunities. Supplementary interviews with various Chief Officers endorsed this finding and highlighted the significance of its impact on the progress of any potential leader. Interviewee 10 agreed with these experiences and said;

> "*There has always been key people at different levels there is always someone who either nudged you in the right direction, opened the door and said well if you want it knock…. push (chuckles), you know, if you want this opportunity it's hard work, I think you would be really good at it you know; would you like to be a part of the team? You*

need to step across and do it, you need to do it, it's not gonna be easy, it's not a gift,

it's a challenge. I think at every level people would have done that".

The support received by these significant individuals has been paramount to the success of those within the elite group and this was made clear to me by my respondents during interviews. The backing from supervisors and mentors in particular have been instrumental in the attainment of developmental opportunities which then permitted professional growth and increased confidence which then enhanced individual reputation.

This is a positive circle. The research shows that even if the individual is ambitious, without the encouragement and the opportunities presented to them by these key sponsors, the likelihood of being recognised for work undertaken would have been significantly reduced. The research clearly suggests that opportunities need to be accessible, and in order for this to occur there is a requirement to be accepted by members of this elite network. Respondent 18 quite candidly explained the importance and impact of social networks through something as simple as a common sporting interest (Rivera, 2012). This Chief Officer explained;

"*After the Borough Commander came, he was a really good guy and also played the*

same sport as I did, so I got along well with him; and we got a chap come to us as a

new Superintendent who hadn't been in the MET very long and I was asked to go and

work with him for a period of about 3 or 4 months. So I did some work for the

Superintendent. And then after that I needed to move away from doing what I was doing

with this um Superintendent, and so he asked what I wanted to do - one of those things

so you've done me a favour so I would do you a favour - so I went to work on a proactive

team on another borough as a Sergeant, I was very proactive, but that was all I had

going for me in terms of that work, cause' I had never done it before. But I learnt so

much doing that and it was great fun and we had some fantastic results. I learned so much from them and that set me up really well".

This phenomena has been highlighted as a common theme during the analytical dissection of the interviews. Respondents repeatedly illustrated that career changing opportunities came as a direct result of social networks within the organisation through positive relationships with senior officers. This Chief Officer noted how the common interest of a sport created the platform to build a positive relationship which was extremely beneficial for his career development (Rivera, 2012). He clearly explains that he acknowledges that apart from his proactivity, he did not have much else to offer. However, due to the opportunity presented to him by an influential sponsor who was willing to provide him with an opportunity, he was able to learn and "*set himself up really well*" for professional development.

In conducting the research it became apparent that most Chief Officers would casually use specific terminologies which would highlight the existence and impact of social networks. For example, "*I got a phone call from one of the Chief Officers, the Deputy Chief in a County Force asking me to go on a project*" (interview 7). This anonymised phone call was often unconcernedly mentioned by interviewees to describe their professional journeys and sudden expedient changes in their circumstances. Interviewee 2 explains;

> "*Some of the very best jobs that I have had were the ones where I had no idea what I was going to do until I picked up the phone from someone and they said do you fancy or would you be interested in….and suddenly you're off in a completely different direction*".

Yet again we see the operation of network volition as opposed to individual ambition. It is also worthy of note that the mere fact that these experiences were advocated without knowledge of what their fellow Chief Officer counterparts said in their interviews further engenders the

significance of not only the network's power, but its value and impact on individual's career success. Another Chief Officer stated;

> "*I got a call from one of the Chief Officers in the Met –"would you come to the Met on secondment? We'd like to have you as a Chief Officer; but you know, finish the course, come to the Met on secondment, once you finish it, come and take an interview to become a Chief Officer when they run them" - so that's what I did, I came to the Met, in three months there was an interview, and I got through, and was selected to be a Chief Officer*".

This unofficial phone call was mentioned and endorsed in numerous discussions with this group of elite officers. Most Chief Officers made mention of it. Interviewee 3 states,

> "*A Chief Officer phoned up and said that - I know you wanted to get promoted, would you like to come down to London and um work for me? - I said well hey sir that would be a good idea so I did, so I think some of that…that helped as well, so that when I did apply for the job in the Met, I had the appropriate background, it fluffed out my CV if I'm being honest*".

These quotations all highlight the anonymous "phone call" – an attribute of this elite circle which occurs covertly parallel to the corporate process whereby through the existence of social networks, opportunities, vacancies and developmental prospects are presented. It seems to be a common understanding that whenever vacancies are made available, particularly within the realms of reproducing the elite, individuals are scouted, summoned and recruited long before the actual corporate process is advertised. Although the research suggests that this is ***not*** always the case, it is the preferred method to be employed especially when appointing officers within the NPCC component of the organisation (Simon & Warner, 1992).

It is also important to reiterate that these quotations were provided by a variety of Chief Officers who were interviewed, and these narratives were not obtained as a result of any specific question. On the contrary, this information was often provided during a period whereby the interviewee became engrossed in their own individual explanation of their professional journey to the "top" of policing. It was a genuine effort to articulate their lived experiences and respondents were totally unaware of what any of their colleagues had said. It is only through my collation of the data that these trends have been highlighted as a common activity in any individual's route to the executive ranks of the organisation.

It was noteworthy to hear a particular Chief Officer reiterate the presence of this informal pathway in reference to the Police National Assessment Centre (PNAC) (the gateway to become a Chief Officer). Officers need to be deemed suitable to be put forward for PNAC which is a physically and mentally demanding pass or fail course. Once the course has been successfully negotiated the candidate becomes qualified to be promoted as a Chief Officer. Though, it is still necessary to apply for a job as a Chief Officer and there are no guarantees. Interviewee 25 clarifies, "*You can be successful on the Senior Command Course and you can end up never getting a job*". In referring to the actual gateway to the NPCC component of the organisation, interviewee 24 explains;

> "*PNAC is the last test that is um…..the last process which in my view is completely fair, if you are looking at the force and you are looking at to uh appoint a Commander or an ACC, you don't…… You look at the person, but you also look at what they are bringing to the party, so it's always a partial judgment, it's, it may not be a fair and open and transparent process but it's about what that person brings and would they fit in with your team. I think, most of us would agree, the last transparent fair process you go through based on ability is PNAC; everything else is viewed through a different lens.*

This comment was of particular interest as it not only supports the rhetoric expressed by fellow Chief Officers regarding the prominence of social networks, but it also highlights the marked differences when attempting to access the rank of Chief Officer (NPCC) – which is what drives to the heart of this investigation. The interviewee has willingly explained that fairness, ability and transparency is completely discarded post PNAC, and selection at this stage becomes more about fitting into the team.

The interviewee has clearly asserted that he feels very confident in speaking on behalf of his NPCC colleagues when stating that recruitment of the elite members of the organisation is an unfair process. In his response, the Chief Officer reiterates that selection at this stage is "*viewed through a different lens*". This affords a more holistic appreciation that not only is there an existence of an informal network which functions in a particular way and monopolises the reproduction of the elite – but it reveals that within the specifics of moving into the elite echelons of the organisation the network rules unequivocally supersede that of corporate policy. Interviewee 18 reinforces this point and states;

> *I think the more you go up the more it's about personal relationships, the higher you go in the organisation, the fewer of you there are and the more it becomes about personal relationships.*

This takes us back to the literature highlighting the power of social networks and how they operate within an organisational setting (Berry et al, 2004). The higher the rank within the MPS, the less diverse it becomes, therefore tapping into teams at this level which is inevitably what any aspiring candidate would be seeking to achieve, would be increasingly challenging as the fundamentals become less about capabilities and more about fitting into a team that looks and functions in a particular way, dominated by a particular group. When this is combined with the reality that the network is resistant to difference and functions in a manner that is specific

to its traditional rules and values, there is a better understanding that acceptance for BMEs into what is regarded as the elite leadership within the organisation becomes exceedingly challenging.

6.3 Individual Volition

Whilst a majority of the interviewees agreed that it was sponsorship from senior managers (in the form of mentors, talent spotters or effective supervision) which proved to be key in providing the necessary opportunities for professional growth and confidence, a minority of individuals made a purposeful attempt to suggest that success was achieved through personal grit, and the fairness of organisational opportunities. These individuals argued that success was for the most part dependent on how an individual applied themselves and suggested that the organisation provides an "equal playing field" for all ambitious officers.

Individuals supporting an "equal playing field" agenda would, however, then contradict themselves during another part of their narrative of their personal journeys in policing and describe the support obtained from the network. Therefore the perception that success is based entirely on individual volition would often be trumped by the unequivocal evidence suggesting otherwise. Chief Officers who held strongly to an individual volition account for their success were however in a minority. For example, interviewee 24 explained;

> "*All my promotions have been by uh the best of my determination*".

Here we see that this statement clearly and deliberately suggests that it is through individual effort that this officer was able to successfully progress to the rank of Chief Officer. However, subsequent to this in a much later part of the interview, the very same officer explains how sponsorship from elite members of this unofficial network presented him with roles which were

pivotal to his growth and success. And, in supporting his argument and articulating the journey itself he subsequently stated that;

> "*It's being given those opportunities in hard places to understand your ability and how to make things happen so I think the crucial journey for me is being giving the opportunity to do those jobs, cause people had confidence in me, but I was able to access the learning and the development through being sent to do those things*".

During my analysis I could not help but notice that this was in direct contradiction to what was initially said by this interviewee. The overwhelming evidence from the research demonstrates that whilst individual determination maybe a key attribute in the aptitude to demonstrate professional capability it is not key in being promoted to the senior ranks of the Met.

In another interview, a somewhat similar account was given by a Chief Officer who felt as if his promotion process within the MPS has been similar to the military and rigorously based on individual merit. In his view, interviewee 3 stated that;

> "*The great thing about the police service is it's like the military, if you pass an entrance exam, you get in, and you haven't got to have degrees, you haven't got to have been a super scholar at school to be able to progress in this organisation, you know, I did ACPO with 18 years' service so no, I didn't leave school with any Degree but I just worked hard, and that's what I like about the organisation. If you get the right breaks and you work hard then you can get promoted.*"

Here we see another one of the very few examples where the interviewee held the belief that movement up the corporate ladder and into the elite echelons of the organisation is based on individual merit and attributes. However, further scrutiny of this narrative raises questions as to what constitutes "the right breaks" as the respondent did in fact state that individuals also need to have the right breaks to be successful. Furthermore, if this statement were to be accurate

then it suggests that BMEs either do not, or are holistically incapable of working hard enough to be recognised or promoted by the organisation (due to the insignificant number of ethnic minorities within the NPCC component of the establishment).

The respondent clearly emphasises "working hard" in an attempt to highlight that with the right attitude, anyone can achieve the attainment of executive rank. However, the "right breaks" is directly coupled with this criterion and the research unmistakeably suggests that this terminology is one which constitutes the opportunities presented to individuals by sponsors, which then in turn, provides the juncture for the hard work to be recognised. Therefore it is debatable that a fair and logical conclusion to be drawn is that the "right breaks" would be equally if not more important than diligence - as it is the "right breaks" which in fact provides the platform for promotion. In a public bureaucracy, with exam based progression – which follows Weber's theory of how bureaucracies should function – it is not surprising that a culture of 'merit' and individual effort should exist. However, what my interviews reveal is that another method of promotion – the "right breaks" also exists and in many ways contradicts the idea of a system of equal and open promotion.

Most interviewees at some stage during discussions emphasised the importance and impact of social networks during their vertical journeys, and on this occasion, including the "right breaks" in his description of his "keys" to success, this particular respondent is also supportive of this theory albeit a deliberate attempt to suggest otherwise. It is arguably undeniable that in the absence of adequate support, the challenges of promotion would be significantly increased. Interviewee 25 endorses this and states;

> "*I still look in the mirror at the Chief Officer and say: how the hell did I get there; because when I joined as a PC my biggest hope was that I might one day be a Relief Inspector that's as about as far as I ever hoped I'd get. So I can honestly say I've had*

no plan, no strategy, it has just come at a time, did I get support, absolutely- I've had the support of really fantastic members, at different points".

This quotation further highlights the power of the social network volition as opposed to individual volition as it confirms that even with limited ambition once there is adequate support from key sponsors, individuals would be strategically positioned to attain success perhaps in a manner which had not been previously anticipated for a variety of reasons - whether that may be lack of confidence or ambition. The research revealed that within this context, effective sponsorship provides opportunities which are mandatory for success. This is corroborated by Interviewee 14 who states;

"*I definitely had different points in my career where things have happened that sort of steered you in a slightly different way and then opportunities sort of present itself*".

Interviewee 24 clearly supports this theory in saying;

"*You have to have a sponsor, or at least a group of Senior Leaders who recognise your potential, and I think, that's not always very easy for people to break into*".

Interviewee 7 agrees and states that;

"*There have been lots and lots of people who have gone out of their way to help me*".

Interviewee 6 is also supportive of this and explains;

"*The difference in my career I think is that I have always had someone who gave me that confidence at just the point that I needed it; and that's mentorship*".

Here we see the collective emphasis on sponsorship as a crucial aspect of individual successes. Each interviewee clearly advocates the importance of being sponsored, coached or mentored. Yet, this process is in no way determined through official channels. Individually and collectively, they have all been as a direct result of the traditions and values of this elite and

unofficial network. Still, the results of being affiliated with this positive circle speak for itself through the acquisition of elite appointments.

In seeking to establish whether or not the ideology that success was or can be attained through personal grit and resilience, it became increasingly obvious that there was little, if any factual corroboration in support of this theory. Despite a few officers understandably feeling as if the success of becoming a Chief Officer within the Metropolitan Police Service is or has been *entirely* dependent on personal attitudes, the evidence is prodigious in illustrating otherwise. A Chief Officer explains;

> "*When this role came, the person who was in this role came to see me and said, he was going to be retiring, he wanted to talk to me about whether I would think of putting in an application and we talked it through and I did*".

The above quotation cements the argument. It summarises the preferred method of succession planning and recruitment within this elite group, and reiterates the hidden process which exists outside of corporate protocol. The statement describes the effective presence of an elite network within the organisation which provides the sponsorship for succession. This cycle seems to be recurrent in a natural and genuinely unbiased way without a deeper understanding that by its nature, people of similar characteristics perpetuate as the main beneficiaries (Portes, 1998). A Chief Officer concludes;

> "*So the ACPO (NPCC) class will remain the ACPO class as it is white male dominated, largely speaking in the same way…, largely following the same set of ideas*".

7.4 Anticipating and Counteracting Failure

Failure to successfully negotiate a promotion process at some stage of their career was also an issue which was brought to the forefront during interviews. Reiterating the occurrence of such incidents were often presented in a manner which suggested that the route into the elite had not been easy, straight-forward or given on a silver platter. Nonetheless, such failures, although valid in illustrating resilience and persistence, do not alter the existence or impact of social networks, nor does it suggest that this occurrence would equate to a lateral comparison to "outsiders" who would have had similar experiences.

The research reveals that a traditional value of this group of elite is for succession planning to occur through the recruitment of select officers by existing members of the network. Still, although this significantly increases the chances of the select officers' success, there were reported infrequent occasions whereby candidates were unsuccessful in their initial attempt at promotion. However, what is key here is the support given by sponsors within the elite in order to prepare the candidate for subsequent attempts.

The research indicates that network members often provide further opportunities to obtain the necessary developmental prerequisites for successive attempts i.e. the elite group looks after its members. An example of this is whereby this particular Chief Officer explained that immediately after "stumbling" at a promotion process, he got a phone call from a senior officer saying;

> "*I know you must be feeling terrible so I really don't wanna capitalise on your misfortune, but would you like to come and work for me? I've got a job where I'd like you to lead; work on uh the panel and stuff, got some real tricky work coming up and stuff - At each point, people say you know what, come and do something for me and not necessarily give you an inappropriate leg up but they open the door give you an opportunity*".

Here we see where this particular Chief Officer was in fact unsuccessful in his attempt to be promoted to a particular rank. However, yet again, we see the opportunity for further development and boost of confidence being presented by an effective sponsor. These opportunities are key in ensuring continuous development and although it does not eradicate the possibilities of future failure, it offers support, reminds the candidate that they are important and hence diminishes the likelihood of a similar failure within future applications.

Arguably, such opportunities for additional preparation and recognition provided by key individuals play an important role in the overall success of these elite officers. This by no means belittles the resilience or efforts of these officers. Nonetheless, it highlights the benefits of having the right "contacts" and being accepted into this elite network.

Continuous development and operational experience is mandatory for officers to be promoted into the elite, and the research indicates that it is often the case that individuals can sometimes struggle to obtain the necessary evidence for promotion in just doing their "day jobs". Now yet again, this is another facet which can cause perplexities when analysing how success is achieved in pursuit of this prerequisite.

In circumstances whereby any officer cannot provide the required evidence (on the application) to attain promotion, it is the candidate's responsibility to seek and obtain various projects to acquire specific work experience. This additional work then allows for the candidate to evidence whatever competencies they may not have had prior to this undertaking. Personal desire, ambition, and enthusiasm are just a few attributes necessary (from the candidate) to proactively seek these additional roles. However, the access required to be given the desired projects can only be presented through adequate support via sponsorship. Personal desire, ambition and enthusiasm although valuable, is of less importance during such endeavours and aspirations.

If the officer does not obtain the support required to complete such additional projects, the evidence would be far more difficult to obtain and as a result, promotion would become significantly more unrealistic. The required drive and ambition displayed in seeking additional work can easily be confused with individual volition if we do not locate such ambition within the wider context of network support. A useful account in support of this argument is one whereby a Chief Officer explained that in his desire to be promoted to the next rank, he realised that he did not have the required experience to achieve this objective. He explains;

> "*I could have had a list of specialist jobs as long as your arm involving exceptionally high risk in the organisation, but none would fit in the boxes so I went to see two Senior Officers, I went and had a chat and I said well I'd like to get promoted, um, what can you give me? Uh what can I do for you? To, you know, fill these boxes; and I took one of their next projects and it was the only time in my career that I actually had to go and seek evidence which is mad isn't it when you are doing such a threatening job and yet, you had to get the evidence for this promotion but I went to do a load of extra projects, some of them were really good, some were a tick in the box actually sort of very good, made a difference um and passed the promotion process the first time, so that was good*".

It is noteworthy that in most if not all accounts, interviewees, albeit deliberate or unknowingly, would express the clear benefit of having had the access to these key sponsors. The outcome usually being promotion, development for promotion, or a career changing experience whereby after being afforded an opportunity and achieving success, subsequent doors were opened. As a direct result of this, potential barriers which may have presented otherwise are then removed. This officer pursued extra projects from sponsors to obtain the required evidence for promotion, however, the authorisation and presentation of these opportunities were in fact, out

of his control. Had he been refused the opportunity to complete these projects, then any promotional aspects would have been significantly reduced.

This pattern, in some aspects, seemed very similar to my own experiences in attempting to gain access to these executive leaders within the organisation. Even though I am a police officer and one would assume that access to these individuals would not have been an issue, in reality, it was quite a challenging task. I seemed to be considered an unknown risk and as such, could not be trusted, therefore during the initial stages of my endeavours to secure interviews for the purposes of the research, it was almost impossible to acquire the necessary acquiescence.

However, in altering my approach and seeking interviews using social networking strategies, doors were opened and access was granted. I was sponsored. Once I had secured the initial interview with such a high ranking officer (via a personal friend) and conducted it in manner which was appeasing to him, I was able to gain his trust and as a result, secure subsequent interviews based on his personal recommendation.

This in no way mitigates my intelligence, resilience, proactivity or capabilities - as actively pursuing a doctoral thesis is clearly challenging and requires those attributes. Nonetheless, if I was unable to tap into the network, secure their confidence and gain their personal recommendations for further interviews, completion of the study would have been impossible as a consequence - despite having the personal characteristics to be successful. This also draws reference to the few officers who credit their individual success to determination and personal grit. Again, my personal experience of conducting this research highlights my dependence on my personal networks – my personal attributes merely perform the supporting, rather than the main role in this endeavour.

The NPCC is a national entity, and consistently throughout this investigation I realised that the network's rules at this level spilled over into neighbouring policing entities. The research

illustrated that it is far from uncommon for elite officers to move around forces in an endeavour to enhance their operational experiences. This it seems, broadens the available choices for existing network members when reproducing the elite – and by consequence restrict the opportunities for "others". Interviewee 18 explains;

"*A job came up in a County Force, someone phoned me up and said what do you think about a Chief position in this County Force? I was like, I never even given it a first let alone a second thought, wasn't looking for jobs, wasn't looking for anything, so I dismissed it and another person called and said, there is a job there you know you should enquire, and so I looked at it, didn't meet any of my skill set and a friend of mine said you should give this person who is a Chief Constable a call and ask.*

I phoned the Chief up, and said look you know a friend of mine said that I should look at this uh you know I don't want to waste anybody's time. This is what my background is and I think I've got transferrable skills but I don't want to apply and waste anyone else's time, especially if there is people in mind. The Chief was really supportive and said no you should stick in for it, and said no my skills are transferrable and we will give it to whoever turns up best on the day. So I was like ok, if nobody is marked for it, and it's a fair process then I will give it a crack. So I kind of applied, did well in the boards and got the job".

This quotation encapsulates the power of this network from multiple angles. Here we see the expression of concern regarding whether or not someone had been already "*marked*" for the job to prevent this Chief Officer from wasting time and effort to endure the challenging process of applying for this prestigious role. It therefore seems fair to conclude that such an enquiry suggests that it is a reasonable assumption to be made that in such circumstances it is not uncommon for someone to have been preselected for the role despite it being advertised.

There is also clear apprehension as it relates to the "fairness" of the process, and although expressed in the most casual of ways it clearly indicates that there is a familiarity with how things are done at that level. It further endorses the social network volition and raises the question as to why may the process be unfair? It is also noteworthy that the conversation occurred in a very "matter of fact" manner coupled with a nonchalance between both corresponding parties.

This particular excerpt also denotes the "behind the scenes" activities often affiliated with the advertisement of such opportunities and further endorses the disadvantages of not being privy to such information which is available to members of a particular group (Chow & Chan, 2008). Here we see that the Chief Officer only made the application for the role after he was reassured that the process was fair and therefore his attempts would not be futile.

This further corroborates that not only is the promotional process different at this level but it seems to be common knowledge and broadly accepted that things "work differently" at this level of policing. It was noted that all correspondents who spoke about this "unfairness" did so in a way which clearly indicated that there were no "hard feelings" as this is just "how it is" and the way "things are done". When in fact, the process clearly highlights transparency issues which need to be addressed.

Based on the empirical data it is fair to conclude that social networks and social networking within the MPS does in fact play a crucial role in the reproduction of the elite members of the organisation. The NPCC operates within an elite network and is dominated by white males who recruit individuals who they feel are more likely to fit in (Simon & Warner, 1992).

Furthermore, when individuals are recruited and become network members themselves, they are then groomed by senior members of this elite group so that the values and norms of the existing network are further engendered. In addition, access to the network cannot be breached

through any formal procedures as membership and recruitment is unofficially based on sponsorship only. This by consequence, permits the perpetuation of a specific group over an elongated period and as a result, BMEs will continue to struggle to gain access to the executive echelons of the MPS.

7.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined and discussed my empirical data as it relates to social networks, their existence, and impact, on the poor representation of BMEs within the NPCC component of the organisation. I scrutinised the "Co-Production of Opportunities" and demonstrated that social networks are not only present and prevalent, but they are also very influential in how the elite members of the organisation are recruited and replaced. It was established that there is no "official" network as such but rather an influential and informal one which appeared longstanding and functioned to carefully select, and groom its members.

I discussed exactly how this unofficial network operates within the work environment and highlighted the covert strategies which seem to be considered normal practice when seeking to recruit individuals deemed to be suitable members. I also discussed the normality of the system and identified that the most significant attribute for aspiring individuals to be promoted is effective sponsorship via reputable members of this elite and highly regarded group. The chapter shows that the network is not without hierarchy and although unofficial, its functions, norms and values are fully understood by its members.

Chapter seven also reveals that personal effort alone is insufficient in any aspiration to climb the corporate ladder into the elite. In analysing whether individuals could take full responsibility for their successes within the organisation, it was argued that a wider view

illuminates that it is the impact of the social network volition which seems to possess the power in deciding who gets promoted to these elite echelons.

Through effective use of the data, the chapter was also able to distinguish that in seeking to be appointed within the NPCC component of the organisation most respondents believed that it was less about abilities and fairness and more about how individuals would fit in with the existing members of the network. It was also echoed that this recruitment strategy is implicit on many levels. The behaviour of the network and its members seem to be a natural way to ensure that they remain comfortable within the workplace by avoiding diversity initiatives. Therefore the network does not operate with an overt intent to discriminate but simply reverts to the default of identifying and recruiting individuals of similar characteristics who can fit in with ease.

The chapter also discusses how members are looked after in the event of any failed promotion attempts. During the course of the chapter I revealed that in such instances, a key attribute of the network is the support given at this stage to ensure future success in subsequent attempts. This has been paramount to the success of many elite officers. In conclusion, the chapter suggests that social networks do in fact play a pivotal role in how individuals are promoted, but more importantly, it carries significant influence and encumbrance in the selection and reproduction of the executive members of the organisation who form the Chief Officer component of the Metropolitan Police Service.

The network is difficult to breach and individuals are selected by an informal process whereby there is no official protocol for acceptance. The grooming of these individuals who then subsequently perpetuate the cycle of recruitment further engenders its existence which as a result ensures its survival. This in turn, has a direct impact on the diversity of the selection of these elite officers due to the natural inclination to recruit individuals who appear to be of

similar physiognomies. This is executed mostly within a subconscious mode and until innovative strategies of diversifying this elite group are discovered and implemented, the likelihood of a diverse NPCC within the London Metropolitan Police will be ominously diminished.

Chapter Eight

The Impact of Police Culture on Diversity

"I actually think, more visible diversity at a Senior level, obviously that's the first; also that visible diversity, uh actually not just internally but externally being pushed and promoted, yeah, um I think more realistic role models, and by that I mean individuals who are, real world people, not people who are born and bred in uh Cambridge, went to this degree, this Oxford or something like that, and have done their thesis and masters on this and stuff like that, and have no shared, cultural understanding of the people or the landscape within London.

How can you have an individual yeah, who comes from I don't know …… yeah and the only people of colour he has ever seen is when he watches TV yeah, basically coming to London and telling the people of London, I know what you want, you know, I am here for you, and am gonna deliver change, really ??!! Sorry, how the heck can you do that, aye? To me, we are almost 50 % diversity now in London almost 50 %!! - and you mean to say that actually we now have less Senior BME Officers now than we did 5 years ago!? How can the Mayor, we have got the first non-white Mayor, a Muslim Mayor, from London, from Tooting, how could he not be beating down the doors of the Metropolitan Police saying, sort this out, how could, to me it's beyond belief" - Borough Commander MPS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the findings which came to light throughout the discussions held with the interviewees specifically as it relates to police culture. In similar fashion to the previous chapter which examined the impact of social networks, through analysis of my qualitative data, chapter eight seeks to examine the presence and impact of police culture and explores whether it does indeed have an influence on the poor representation of BMEs within the NPCC ranks of the Metropolitan Police Service.

It also scrutinises whether there is any direct or indirect correlation between police culture and the reproduction of the elite social network which represents the NPCC. However, it is worthy of note that due to the context of the research, police culture will be reviewed specifically based on its direct impact on BME progression - as this is in direct relation to the primary aims and objectives of the research. Chapter eight will also highlight the emotional impact of this culture on BMEs and the indifference of the mainstream in participating in, or being non-responsive to its presence.

Furthermore, the chapter will also examine the role of innovative schemes, such as the Direct Entry Inspector and Direct Entry Superintendents in relation to improving BME mobility in the MPS. In doing this, I will include an account of my own experience in covertly applying for the Direct Entry Inspector's process as an external BME candidate. I will describe the process, applicants, assessors and overall experience of this process as a BME applicant. In conclusion, the chapter will then provide a summary of its discussions before introducing the next chapter which will examine the British Bobby Physiognomies typology.

8.2 From Overt to Covert

Unfortunately, the Metropolitan Police Service has long had, and continues to have, a reputation of being racist (Grieve et al, 2000; Muir, 2001; Fox, 2004; Rowe, 2007). The vast majority of these allegations and investigations have stemmed from the occurrences of public interactions with ethnic minorities who then subsequently made complaints about the MPS's conduct, or, the occurrences of what is referred to as "critical incidents" such as the Stephen Lawrence murder, Brixton riots or lawful killing of Mark Duggan which raised questions about the organisation's culture (Macpherson, 1999; Scarman, 1981). To date, there seems to be a dark shadow hovering over the Metropolitan Police whenever reference is made to the organisation's ability to embrace diversity (EHRC, 2016).

Some of the experiences and allegations made by BMEs within the organisation itself have also caused reasons for concern (Police and Crime Committee, 2014), though, it is widely accepted that things are changing. However, both the profundity and speed of these changes have been, and continues to be questioned (Morris, 2004; Smith, 2005; Loftus, 2009; PCC, 2014; EHRC, 2016). Before taking a closer look at the accounts provided from most of the senior BME officers within the organisation to grasp an understanding of their lived experiences, it is essential, in order to put things into context, to observe some of the experiences of the first black officer to join the Metropolitan Police Service in 1967, Mr Norwell Roberts QPM (Queen's Police Medal). He explains what happened the first day he arrived to his first posting at a Police Station in East London;

> *"My reporting sergeant said to me 'look you Nigger I'll see to it you never pass probation' and I didn't think anything at all. I thought – "oh well; this is just the way it was then"- you know. So I said ok and then I had buttons ripped off my uniform, my pocket books were torn up, my car tyres were slashed, my car was towed away several*

times, had a cup of tea thrown at me by PCs there……..umm spat at. I had the odd occasional remark whilst walking down the market with another white policeman…- "oh would you like a bit of fruit officer? An apple for you and a banana for your monkey?"

There was one time when the area car (that's the car with the blue lights) was going by…the driver, the operator, and the observer ……said to me…. no the driver shouted out .. Nice hot summer day outside Covent Garden Opera House………and he shouted, black cunt….. And everybody looked round and I was, I felt so ashamed. So I thought I had enough of this, I went upstairs, saw the Chief Superintendent and I said, look I am from X…..Told him the story and he said 'well what you want me to do about it?"
(Norwell Roberts, QPM).

This vivid account raises several issues. Firstly, this narrative suggests that during this period, the organisation was not only racist but overtly so. Such inappropriate and racist behaviour seemed to be broadly accepted; and, even in the event that this demeaning conduct was challenged by the victim, nothing was done, there was no support. It also highlights that this behaviour was accepted by some members of the public, in fact, some members of the community participated in the racist chastisement of the officer. Here we see the manifestation of the reaction to the first black officer to join the organisation back in 1967 and quite clearly there seemed to be a process whereby he needed to be culturally accepted by an establishment which was one hundred percent white prior to his entrance.

What is also of significant importance here is that I was able to have a direct conversation with this individual as part of my research. This in itself contextualises the time factor in relation to the actual occurrence of these events. It highlights, in the broader depiction, how very recent such racist and derogatory behaviour was deemed to be acceptable in the MPS. However, there

is no desire to dwell on the occurrences of 1967, but mainly just to highlight a start point for the cultural attitude towards BMEs so that there can be a more calculated assessment when comparing today's responses in similar situations. Now, let us review some of the narratives from senior leaders who are still currently employed by the Metropolitan Police Service fifty years later.

A senior BME Officer explains an experience with the MPS before joining;

> *"The police in my home town in London, some of them are actually quite racist, uh some of my earliest experiences, encounters with the police, is uh walking down the road, at a young age, probably at the age of about 9 or 10 walking towards the bus stop and a police car drove aside me really slowly uh and the driver slowly wind down his window, made a gun gesture with his hand and then the words, "Nigger, Nigger pull the trigger, bang bang bang"*

The same officer then further explains;

> *"We're in the um PCs room and I'm sitting around the corner and the other officers are there writing their notes, and the DS comes in, and the DS obviously didn't see me and goes, "Top job, nice arrest "What's a Nigger doing walking on a white man's streets?"*

This BME officer, who holds a very senior and prestigious rank within the MPS, candidly exposes two examples of police discrimination, one as a member of the public and the second as an actual MPS officer. What really grabbed my attention here was the realisation that these incidents occurred decades after the recruitment of the first black male whereby this behaviour would have been totally unacceptable both from an ethical and lawful perspective [dates have been omitted for anonymity]. Therefore it raises the question - why the officer thought it appropriate to behave in this way in the absence of BMEs (as quite clearly he did not realise

that the BME was seated in the room when the comment was made). In this example, it seems fair to assume that it is acceptable to make such derogatory comments as part of the occupational culture. Another senior ranking BME officer corroborates this story and said;

"Um, so the racism, the racism was just incredible, the racism was incredible and you know things like, you're sat, and when you're sat sometimes around the briefing, it was one night duty and there was a uh call that came in and it was about some black kids doing something or the other and a bit later on another call comes in and he sits there and he's like, - "that would be the niggers again" - and he's sat there, and I'm sat there, and everybody else sat there, and no one says anything, not one person says a word and I'm sitting there, and you're just like …… "What do I do"? There were a few times when things happened and I saw things, and you just, you saw those things and you just let those things slide you know and what that does to a person's values, you are not the type of person that …….. You battle with your values that you know that actually the thing to do is challenge but there is something in you that says its survival"

This quote suggests that nothing has changed for BME officers in the Met. The other aspect of this quotation which is brought to the forefront is the emotional turmoil that this behaviour has on the individual. Here we see is an occupational culture whereby officers feel protected to the extent that one BME individual could not supersede the loyalty of a room full of similar minded cops. In fact, the pressure to be accepted seems so intense that it is fair to assume that not all white officers may have felt comfortable with such a comment, however, the need to fit in is so overwhelming that individuals are reluctant to act on or challenge such conduct.

This type of behaviour is suggestive of an organisation which is culturally resistant of diversity. It seems to demand that these "outsiders" who have been given the opportunity to become a

part of its existence, adapt to the existence of this culture as opposed to the culture adapting to facilitate these groups (Lin, 1999). Interviewee 7 explains;

"I got into CID but unfortunately the department they sent me there were some individuals who were racist and sexist, at the time they called it 'banter'. So they never did anything, they did not deliberately set out to harm me and undermine me, upset me. But their 'banter' was racist and sexist and that was hurtful. I could remember some years later challenging a couple of them about this. And their kind of view was almost like "well but you are one of us", and I kind of know what they meant by that but it did not offset the effect that it had on me. What I mean by that is, in the office it kind of didn't matter whether you were female, black, obese, wore glasses. Whatever the situation was, they would find a way to kind of pick on that person, but it was kind of done in a jovial way. They did not perceive that they were bullying, or that they were being racist or sexist because it was kinda like well everybody gets it"

Here we see that there is an occupational culture that is accepted within the organisation which is arguably racist and sexist, however, this behaviour has been acceptable for such an extensive period that it can, in some cases, be difficult for members of the main group to establish that this type of conduct is unacceptable. We see the perplexity in the question put forward here about "*why are you upset, you are one of us*". The behaviour had been unchallenged and it seems to have developed into an expectation that any minorities joining the organisation would need to accept this as being "part of the gang". The same interviewee further explains;

"So that wasn't a great environment for me to work in and actually the Detective Sergeant who clearly should have been setting standards around those things- his office was adjoining the main office and he always had his door open. He could hear what was going on and he never stepped in and did anything about it. The most he ever did

on a couple of occasions was come in and say "guys could you keep the noise down", "don't you have any work to do?" That type of thing, as opposed to "no racist language, don't talk like that". So he was weak and it kind of felt like a very difficult environment to work in."

This highlights another reason why this type of conduct persisted - supervision, or the lack of it. In these examples from these serving and very senior officers we see that, similar to the experience of the first black officer, supervisors were aware of this behaviour and did not take positive action. On the contrary, it was often the supervisor who in fact made the racist comment. This brings a pertinent question to the forefront of the discussion; what has changed?

It seems that in light of new legislations in relation to diversity and equality, the power of social media and intermittent exposure of racist incidents involving the Met has had an impact on organisational behaviour. In other words, external influences and pressures, pushing against the organisation and demanding reform. However, we see an aspect of the transition of overt cultural prejudice into the forceful realms of covert cultural prejudice (Muir, 2001; Fox, 2004; Morris, 2004; Smith 2005). Interviewee 20 explains;

"If you are a part of the mainstream then you would be supported along with the mainstream and I know I know for a fact I am treated differently because I am black and I know that people worry about being on their own with me because they think I might complain, I know that people will deal with me in a different way so, they will document things, they'll um you know, put barriers in my way"

In this quotation, we see an account which highlights the transition in which discriminatory factors are employed in current times whereby discrimination is now covert (Smith, 2005). It seems to be somewhat contrary to that of previous occurrences whereby overt discrimination seemed more of the norm. Now, we see the interviewee describes being treated differently as

a direct result of ethnicity. We see that this "different" treatment is manifested in being treated inversely to that of the mainstream or having barriers placed in the BME's path. It highlights that in exercising restraint in overtly being prejudiced, instead of genuine adaptation to a changing society, there is discrimination through alternative means (Loftus, 2009). Interviewee 20 further explains;

> *"I think it's that culture, a culture where a black person would not get promoted and wouldn't survive you know past the first hurdle, so those people are still around, and the culture is still the same, but the difference with the culture now is, is that back then I knew where I stood really, I knew where I stood, do you know what I mean? And I knew what I had to do, and I knew how I needed to do it, it was easy to play the game back then, but now it isn't, because now, it's underground and it's also hidden in cloak and dagger and it's also um, there is so much nepotism now you know you've really got to be in the club"*

This quotation summarises the overt to covert prejudicial culture which has transcended throughout the years and encapsulates that such occurrences are now "*hidden*" and "*underground*" in "*cloak and dagger*" (Muir, 2001; Morris, 2004; Smith, 2005; Rowe, 2007; Loftus, 2009; PCC, 2014; EHRC, 2016). It suggests that instead of being removed, this occupational culture of overt discrimination has been displaced into a far more covert forum (Morris, 2004). It also proposes that it is even more difficult to negotiate this new approach as it seems more testing to "*know where you stand*". The interviewee yet again makes reference to "*the club*" (mentioned in the previous chapter) and recognises the need to be part of this unofficial group. Reference is made to "playing the game" which insinuates that it is possible for "outsiders" to gain membership into this elite network if their conduct is appeasing to members and hence regarded as someone who can "fit in".

I am compelled to acknowledge the similarities of these interviews and the key words repeatedly used by interviewees despite being interviewed independently from each other. There seems to be a common desire to state that there is a dominant group, club, or mainstream within the organisation whilst there is a similar desire to express the need for the acceptance of diversity within the dominant group (Wallace et al, 1999). This club, which was discussed in detail in the previous chapter, is here revealed to perpetuate the negative ramifications of exclusivity.

8.3 Organisational Reaction to Potential Reform

There is no doubt that the MPS is under pressure from multiple sources to diversify its ranks and are hence attempting to react to a changing and more diverse society (Scarman, 1981; MPS, 1998; Macpherson, 1999; Holdaway & O'Neill, 2006). The increased number of BME recruits in recent years is evidence of this endeavour. Therefore it was puzzling to discover that there is such a significant lack of understanding of who and what "represents a BME" (in terms of physical characteristics) - and what constitutes genuine change. The appointment of "self-defined" BMEs to statistically document the occurrence of a BME promotion is in fact counter-productive in affecting police culture (Shenher, 2018). Interviewee 27 explains;

> *"Last year they ran a Chief Superintendents promotion process. We had, 6 BMEs go*
>
> *for the process, all 6 of them were unsuccessful, when we then spoke to HR, they will*
>
> *jump up and down and say 'Oh isn't that fantastic, great, we got a BME that's passed*
>
> *the process; now because the MET is very very big, and because the number of BMEs*
>
> *are so small, you know everybody, so we are all looking at each other thinking, "well*
>
> *who has passed"? The person that we were told had passed. Well if you looked at him,*
>
> *he's white, he has claimed to be a BME, which that he has Cherokee-Indian heritage*

so he has put himself down as BME and the MET were clawing onto that little crumb, so we then turned around and said 'Look let's have a mature, honest discussion about this, this isn't a tick box exercise, the reason we are saying we need to have more senior diversity is around the trust and confidence, it is about people wanting to see a workforce that's representative and lots more like them. We are not denying the fact that one has got Cherokee-Indian background once they claim that they are a BME, you are missing the point if that's what you are trying to do"

This interviewee is very much supportive of the superficial cultural changes within the organisation. In this example, a BME has been recorded as being promoted which indicates positive action by the organisation. Although, what in fact occurred during the process was that all the BME candidates were unsuccessful in their attempt to be promoted and a "self-defined" BME (who is in fact white in physical appearance) was recorded as a successful BME applicant. Therefore, if and when questioned by independent entities regarding diversity - a BME has been recorded as being promoted. One out of six equates to a seventeen percent success rate, when in reality, this figure is misleading. This not only endorses superficial change, but also highlights the state of denial and cultural reluctance to affect genuine change within the organisation. It also disregards the impact that such endeavours would have on the BME populace.

The social networks analysis chapter clearly illustrated that individuals are sought after by the mainstream to be developed or promoted. And, in instances whereby promotional endeavours are unsuccessful for these individuals, further opportunities are dispensed specifically to mitigate the likelihood of similar outcomes in future attempts. However, it seems as if through the combination of cultural defensiveness and imprudence of the organisation, positive action for the BMEs to be successful in future endeavours are on the contrary, quite limited. Interviewee 27 describes a situation whereby a programme was developed to prepare suitable

candidates for promotion, however, the endeavour excluded all BMEs who were eligible to be part of the programme. The interviewee explains;

> *"So, my question to the head of HR was you've got a people strategy which is talking about trying to increase BME representation at Senior Level, you're devising a development programme, but you haven't thought about positive action? And there was a deadly silence. So to me that is a clear example of an organisation saying one thing but through their actions they are showing something completely different*"

This quotation highlights the rigid thinking, defensiveness, denial, and poor understanding which, from the perspective of this interviewee, seems to be a frequent occurrence displayed by the organisation. It appears as if the MPS is struggling to accept the importance of the need to become not only a diverse service, but to ensure that this diversity is reflected throughout the ranks. Based on the empirical data, I will argue that the occupational culture which was initiated during the formative stages of the organisation has been intrinsically ingrained and through unofficial methods, inherited by a significant element of the mainstream. Therefore despite the overt nepotism which was totally acceptable during a particular period, and the ostensible reluctance to embrace change, (which is justified by the length of time the organisation is taking to adjust) the pressure to evolve has forced a variation in organisational behaviour. Nonetheless, the core issue of cultural chauvinism remains intact but is administered by covert means in fear of the legal sanctions which may be consequential to any overt discrimination. The subsequent sequence of diagrams illustrates this in some measure of detail.

Figure 6: Police Culture Diagram Stage 1 – **Hypothetical Cultural Shape**

The above figure, which is one of five stages of figures, depicts the MPS in its authentic state and is **not** gender specific simply because gender is not the primary focus of the research. Nonetheless, it attempts to reflect the poor representation of BMEs within the NPCC component of the organisation which is of specific interest to the research. This "stage 1" diagram exemplifies a hypothetical shape of the organisation to emphasise the fact that hypothetically speaking, the MPS is culturally shaped and this shape can be altered through both internal and external pressure to reform. Subsequent stages of the diagram will portray the relevance of the shape and the impact of its influences.

Figure 7: Police Culture Diagram Stage 2 – **External Influences**
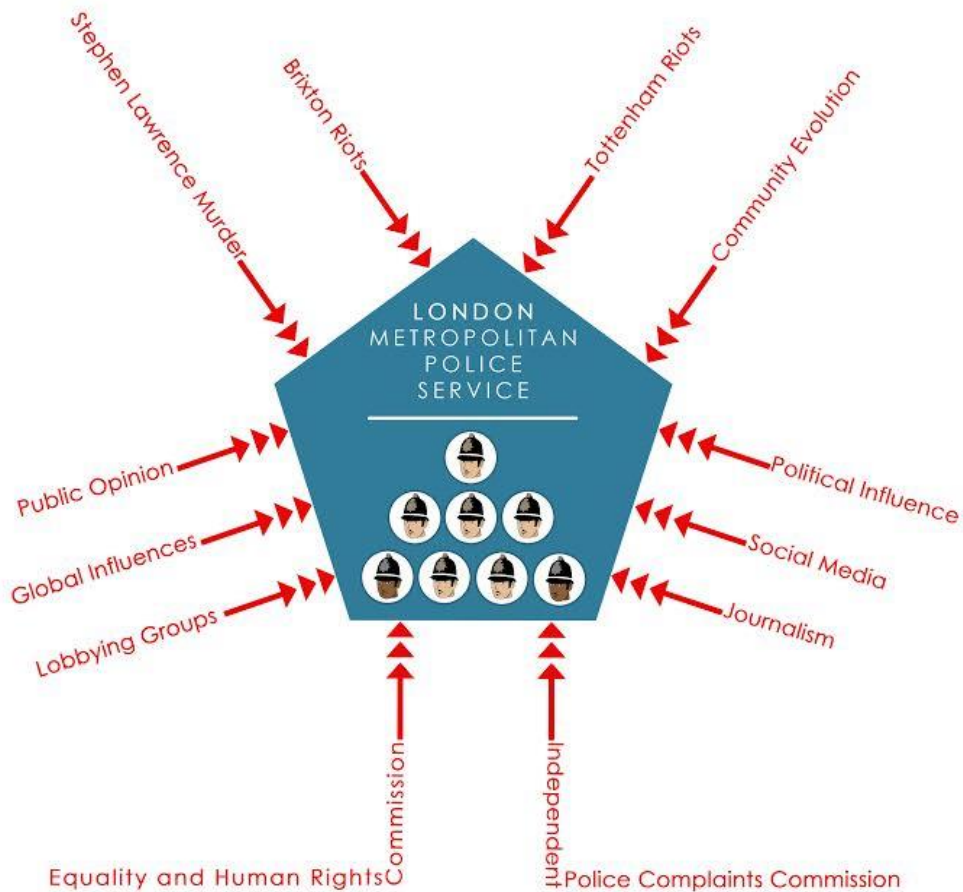
The above figure, illustrated as stage two of five, incorporates examples of external influences which impacts on the existence of police occupational culture on diversity. It illustrates a wide range of entities, although not exhaustive, which demands a response from the organisation and as such, disrupts the consistency of the existence and behavioural patterns of the culture within the organisation. It solidifies the point that the real substance of the pressure to inflict change is derived from external sources or the occurrence of critical incidents which can prompt the organisation into a mode of reflection (Zhao et al, 1999).

Figure 8: Police Culture Diagram Stage 3 – **The Impact**
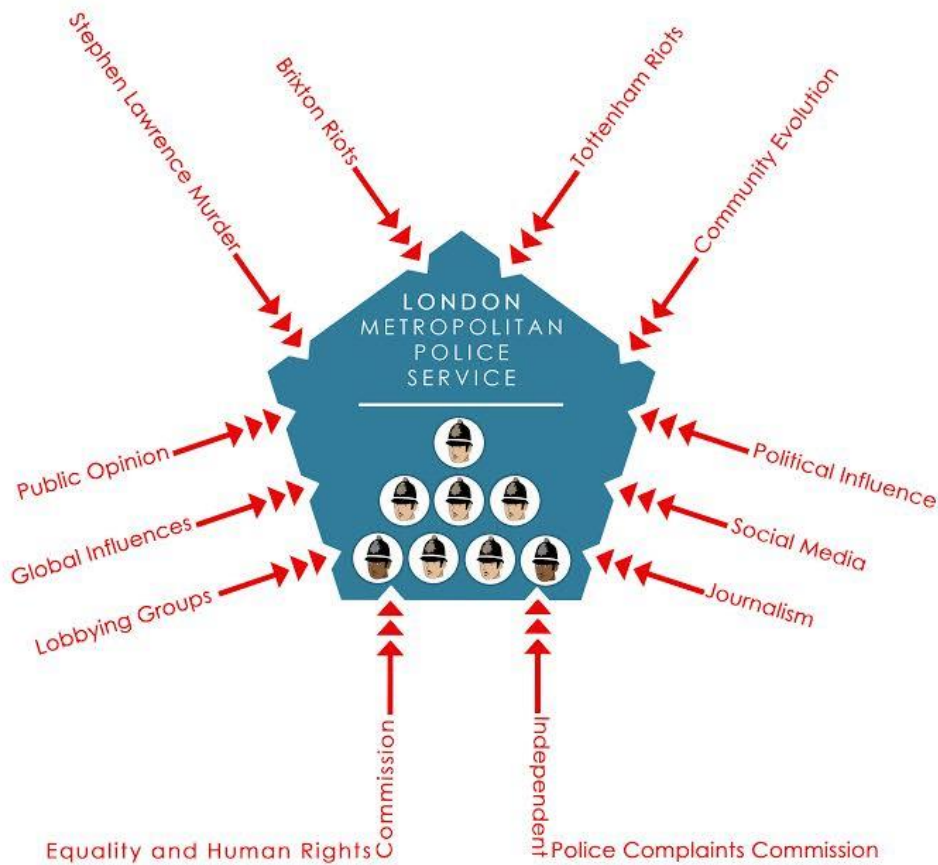
As we can see, stage three of the sequential diagrams highlights that the pressure driven toward the organisation creates a physical impact on its cultural shape. This is clearly illustrated by the deformity within the hypothetical walls of the diagram initiated by the impact of each entity. The actual impact of each entity is not differentiated on the diagram as there is no official measurement as such, however, the impact itself has been carefully illustrated by the depiction of a concaved shape on the external parameter of the cultural wall at the base of the inward pointing arrows. The organisation is forced to deal with the application of such pressures which can be, in some instances, detrimental to its reputation.

Figure 9: Police Culture Diagram Stage 4 – **Cultural Reaction**
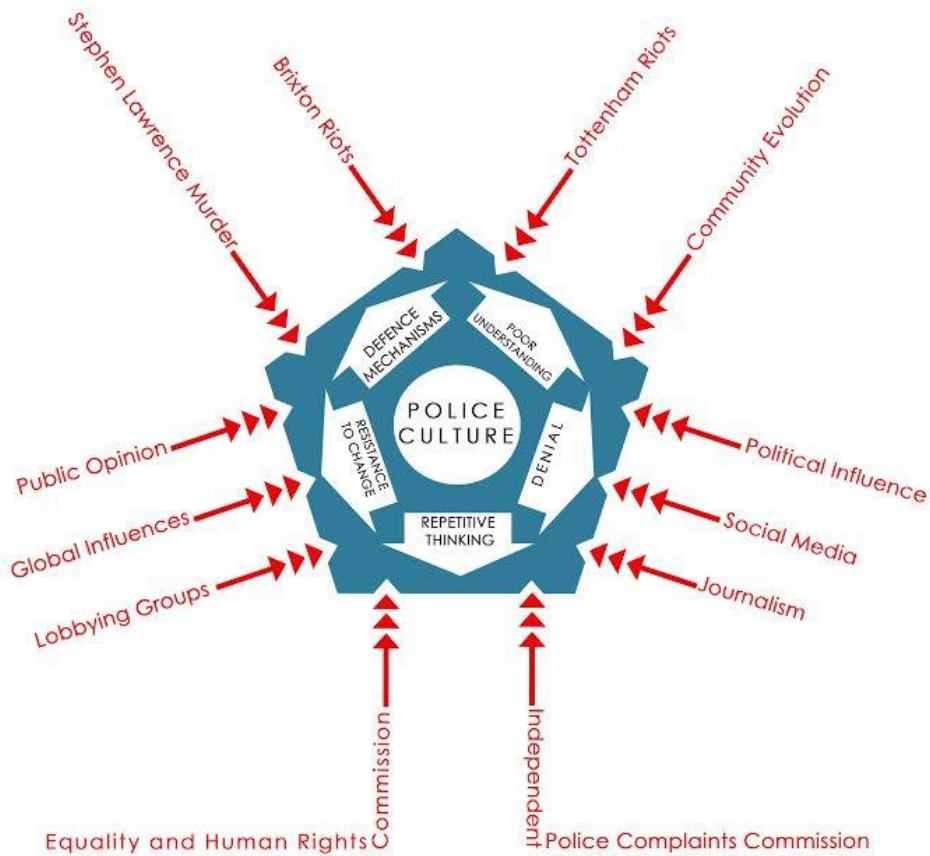
Stage four illustrates the default reaction shown by the research to be generated by the police culture in reaction to the impact of these external pressure groups. It is crucial that we recall the aims and objectives of the thesis and therefore appreciate that the context of both the external pressures and internal cultural reaction are directly affiliated with the progress of the BMEs within the NPCC constituent of the organisation. Stage four denotes a general reaction of defensiveness in attempt to protect the reputation and public perception of the organisation; often reverting to justification as opposed to admission. The MPS does not demonstrate a willingness to be held accountable or apologise but instead, the focus has too often been on

apportioning blame and issuing sanctions. Police culture and the organisation's history of discrimination issues have both played significant roles in this reality (EHRC, 2016).

Figure 10: Police Culture Diagram Stage 5 – **The End Result**
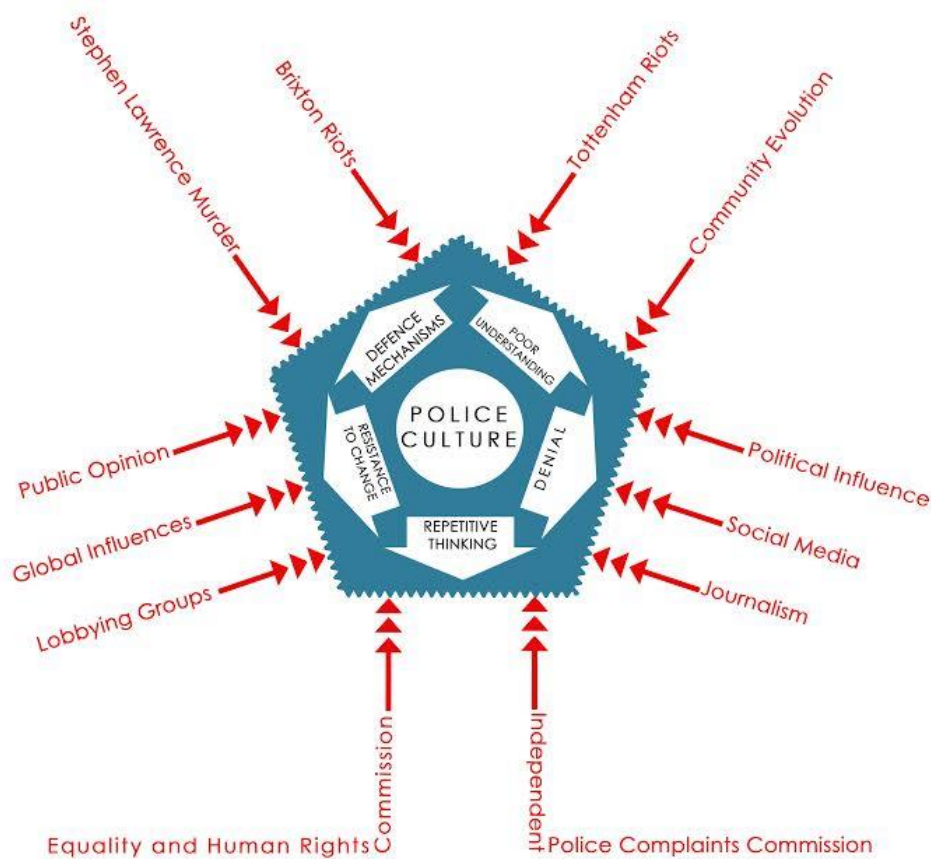
As a result of this "push back" from the organisation, albeit intentional or not, the impact is cushioned and therefore the changes become superficial. Stage five shows the result of this defensive reaction. Here we see that as a result, the initial impact which was primarily far more prominent has been significantly reduced due to the impact of the outward resistance generated by the cultural force which pushes back on these entities. The jagged edges represents the occurrence of change but a closer look reveals that despite these changes visible through the

now uneven shape of the parameter, the overall authentic shape of the organisation remains intact.

8.4 Direct Entry Inspector/Superintendent

Along with the Direct Entry Detective programme (MPS, 2017), the aforementioned two programmes (Direct Entry Inspector/Superintendent) are current and innovative attempts to break into the negative ramifications of the current occupational culture within policing establishments. All endeavours have been initiated subsequent to the commencement of this investigation. The programmes are deliberately construed and unique attempts devised by the Collage of Policing to alter the entry routes into policing.

The ethos of these schemes is to mirror corporate entities, and in doing so, bring fresh ideas into policing (Burt, 2004) whilst concurrently increasing its diversity and in turn, break the cycle of rigid thinking. The endeavour allows, for the first time, civilians to join the establishment at middle and senior management levels. However, due to the novelty of its existence, the success of these programmes is yet to be measured – not only in terms of what value these candidates bring to the organisation, but also how these initiatives contribute towards the diversity of police management.

A Chief Officer expresses his views about this new direct entry initiative;

> *"I'm part of the generation; I'm from a generation that believes hard work is the foundation for everything you do, I am not a believer in the Direct Entry or any of that nonsense, so I will always select people on whether they are considered to be a vocation. So my view is, be clear about what you will achieve, be clear about what you are prepared to pay to achieve; you've got to pay your dues"*

The account given by this Chief Officer exposes the fact that these individuals, who are so candidly expressing some of their personal prejudices, are actually assessors who often sit on boards and are in the position to pass or fail candidates. Therefore it is fair to assume that despite individual capability, someone who has not "*paid their dues*" according to the personal standards of this Chief Officer would be at a deficit. It was also noted that this Chief Officer stated *"I am not a believer in the Direct Entry or any of that nonsense"* as this demonstrates resistance to change and innovative ways of working.

Another Chief Officer explains;

> *"The thing is we shouldn't be doing it (Direct Entry). I don't think police leadership is as floored as the Government think it is, I mean we have got our challenges but I've always liked the idea that everyone starts as a Constable. Everyone can turn around or look at somebody in a meeting and say I know that we all done 2 years on the beat, irrespective, we have all done our 2 years' probation so we all know what it is like, I think that is very character building and seen some of the guys who have come in on this direct entry and then they are very bright people, and some of them didn't get through at all so you know they have really worked to get, don't get me wrong, but I don't see anything fundamentally flawed to bring somebody in as a Superintendent, I really don't"*

In this quotation, yet again, we see the rigid thinking of this NPCC officer and his clear preference to deter from such innovative schemes which may in fact, be beneficial to the organisation. The direct entry scheme is fairly new and therefore it is difficult to measure success. The scheme can potentially disrupt longstanding cultural barriers for the diversity of its leadership base if positive action is taken to ensure a diverse recruitment at this juncture. Yet, there seems to be a negative outlook on this programme even before the success of it can

be officially measured. I will elaborate on my own personal experience of covertly applying for this Direct Entry Scheme in the subsequent sub-chapter.

8.5 An Account of Direct Entry Inspector Programme

As a serving police officer currently on a career break, technically speaking, the Direct Inspector Entry Inspector programme is somewhat impracticable for me as a candidate. However, in light of the vision of the programme, which is to bring fresh perspectives into policing as part of an effort to disrupt police occupational culture, the decision was made to apply (based on my qualifications and past experience). In making this decision I contacted a Chief Officer whom I had interacted with during the field research phase as he had offered to assist with my career if necessary therefore it was interesting for me to see how the network functioned from first-hand experience.

On contacting and speaking with this officer he stated that based on my credentials, he believes I certainly possess the "brains" for the job, he informed me that he would contact the head of HR to see if I was eligible and get back to me. Nonetheless, he also informed me that there was only so much he could do as the truth of the matter was, he did not know me on a personal level which I perceived to mean he would be more comfortable to offer more assistance if he did in fact knew, and could vouch for me in more informed way. I however, did not ask anyone to vouch for me but merely enquired about my eligibility as an officer on a career break. Nonetheless, he did not get back to me. I made some further enquiries and based on this, decided to register my interest for the programme. Shortly after this, I was contacted by the MPS and invited to attend New Scotland Yard with similar minded individuals for an informal presentation.

On my arrival to Scotland Yard one of the officers approached me and asked "*you're not one of these people from Sainsbury who wants to join the job as an Inspector are you*?" I smiled and did not respond, however, during this very brief exchange, I was instantly able to detect the sarcastic tone in the officer's statement. On my entrance to the forum where the presentation was due to take place, there were approximately twenty five persons of interest, three of which were BMEs. The guest speakers and presenters were predominantly white males accompanied by a few white female officers and they spoke quite candidly about the process and the experiences thus far, making certain to mention that quite a significant amount of the officers within the police seemed to have reservations about the programme.

There was no sight, or discourse, of any successful BME candidates from these officers who were part of the very first intake and still currently in training. Throughout this experience I noted that I could not help but feel somewhat intimidated because of this; and having spoken to the other BMEs who were present, they shared this sentiment and overtly expressed this to me in an almost jovial manner. It was confusing to see that in the attempt to disrupt police culture and increase diversity, people of very similar characteristics to that of the BBP were being recruited at an opportune time whereby diversity and inclusion could be addressed strategically and effectively.

I pondered on whether this was a conscious or subconscious attempt to ensure that this was the case or whether in fact, BMEs were simply not good enough or did not seek this opportunity. Subsequent to this I was required to complete and submit a very detailed and comprehensive application form which consisted of seven questions. The entire process of submission and results took approximately two months. Interestingly and ironically, much of the application focussed on diversity, the ability to be transparent, embrace change, respect diverse groups, and the ability to take criticism and positively act upon it. It was an online procedure and results

indicated that I scored quite highly in this process. I was then informed that I was due to attend a telephone interview.

Subsequent to this, I was invited to attend a workshop with other candidates who were also successful at this stage in order to understand more about the process and what was to be expected during the interview. Here I met three other BME candidates who were successful at the first stage. The telephone interview consisted of six questions which addressed the Policing Competency Framework, which again, predominantly focussed on leadership and the aforementioned competencies outlined in the previous paragraph. I also scored quite favourably during this assessment, which similarly to the first process, did not involve face to face interaction with assessors.

We were informed that an "unprecedented" number of applications were made and approximately sixty-six (or less than 0.5% of all the applicants nationwide as it is a national process) of us were successful in reaching the final stage which consisted of a three day residential assessment centre at a Policing College. As part of the "privileged" sixty-six I was "buddied" with a BME officer who invited me to a police station to give me tips on how to succeed during the final stage. On meeting this officer, I also realised there was another BME candidate who made it through, a "light skinned Asian male" who I had previously met during the course of the workshop. The officer who was assigned to mentor us also brought his boss along to apportion us with useful advice.

This senior officer was also BME and I had previously interviewed him as part of the research. I noted that for the second time, in interacting with this officer, he expressed his concerns about my hair (I have dreadlocks) and enquired about whether anyone had informed me that I would need to cut it if I joined the police. This in fact was untrue. Furthermore, in my interaction with all the individuals most of whom would have superseded his rank, no one made mention of

this, yet this individual made mention of it on the two occasions which we spoke. This made me feel quite perplexed and slightly concerned as to why this would be the case. Nonetheless, I said nothing and progressed with the application.

On attending the three day assessment centre, out of the twenty-three individuals in attendance (there were three assessment groups set over a nine day period) most individuals fell into the BBP category, with white females in second place in terms of representation. I was the only BME candidate doing the assessment centre. This inevitably induced feelings of discomfort for me and increased levels of intimidation. I felt out of place and unwelcomed. In addition, I felt as if my physical profile would be viewed in a negative light and may not have been able to connect with assessors in a manner which I may have felt to be appropriate.

Furthermore, to my recollection, all the assessors and invigilators were white, again, with white females in second place in terms of representation. I suspected that my ethnic group would have been underrepresented but I was surprised to see that I was literally the only one there. I felt unwanted, almost like a "square peg" trying to fit into a "round hole", and even though I was prepared for the assessment centre to give a good account of myself, I could not help but feel as if I was in the wrong place. Having said that, at no point was anyone overtly racist or inappropriate to me in any shape or form. Everyone seemed quite warm, respectful and accommodating.

Despite these negative feelings, I came away from the assessment centre feeling satisfied that I gave a good account of myself, however, the results suggested otherwise as I was "not recommended" (as opposed to "recommended") to be a Direct Entry Inspector. Perhaps I was not good enough, perhaps I did not perform as well as the other candidates who some of them, during casual conversation, explained that they scored far less than I did in the previous two processes when there were no face to face interaction with assessors.

I fully accepted the results of the process, however, having conducted this research, it is difficult for me not to question the fairness of the process or highlight the discomfort of being the only BME participant present in such an endeavour. It is, however, worthy of note that the "light skinned Asian", whom I kept in touch with after our second encounter, was successful in his endeavours and as such "recommended" to become a Direct Entry Inspector for the MPS. Nonetheless, this candidate also expressed his astonishment at the lack of diversity he encountered during the three day assessment process. He too was the only BME on his cohort.

In retrospect, and in viewing this experience holistically, it seems rather coincidental that the precise findings derived from the empirical data obtained during the field research, was in fact, exactly what occurred in a "real time" direct experience with the organisation in June 2017. The main group of candidates, were members of the BBP group and the largest group who seemed to be accepted into this forum were white females. The assessors were also resolutely within this BBP forum and again, with white females being the highest representatives from the underrepresented groups.

All my fellow candidates exchanged a list of email contacts once the assessment had been concluded and in investigating the results, yet again, the results encapsulate the findings of the research. The majority of successful candidates were from the BBP paradigm, with white females in second place. Nonetheless, I was the only BME within my group and I was unsuccessful. One BME from the third of the three groups was successful and he was an Asian male with a "light skinned" complexion. When we step back and are able to establish such outcomes, it may be fair to assume that such occurrences are merely coincidental, however, I would argue that based on the research it would be equally viable and comprehendible, to assume that they are not.

8.6 Analytical Discussion of Direct Experience

Based on my own endeavour, the obvious question springs to mind - how would these innovative programs, designed to disrupt the culture of fixed thinking and increase the diversity of the organisation's leaders be successful if it is not diverse in its recruitment (Heidensohn, 1992; Walklate, 2000; Brown, 2007)? It seems as if already, the organisation albeit commendable in taking innovative steps towards positive change, is failing in one of the core purposes of the initiation of such schemes which is to become more diverse in its leadership portfolio. The experience suggests that even with the best of intentions, there is an inherently engraved default to recruit individuals who are similar to that of the existing leaders within the organisation – and although this research does not focus on recruitment, it is difficult to deny that the probability of a diverse leadership increases if BME officers are recruited at much higher ranks.

This predilection is clearly displayed in the current dynamics of the elite officers employed by the Met - the main group or BBP forum being first, white females second, and "light skinned" Asians or "mixed race" BMEs third on the list of acceptance. There did not seem to be any real drive or enthusiasm to ensure there was a more diverse group of applicants or at the very minimum, there would have been a significantly higher BME presence at the "open days", and having personally participated in the process it was abundantly clear that this was not the case. This was also illustrated by the individuals who were selected to represent the current cohort of DE Inspectors at the presentation which endorsed the feeling that diversity does not appear to be on the agenda; at least not as a priority (Chan,1997; Loftus, 2009).

An issue which is worthy of note is that within the LGBT community, it is far more challenging to pin point where this group is positioned within the realms of acceptance due to the obvious issue of the inappropriateness affiliated with making direct enquires about an individual's

sexual orientation. However, my observations during this research suggests that members of the LGBT forum who "conduct themselves" in a manner which is conducive to the expectation of the main group seem far more favourable prospects to represent their groups within the machismo culture of the police. This is a very sensitive topic as is the subject of BMEs and therefore requires tact and strategically employed diplomacy in articulating these observations.

However, members of the LGBT community who present their sexual orientation in an "obvious" manner seem to find it more challenging to tap into the culture of the mainstream. By this I mean, in the individual's overall disposition, demeanour, and physical appearance. For example, a female carrying herself in an overly embellished masculine way, or a male conveying himself in a more than usually feminine manner. It seems peculiar to have not encountered anyone from the LGBT community who holds a position of executive rank who fits this criteria, I have however, encountered such individuals at much lower ranks within the organisation and as such, it seems a valid and useful comparison to make as it assists the research to have a better understanding of which members of the LGBT community can be perceived to be more "acceptable" within the realms of this culture.

Having made these observations both during the experience of applying for the Direct Entry Inspector's role and during the field research stages of the enquiry it seems fair to conclude that the main group, or the BBP forum within the Metropolitan Police Service, possesses a very sturdy culture of its own which, on many levels, excludes the approbation of minority groups. Due to changes in legislation, societal demands and other external influences, the organisation is forced into including these minorities within its main forum, however, this is executed with reluctance and a clear preference of which members from minority groups are likely to be accepted first.

The culture within the police is overwhelming and the levels and likelihood of acceptance, for all minority groups are significantly based on the propensity of the group to look, *and also behave,* in a manner which is similar, and conducive to what the main group identifies as ideal. Therefore based on this analysis, the Direct Entry Programs may be successful in bringing "fresh perspectives" to the police in terms of corporate issues and methodologies, however, the issue of the underrepresentation of BMEs will remain unaltered and by consequence, the diversity within the NPCC or executive component of the establishment will remain the same.

8.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter we examined the theory of police culture, its existence, and its relevance to the research aims and objectives. The chapter was able to establish the origination of this culture and determine that through poor supervisory practices, organisational norms, and the manner in which officers have been moulded and recruited, further engendered the continuation of this occupational culture. Chapter eight explains that not only is the culture one which is prejudicial to Route B (or minority) members of the organisation, but also provides an explanation as to why this may be the case from a holistic perspective.

The transition from overt discrimination to that of the covert discrimination currently experienced by BMEs within the organisation was also deliberated. Particular attention was paid to the impact that this has on BMEs and their values. Chapter eight also articulates that according to the research this is a common experience amongst the BME interviewees, and also explains the casual way in which such prejudicial tendencies are applied.

The chapter also employed the use of five police culture diagrams. The diagrams depict how the occupational culture of the organisation is resistant to any reform initiative and highlight the defensive reaction in light of this occupational culture. In summary, the diagrams indicate

that the cultural changes become superficial during this process of resistance resulting in the perpetuation of existing cultural values. A relative example was used to support this debate in showing how self-defined BMEs are promoted and reflects positive change in the documentation of these processes when in fact, reality suggests otherwise.

Chapter eight also describes my own account of my journey as a candidate on the Direct Entry Inspector's process and articulates this experience from a BME's perspective. It also encapsulates the results of the process and the coincidental outcome for the candidates which seem interestingly analogous with the findings of the enquiry. The propensity to accept members of the LGBT community was also discussed.

Finally, the chapter concludes that police culture does indeed impact on the organisation's ability to recruit BMEs into the executive element of the organisation or the NPCC. Furthermore, based on the findings of this research, innovative programmes such as the Direct Entry programs, will not assist the Metropolitan Police to become more diverse in its leadership if there are no changes in the strategy of its recruitment.

Chapter Nine

The British Bobby Physiognomies Analysis

The Process of Attempting to Diversify Senior Officers in the Met

"I've now seen the fact that I've been treated differently, I can find examples of other BME colleagues of the same rank who chose not to go on the Development Centre um and had been approached and told 'look all you need to do is turn up and we will support you, we accept you're part of the group' - so he said - 'a clear indication that there is a process within a process, and um if you fit into that group then you are kind of like um accepted, you're given an opportunity, or if you are not or if you haven't um served enough time in terms of reassuring them that you're not some kind of renegade BME whose gonna go off and do stuff…. is he gonna go out and be saying stuff in the press and start calling us racist and everything else? - so those are the things that operate at this level you have to be a realist and understand how the system works and fairness and all the other things that go out the window, there is a lot of it and how do you manoeuvre your way around the obstacles that are in place and some of them not even; some of them are not obvious but that's the reality of the process that we work in" - Borough Commander MPS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter returns to the British Bobby Physiognomies, or BBP typology. Through use and illustration of the collated data, it discusses whether this typology reflects the lived experience of BME officers and if so, whether or not it does in fact play a supporting role in the current state of affairs whereby there is a significant deficit of BMEs within the NPCC component of the organisation. Similar to the preceding analysis chapters, I will employ the use of my empirical data consisting of quotations derived from face to face interviews conducted with a significant sample of Chief Officers within the Metropolitan Police Service.

In addition, this section of the thesis will discuss and compartmentalise the highlighted differences between Chief Officers positioned within the executive element of the organisation and senior BME managers who have managed to obtain a senior rank within the operational realms of the MPS but for one reason or the other, have not been promoted into the elite circle which constitutes the NPCC.

In light of the typology being directly affiliated with the ethnicity of the officers, the chapter discusses the physical attributes of the respondents and their "early years" prior to joining the organisation. These include schooling, qualifications, societal status and achievements that respondents deemed relevant to their subsequent careers. Examining pre-figurative factors to entry is necessary due to the preliminary research conducted on previous Commissioners having recognised the benefit of such an approach. The fictitious line of separation between "Routes A" and "Route B" illustrated in the BBP diagram on page 74 will also be discussed and vigorously examined through analytical dialogue based on findings from the data. The diagrams will be illustrated again in this chapter for convenience.

Narratives from both Chief Officers and senior BME Officers will be compared. This is to highlight any differences between the promotion processes afforded to the elite members of

the organisation in comparison to other officers – particularly BMEs. The chapter will also discuss the appointment of the first female Commissioner and explain why the research concludes that the BBP typology illustrates the likelihood of such an appointment in terms of the first Commissioner outside of the traditional pattern. The discussions will then be summarised and incorporated into the subsequent chapter which examines the connection, if any, with the two theories presented to be considered in this thesis.

9.2 Early Years

It was noted that the early years, including schooling and societal status of Commissioners were common between the appointees. In particular, the Commissioner and board of directors of the MPS Chief Officers (Deputy Commissioner and four Assistant Commissioners). However, in the lower tier of the Chief Officer ranks (Commanders and Deputy Assistant Commissioners) this prerequisite was not as prevalent – although not unusual.

The research illustrated that the requirement to attend a specific type of school or possess a specific type of qualification became less of a criterion within the ranks of Deputy Assistant Commissioners and Commanders who constitute the lower tier of this component of the organisation. This realisation allowed for an informed conclusion to be drawn which suggests that individuals who are within proximity of the Commissioner rank and who incidentally, are justifiably comparable to a board of Directors, i.e. the strategic decision makers of the organisation, all possess these attributes of similar schooling or qualifications which were revealed in the early investigative endeavours of previous Commissioners.

In addition, most senior ranking officers were predominantly from "white" neighbourhoods with minimal interaction with BMEs .Therefore it was interesting to note that these individuals were responsible for making organisational decisions around the issue of BME

underrepresentation within the organisation. The quote below highlights this, and this observation will be further discussed during the course of this chapter;

> *"I think what happens is, you have white, middle class, heterosexual males who are sitting in rooms making policy decisions about what it's like to be black in this organisation; and what black people need in this organisation, and of course they get it wrong don't they"*

9.3 Acceptance of BMEs within the Elite Forum

Prior to conducting these interviews, I was acutely aware that at the time there were four BME individuals (now reduced to two (as of 07/05/2018) who were appointed as Chief Officers
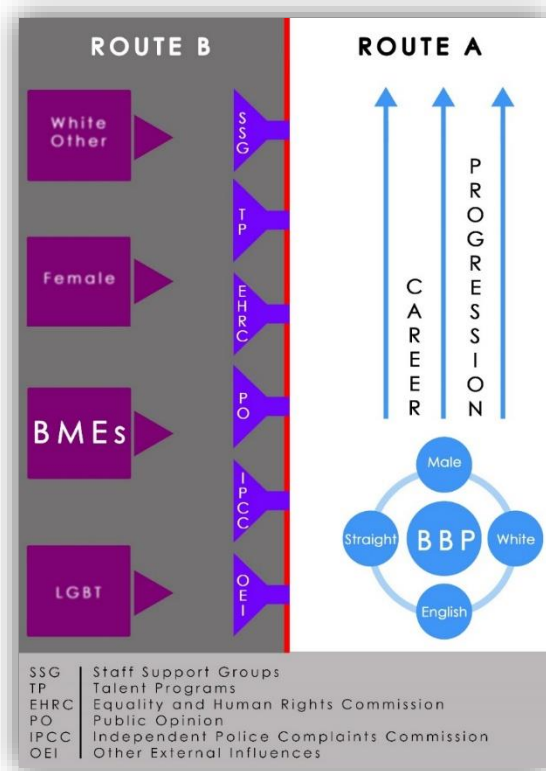
within the organisation. Therefore naturally when interacting with these officers in particular, I made a deliberate attempt to not only diplomatically explore the possible reasons as to why they have been able to infiltrate the walls of such an elite network, but also to scrutinise their own attributes as BMEs. In conducting such observations, I noted how "diluted" their physical features were. There were no "dark skinned" BMEs, and their disposition in how they came across seemed very much similar to that of their white counterparts. I will discuss this observation throughout the course of this chapter.

9.4 British Bobby Physiognomies (BBP) and BBP Induced Cycle

This typology which suggests that White, Male, English and Heterosexual individuals are far more likely to be appointed within the NPCC forum of the MPS was robustly examined throughout the course of the field stage of the research. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject, it was paramount that, particularly when interviewing these Chief Officers, I refrained from asking questions which went straight to the heart of the matter in an attempt to mitigate feelings of apprehension or discomfort. It was imperative that through diplomatic and strategic questioning, I allowed interviewees to respond in a manner which was appeasing to them. Interviewee 13 gave an impulsive account of this subject. Before I was able to ask the first question, he interjected and stated that he preferred to speak first before responding to any questions. This Chief Officer explains;

> *"I think the context would be the bit about the chief officer ranks where there, there is a lack of diversity, firstly gender diversity but secondly colour diversity, there is a lack of colour diversity in in in uh in the ACPO (NPCC) ranks in the Chief Officer ranks, and I think that occurs for a number of reasons. We just sort to recruit people from its own image. Now, they will deny it because they don't see it and I've made that clear but just because they don't see it and therefore deny it, that doesn't mean it doesn't happen. And there's been a number of tedious and lame uh attempts to try and put that right. But you are never gonna make something like that right until you change hearts,*

minds and cultures. So if it was a simple case, you put a system or a process or a direction or an initiative, or another campaign together and we cheer those campaigns
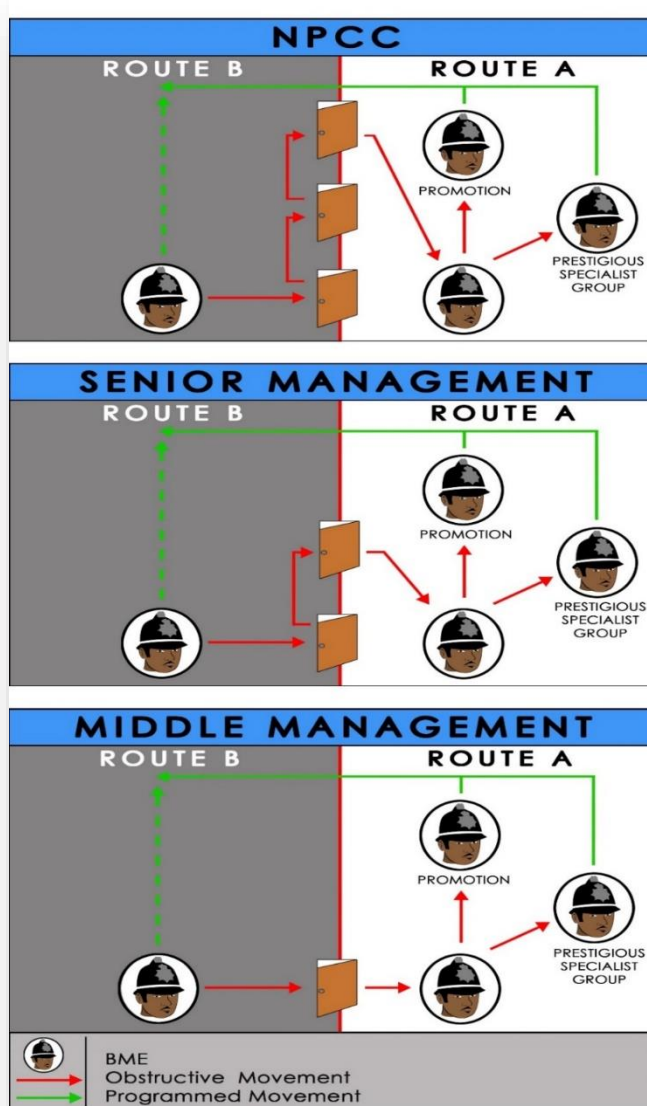
and then here we go again. Uh but each of them always comes across a difficult hurdle uh a barrier, it gets slowed down, it slows down, it gets drawn into heavy weather, heavy terrain and then just peters out and then it never gets to the end. I got called by somebody saying – "oh well we gotta have this action plan"- and I kind of lost my interest because I hadn't heard anything new or different. In fact what I heard was people trying to logically go find a pathway to try and deal with this but going down the same pathway that has always failed; it has to be different".

This Chief Officer clearly outlines and supports the framework of the BBP. The narrative suggests that there is a mainstream which consists of the characteristics (noted above) which is formative of the dominant group. The quotation illustrates that this group monopolises power within the organisation and through its lack of miscellany, proves to be limited in its ability to establish the core issues which impact on the diversity and inclusion within the ranks. As a direct result of this limitation, this mainstream group, which within the theoretical context of

the research is referred to as the BBP, seem to be reluctant or incapable of formulating effective strategies to successfully counteract this issue (Burt, 2004).

The account also suggests that although attempts have been made to do this, they have been ineffective, sporadic, and repetitive through use of similar ideas which have previously failed. Furthermore there is a suggestion that there is a lack of innovation as it relates to this issue and individuals seem to be uninterested in what appears to be futile attempts to address the problem of underrepresentation. It also endorses the reproduction of the elite members of the NPCC (referred to here as ACPO) is very much in line with individuals who are of the same image, i.e. within the specifics of the British Bobby Physiognomies. The persistence of this cycle then permits the underrepresentation of diverse groups within the NPCC to remain unaltered.

Asking individuals to explain precisely how they managed to be successful in achieving consistent promotion within the MPS proved to be a valid and versatile question which provided a platform for a variety of replies. The question itself was not leading nor was it suggestive, and therefore the responses to such a question afford credibility based on the individuality and authenticity of its content. When faced with this question, interviewee 2 explains;

> *"People will create a kind of stereotype image, and for some people that could be a positively reinforcing thing and I think……genuinely I think I have benefitted from that. For other people it could be a negative reinforcing thing. You see what I'm getting at? I think for someone like me umm, you know, cuz to put it bluntly, I've never really been a minority in my life, I've never really been in a minority or a weaker position, you know I've been in the dominant sex, I've been in the dominant ethnicity. So for me I've never really been in one of those positions. Umm and when I step into something it's almost like I need to do something negative to push myself backward if that makes*

sense. So I start here and it's you know… he's been this, he's done that da da da you know, he looks like this he acts like this so I'm already there at number 10 as it were and its only if I do something stupid then I start dropping down whereas the other person stood there may be down at number four and will have to do something positive to get to number 10 if that makes sense. Do you know? Do you get? The point I'm making is I do recognise that I have benefitted from that even when that may not even be conscious in people's minds, and I guess part of where your work is looking at is what kind of goes on subconsciously is putting me in a bracket over there and putting that woman in that bracket over there or that black person in a bracket over there or whatever it happens to be for you know….. For those groups who do not appear to be as successful".

Here we see that this quotation is supportive of the typology that suggests individuals who possess certain characteristics are not only in the dominant group which controls the organisation, but are subconsciously given a "head start" based on positive stereo typing. The interviewee makes it clear that there is in fact a dominant group and clearly outlines that being within the BBP forum of the MPS has permitted him to "commence" at a far more strategic point in comparison to a route B individual who may possibly start at a less favourable position due to this habitual negative stereo typing. This was clearly advocated in describing his opportunity to "*start at number ten*" in comparison to a BME who could possibly "*start at number four*".

These suggestions are very much conducive to what was previously highlighted by interviewee 13 who stated that the elite members of the organisation seek to reproduce themselves with people of similar appearance. The narrative also suggests that individuals who fall outside the bracket of the BBP may be required to deliver more than their white counterparts just so they are afforded the opportunity to be noticed or given an opportunity to progress. This validates

the BBP typology as it illustrates an inclination for the progressive movement for members of the dominant group within the organisation and obstructive movement for officers who fall within the peripherals of this parasol.

It also highlights the separation of the two entities which is represented by the red line depicted in the BBP Diagram which elucidates the segregation between Route A and Route B. The interviewee also confirms that there are different entities within the Route B of the diagram as there is reference to both blacks and women in terms of their propensity to become victims of negative stereo typing which evidently occurs within the organisation according to this account. More specific to being provided with the opportunity to be promoted into the NPCC element of the MPS, interviewee 1 concurs with the aforementioned rhetoric and explains;

"We don't (chuckles) you know, we don't look the same as the majority culture who are occupying these ranks….and it's a simple as that. We're just not supported when it comes to ACPO….and there's nothing that you can do, there is no exam that you take, there's no interview…it literally is based on the fact that actually as your line manager I think that you're more than capable and ready to do this role given what you've done in the past…..but we're not supported and therefore don't get to have the opportunity".

This interviewee encapsulates a variety of facets within the core purpose of the research. However, what is key here is that it highlights the holistic control of accessing such a prestigious role within the establishment in that there is no application process as there is when being promoted within the lower ranks. In order to be permitted admission to the gate to the NPCC, there needs to be a direct recommendation. For obvious reasons, this then further narrows the funnel and provides complete control of who is allowed access into this forum.

This narrative also takes us back to the BBP Induced Cycle Diagram which illustrates the increased difficulties for BMEs who aspire to attain the rank of Chief Officer within the

Metropolitan Police. The diagram employs the use of three doors to demonstrate that the admittance into the NPCC is significantly more difficult than any other rank for the BME. It also highlights the reversion to the Route B component of the diagram as if this were not the case, I argue that BME officers would move far more quickly through the ranks and would not become so restricted when aspiring to move towards ACPO.

This was also discussed in the social networks chapter and there seems to be a definitive link between both the BPP typology and the social networks within the MPS as I would dispute that my research has proven the existence of social networks within the organisation and this network is predominantly occupied by officers who fall within the BBP category. Therefore both entities have formed a powerful and subsisting relationship which assumes power and control within the establishment and hence influences the overall outcomes of progression.

A very senior ranking BME officer explains;

> *"So really early in my career I heard about this um High Potential Program they had, so um I went to see my Chief Inspector; sat there with him, he had a bit of a conversation with me, and he said no, I don't think you are the type of person that they want as High Potential, so I said okay fair enough, crack on with what I'm doing….. I know now why he said that, (laughter) I didn't look like the kind of person they wanted"*

Here we revert to the issue of control whereby a BME officer who clearly is in fact "talented" has been refused the opportunity to access one of the filters into the BBP forum of promotion via the High Potential Development Scheme or HPDS. This is also illustrated in the BBP Diagram within the red line positioned as a filter between the two entities. Although seemingly quite guileless in a cursory perusal, such occurrences can have dire consequences. I argue that it negatively impacts on confidence, self-worth and overall feeling of motivation for BMEs who are subjected to such experiences.

As a direct result, it can initiate feelings of disillusion and strained relationships with mangers or supervisors which can subsequently impact on the overall performance of the individual as opposed to nurturing and developing talent. In doing this, there is also the issue of time. The officer, instead of gaining momentum at an earlier stage of their career, is now stifled into stagnancy through no fault of his own. Having said that, it is important to note that momentum is mandatory for individuals to attain the rank of Chief Officer as all officers are subjected to time constraints during their careers.

Acceptance into the forum is mandatory and this is clearly explained in both the BBP and the BBP Induced Cycle Diagrams. It is worthy of mention that this very officer, after a period of time and through seeking access through an alternative sponsor, was subsequently given the opportunity to apply for the HPDS scheme that he was previously told he was unsuitable for – and passed. He explains;

> *"I was gonna leave the organisation then, cause I thought that I've had enough of this, bullocks - I am not doing this anymore um cause even from a very early age um I got pulled in from street duties by a Sergeant that said "you think your degree is gonna get you through this" and I said I don't, it's not difficult is it really. "He said there you go again" and I thought what was that all about, and again it was clearly an issue of race, um so having done all of that and gone through lots, and thinking am not doing this anymore, am gonna leave, but I didn't, cause I decided that if you can't beat them you gotta join them, so around that time a couple of other people that I knew on my team had gone for the High Potential and they got through, and I said well if they can get through it, then I can, so I then went to a different Chief Inspector who supported all Inspectors I should say, this Inspector supported me, and then when I went off, went through the process, and I got through the process"*

This is one of numerous narratives which endorses the impact, necessity, and value of sponsorship which plays a key role in acceptance into the mainstream forum of the BBP. As we can see, albeit initial feelings of despondence and willingness to leave the organisation, a subsequent act of acceptance facilitated the opportunity for the growth of this officer through access to a national talent scheme which provides promotion opportunities. In this particular instance, based on what was said during the course of the interview, failure to be accepted into the forum yet again may have arguably on this occasion, heightened feelings of despondence and as a direct result, prompted an obviously talented individual to leave the organisation.

This brings us back to the advantages and disadvantages of being on both sides of the diagram as it seems abundantly clear that the physical profile of an individual plays a pivotal role during applying for promotion, or being proactively sought to be promoted. There seems to be a robust bond between the BBP and the social networks of elite reproduction within the organisation. If we cross reference the previous social networks chapter we would be able to establish that a significant amount of Chief Officers were identified and pushed by sponsors to pursue promotion as opposed to engaging in a hypothetical battle to be given the opportunity to be promoted. The negative impact of such covert battles for BMEs who are now successful senior managers within the MPS was highlighted repeatedly. Another interviewee explains;

> *I thought that is part of leadership, maybe I'm not as good as I think and I'm kidding myself, so I started working on my retirement plan. So, I thought actually if I can't get leadership, in the organisation, I'll get it outside and I'll get it in a different organisation as well, so that's what I did, um but that still didn't help me internally, uh so anyway so uh High Potential came along, I went for it, the rest is history I got it, and it was at that point that my journey changed - to a degree*

This quotation highlights yet again the presence and importance of filters such as the HPDS and how much these programs can assist with the recruitment of a more diverse leadership structure. However, it also highlights that supervisors play a pivotal role in creating these opportunities. The same respondent further explains;

You were never valued for what you gained and what you did, you were valued for who you were which is the epiphany of this organisation - so if you are part of the in crowd, if you are what people want. As I've gone up the ranks, I felt like I've moved further from the circle of acceptance. I think for BMEs this gap is further than it is for the white counterparts, their white counterparts are still a part of the group but you become….and I think what happens is or for me certainly I would say I got excluded from the mainstream at that higher level so, by putting the blockers, by not wanting to give me opportunities to um to progress by, you know what I mean, not supporting me, by not doing the things I became further out. That's why I'd go back to the snakes and the ladders, I've got my up I've gone up one ladder promoted to a Senior Manager, then I come here and again I got swallowed by a snake,, and I'm back down the ladder again because they won't support me, do you know what I mean, and that's why I say it is like getting yourself around a snakes and ladder board. It really is.

This quotation underpins the key denotation of what the research seeks to unearth, and pooled with similar narratives from various participants, accentuates the existence of the British Bobby Physiognomies typology which is the focal point of this chapter. It highlights the existence of a mainstream and suggests that this is the "epitome" of the organisation. Moreover, it articulates that performance is trumped by acceptance. It suggests that difference provides an environment of exclusion. Furthermore, the narrative accurately describes the BBP Induced Cycle and includes the feeling of exclusion the higher the BME is promoted.

It reiterates the need to constantly seek acceptance into the mainstream after every promotion which highlights the reversion to the left side or Route B of the organisation once there has been a successful attempt at a specific process. The respondent refers to this as trying to negotiate "*a snakes and ladders board*" whereby success of ascending any given ladder can often be removed or counteracted by being devoured by a snake which then hypothetically pushes the individual back out of the circle of acceptance. This unprompted explanation articulates the reversion to the default position on the left side of the diagram after being promoted and is referred to as "programmed movement" of the BME.

Within the concept of this programmed movement it then requires the BME to seek further acceptance at each stage of vertical aspirations. I argue that the BBP Induced Cycle is indeed an occurrence within the Metropolitan Police Service and can play a key role in the reasons for such an underrepresentation within the NPCC ranks of the Met. The consequences of this occurrence have been highlighted in this chapter and clearly suggests that it creates feelings of frustration and self-doubt. In comparison, the narratives from individuals who had been accepted, showed that they were able to build on their confidence and expertise even in times of self-doubt as a direct result of the encouragement and support apportioned by the dominant group.

This was emphasised repeatedly by BME officers of a very senior rank within the Service and when combined, such chronicles prove to be quite telling as it underlines common issues based on the lived experiences of the BMEs. These accounts have been independent and spontaneous, given without any knowledge of what may have been said by fellow officers whether BME or otherwise. When questioned about the significant challenges faced in their quest to be promoted there was also a common rhetoric; in response to this question a senior BME explains;

"I tell you what, not being part of the game, not being a part of the group, not being within the clique. Well, being on the outside, because they are always a syndicate. I have to jump through more hoops, I have to jump through to make sure that I am better than the next person, I have to do those....so whereas most people might have just had to go through one door, yeah, I had to get myself through the threshold, through the door yeah and make sure…. I have to force myself through the door which quite often is closed yeah".

Here we see an avid description of both the BBP and BBP Induced Cycle typologies. The interviewee, through personal experience, yet again describes the existence of a main group described here as "*the game*", "*the clique*" or "*the syndicate*". The respondent also endorses that there needs to be acceptance to become part of this group. However, the respondent then goes on to further explain that there were far more obstacles on the route to be promoted with a prerequisite to be better than the next person and "*jump through more hoops*". This supports the argument put forward by the Chief Officer who explained the pros and cons of stereo typing whereby he was fortunate to benefit from the positive aspect and start from "number ten", here we see the opposite; and by that I mean, someone who starts at "number four".

The quotation also endorses the BBP Induced Cycle in the use of the term "*hoops*" as opposed to the doors which were used in the diagram Nonetheless, they both represent the existence of restrictive movement. Another interviewee provides a similar account and states;

"I would say every single rank that I have been through um has been uh a struggle to get supported by line management and each time I had to appeal initial decisions and so the um body of evidence in order to be supported to go for the interview, but then every interview I have um gone through I've been successful and I've been uh on top of each interview so in terms of the common theme um that in itself is quite telling"

This excerpt not only rehashes the BBP Induced Cycle, but demonstrates the programmed movement of the BME back to the outer flank of the organisation once promotion or specialist acceptance is attained. Here we see that at each stage there has been a struggle to replicate the process of acceptance before being promoted, had this not been the case, after the initial act of acceptance, I argue that subsequent attempts should have been far less bureaucratic. After all, the mere fact that the officer has managed to eventually attain such a senior rank and outperform fellow candidates during interviews, suggests that it is not a question of talent, competence, or potential.

This also brings us back to the analogy employed by the interviewee who used the snakes and ladders board as a comparison to lived experiences. By the evidence provided throughout the course of the research it seems as if promotion for most BMEs does not equate to indefinite acceptance into the mainstream of the organisation. An interviewee concludes;

> *"The problem with the Metropolitan Police is - you know - and it took me a few years to stare it down to the basic truth, and the truth is - the Met Police does not reward ability. If you are really good, unfortunately if you are working hard and you are doing your job and you act and feel and look like the community you're policing yeah, you don't fit the mould and I don't fit that mould yeah, I didn't , I didn't go to university, I wasn't born outside of London, I don't speak this particular type of way, yeah, and I'm not going to change that, I've been told several times that I need to change the way I am to succeed in the police, I have been told several times, throughout my policing career, and you know what, I ain't changing jack".*

Evidently, based on the various quotations derived from interviews and incorporated into the this thesis, it seems fair to conclude that not only is there a mainstream but there is perception of the mainstream and quite possibly, pressure to change personal attributes to fit into the

mainstream if an individual desires success. This, however, defeats the holistic purpose of diversity and inclusion. The overall feeling of the BMEs, despite the significant levels of success is that they are excluded from the mainstream and the route to success has been an arduous battle not only because of the difficulties of the job itself but also because of the discrimination they have been subjected to due to their ethnicity.

Now that we have established that this is in fact the lived experiences of the black officers within the Metropolitan Police, let us take a closer look at the perception of the executive leaders as it relates to the keys to a successful career.

9.5 Impact of Lived Experiences

During the course of the research it became apparent there were contrasting perceptions of the organisation when comparing the majority of the NPCC officers to senior operational officers. And, having spoken to as many individuals as I have, collectively and categorically, the research suggests that this difference of organisational perception stems from the lived experiences of all the individuals in question. For example, when asked what advice the Chief Officer would give to a young officer who has an aspiration to become a Chief Officer one day, the common responses were "do what you enjoy", "ensure you are confident, competent, credible and consistent", and "ensure that each move is beneficial for you". The ensuing quotations from these Chief Officers encapsulate this consensus;

"You've got to be competent in what you do, you're the best, you've got to be competent, if you are a PC be a competent PC uh you know you got to be credible in other words people think… well say yeah yeah, you know. You need to make sure you are credible in what you do, how you do it, the values you hold around it, um and you know. You have got to be consistent, there is no point in being one of these people who blows hot

and cold, you've got to you know particularly when you get into leadership roles uh

you know you've got to be confident"

Another Chief Officer explains;

"I know this would probably sound odd, bearing in mind I am the rank that I am... but

I have always done jobs that I enjoy. It depends on what a person wants, so my first bit

of advice is to, do what you wanna do, do what you enjoy doing"

Yet again, a different Chief Officer reiterates the importance of enjoying the job;

"Take the opportunity to do stuff you do enjoy"

An additional quotation from a Chief Officer summarises;

"So you gotta be confident about it. You've gottta be comfortable in your own skin that

you are accepting whatever level you're at and therefore you can be yourself at that

level. You've got to be good at your job and you've got to enjoy the job you're doing. (

Another Chief Officer goes even further and explains;

"Do a job really good, do it if you are going to do it, do it well; I have faith in the

organisation that they will reward that sort of endeavour and attitude, but, I am a white

middle class, straight, bloke, I've got no reason, I've got no particular characteristics

to think um would cause me to sort of be cynical about the organisation in any way,

shape or form and any negative experiences either so I can only say it as I see it. I think

people will generally be rewarded on a basis of effectiveness and yeah and values

really, I do see that - but I know other people have a different view often born out of

experience and that's perfectly valid"

The above quotes recapitulate the overall advice given by the officers who are within the NPCC

portfolio of the organisation. Now there is no question as to whether this advice is beneficial

or relevant in terms of maximising any opportunities for professional growth. However, the issue here is that, outside of interviewee 17, there is little acknowledgement that this is not always feasible, nor is there any advice on how individuals can deal with situations where it is impracticable to be successful in such endeavours.

For example, both vertical and lateral progression requires acceptance into the mainstream which is controlled by the BBP and I will argue that these pertinent issues have been discussed and proven within this and the preceding analysis chapters. Therefore in line with the BBP, BBP Induced Cycle and what occurs in reality, the lived experiences of BME officers would inevitably be incompatible with such advice. Competence and confidence is indeed a mandatory component of professional growth and previous quotations which were derived from a variety of NPCC officers is testament of this fact.

Nonetheless, what was also apparent in the narratives included in this thesis is that professional growth for the elite had been mostly attained as a direct result of support and sponsorship. Being allocated with the opportunity to test and prove their own capability to themselves provided them with a level of confidence which may have otherwise been exceedingly difficult to attain. Therefore the question arises, how can one enjoy their job if the opportunity is not presented to do the job one desires? And, how can one build self-confidence when the opportunities to be challenged are restricted?

Similarly, in terms of lateral movement within the organisation, this also proves a similar requirement to that of promotional endeavours (in that acceptance is fundamental). Therefore the lived experience of individuals who have been readily accepted through acknowledgment of their diligence and rewarded with promotion or specialist recruitment would inexorably view the organisation through a different lens. It is therefore debatable that BMEs who have been restricted despite their efforts and capabilities would inevitably be impacted by such refusals

and as such, key suggestions such as "do what you enjoy", "take every opportunity" and "ensure that you are confident and competent" which seems to be the summary of the rhetoric provided by successful NPCC officers can appear to be quite controversial.

If we revert to the narrative obtained from interviewee seventeen which states,

> "*if you are going to do it, do it well; I have faith in the organisation that they will reward that sort of endeavour and attitude, but, I am a white middle class, straight, bloke, I've got no reason, I've got no particular characteristics to think um would cause me to sort of be cynical about the organisation in any way, shape or form and any negative experiences either so I can only say it as I see it.*

This statement made by a Chief Officer within the Metropolitan Police Service summarises the issues of difference and lived experiences of the two forums i.e. Route A and Route B within the BBP typology. The officer highlights the fact that he is white, middle class, male and "straight", and acknowledges that this would have undoubtedly impacted on both his experiences, and how he views the organisation. In essence, not only does this Chief Officer highlight the theory of the ideal leader who is placed within the British Bobby Physiognomy group but he also acknowledges that individuals who are outside of this group may be subjected to a completely different experience.

Therefore I argue that if individuals are unable to capitalise on the advice given by the majority of the Chief Officers within the organisation then this significantly reduces the opportunity for BMEs to rise to the rank of Chief Officer within the Metropolitan Police Service. This is simply because it may not be practicable to employ such strategies due to the covert segregation of the groups within the service. I will conclude this sub-chapter with a quote from my interview with the Nation President of the BPA who states;

"Because we just don't have the voice and they don't have the view umm…..coming from a black perspective into their issues…so whenever they look at anything….that has to with disproportionality or being black…thy can't see it…they cannot see it….but when you bring something to the table they're like ooh….didn't see that….but I won't expect you to; because it's our lived experience" (Hills, J. 2016)

9.6 Levels of Prejudice and Acceptance

Within the initial stages of the thesis it was established and acknowledged that there are different groups within the Route B compartment of the BBP Diagram which consists of dissimilar minority groups positioned within the outer flank of the Metropolitan Police Service. The typology also identifies that for a variety of reasons, each group experiences prejudice on contrary levels and this manifestation is unquestionably worthy of a far more detailed research of its own to decipher the particulars of such an occurrence.

However, the existing exploration has been able to establish that in selecting individuals from this outer flank of the forum (Route B) into that of the mainstream (Route A), the preference seems to be white females (this is also reflected in figure 3 in chapter 4) . White females have been overtly accepted into the organisation for far longer than any other minority group and this is supported by the recruitment of the first female intake which consisted of all white females over one hundred years ago back in the year 1914. This by no means mitigates the potential struggles which may have transpired and could well still be a current issue for this group of minorities. However, the statistics undoubtedly signposts that this group, when faced with a choice by the mainstream, seems favourable in terms of being selected to be a part of the majority. The President of the National Black Police Association explains,

"One of the examples would be in 2013 we had a Superintendent to Chief Superintendent Process where at the time we had ten supers…. so ten Superintendents out of about 160 superintendents yeah….they've had a process for the supers to chief supers and there wasn't one of the 10 Black/Asian in that application process…..so I was like ok so explain….I was like to HR explain to me how is that even possible that you've got substantive…we're not talking about people who've been in it 2 seconds and haven't done their probation or 12 months - we're talking about substantive supers who are not in that process…umm and we're talking about supers who want to be in the process but their line managers have deemed them not fit or not ready to be part of that process. I made representations to the Commissioner I made representations to MOPAC the Deputy Mayor of the Policing and Crime and then literally days later the Commissioner opened it up…he said I want the process stopped and I want the applications to go out specifically for Asian, blacks, and women….As a result of him doing that we had three black and Asian supers go for that; one was successful, and we had four women go for it…three were successful" (Hills, 2016).

There are few points here worthy of note. The statistics suggest that white females are the preferred option when recruiting difference into this forum. There may be a variety of reasons for this occurrence, however, in this simple example given by the President of the Black Police Association (BPA) we see two things. Firstly that the preference of the dominant group is to exclude minorities from the process of promotion, and secondly, when it is forced by a filter or external influence into supporting such individuals, (in this case the BPA) white females were able to benefit from more support and were also far more successful in the process to be promoted.

This was highlighted in the figures which exemplified that three white females were successful in the attempt as opposed to the one BME who also managed to be efficacious. These statistics

are also represented in the overall recruitment of white females vs BMEs, the comparison of promotion between the two groups, and the fact that white females were recruited over a half century before the recruitment of the first black male into the organisation. It is also highlighted in the current appointment of the first "non-traditional" Commissioner (which occurred during the course of the research) who also happens to be a white female.

In conducting a limited review of these factors it seems as if white females, although also a protected group, have had a much longer period of time to tap into the forum and gain the trust and acceptance of their male white counterparts and as such, seem to have a "head start" in the queue for ambitious aspirants who are positioned on the outer flank.

The BME group which can be broken down into Black Males, Black Females, Asian Males, Asian Females, Mixed Race Males/females etc., in terms of acceptance into the forum of the mainstream - it appears that the BBP group prefers to recruit mixed race or Asian individuals with blacks being last on the list. This is also reflected in the statistics within the organisation and in my own lived experiences whilst conducting interviews and within my own personal experiences as a police officer. The BMEs who have been selected and supported to become Chief Officers within the establishment are also testament of this theory.

Having said that, it is crucial that we acknowledge the acumen, resilience and operational competence of these BME officers who have made it to the top, the study does not suggest that it is simply because of these characteristics that they have managed to attain success. However, what the research does suggest is that having a lighter complexion or being mixed raced or Asian seems to be more in sync with the physiognomies of the mainstream and therefore BMEs who possess these characteristics stand an improved chance of being accepted. It is uncertain as to whether this may be deliberate.

Given the history and behavioural patterns of the Metropolitan Police Service it would have been fair to predict that the first individual to be appointed outside of the BBP forum would have been a white female. Similarly, based on the aforementioned reasons, the first BME individual to be appointed Commissioner would more than likely be mixed race or Asian with brown as opposed to a black complexion. These findings are very much based on a cursory examination of the organisation from this perspective and will require further research to delve into the particulars of this phenomenon.

9.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter we discussed the typology of the British Bobby Physiognomies (BBP) and the British Bobby Physiognomies Induced Cycle (BBPIC). Through the exploration and evaluation of the collated empirical data, the chapter has not only been able to prove the existence of this typology but the impact on the BME members of the organisation (both in terms of promotion and overall attitude in the workplace) as a direct result of its manifestation.

The chapter employed useful testimony from my sample to illustrate this actuality from both Chief Officers and officers of a senior rank within operational policing to explain the relevance and prominence of these two typologies (BBP and BBP Induced Cycle). The chapter also utilised the aforementioned strategy in endeavour to make comparisons to the accounts given by the executive members and the very senior BME officers within the more operational entity of policing for the first time in the thesis. In doing so, the chapter has been able to illustrate pertinent disparities as they relate to the lived experiences of the officers who fall within the two entities. As a result, it highlights that the common advice for success which has been given by NPCC officers may not always be practicable in reality due to the negative impact of organisational behaviour within the specifics of diversity and inclusion.

The chapter also gave a brief explanation of the varied propensity to be accepted by the BBP forum. It suggested that out of all the "protected groups" who are positioned on the outer flank of the organisation white females are more likely to be accepted than their Route B counterparts. The chapter highlights that a cursory perusal of the statistics and the length of time that white females have been a part of the organisation has significantly contributed to this informed conclusion. Chapter eight also establishes a clear link between the BBP typology and the social networks analysis and identified that the BBP mainstream constitutes the primary group within the realms of this unofficial network. This has had, and continues to have a negative impact on BMEs in that not only are they excluded from the network but in reproducing individuals who are as similar as possible to the dominant group, BMEs with dark skin seem to be pushed further down the list of acceptance

Chapter Ten

Analytical Discussion

The Integration Elements

"It's difficult isn't it, because I have been treated pretty well by the organisation, so if I took a look at myself I have no arguments - Has the promotion processes always promoted the best people around me? Possibly not. I think we can all think of examples where great people who would do brilliantly at the next rank, or at the next rank above that haven't got through for one reason or the other. I studied for PNAC with a guy who has just retired actually from the Met, I was put in contact with him and I spent the whole of my preparation time thinking you are bloody excellent, you are a cut above the rest of us, you are superb, and he failed the PNAC process three or four times and then decided to give up and so he retired as a Chief Superintendent. I still think that he would have been a very very good Assistant Commissioner, I believe that the system didn't recognise that in him and I genuinely don't know why, um yeah, I'm not so sure that the system does recognise diversity in its wider sense" – Chief Officer MPS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter revisits the aims and objectives of the research. In doing so, I will now reconsider the analytical lenses employed to comprehend the reasons why there is such a significant lack of diversity within the MPS NPCC. The discussion takes a holistic perspective and therefore includes all aspects of the literature, but more importantly, this chapter pays particular attention to precisely how these concepts have been amalgamated.

Unlike previous chapters, chapter ten deciphers precisely how each theory overlaps each other and in doing so, analyses the consequences of this fusion. In similar fashion to the individual discussions of each concept, this discussion also employs the use of empirical data in support of my argument. Moreover, chapter ten pays particular attention to the impact of the existence of these philosophies on the organisation as an entity, and also discusses why its presence has perpetuated for such an extended period of time.

10.1.2 Back to Basics

This enquiry was initiated by the desire to unearth the probable causes for the lack of Black and Ethnic Minorities specifically within the milieu of the executive element of policing within the Metropolitan Police Service. As a result, the study proposed three concepts to be discussed and examined throughout the investigation; Social Networks and the Reproduction of the Elite, Police Culture, and the British Bobby Physiognomies typology. This research considered the following key questions:

1. Are there specific patterns and/or characteristics affecting the outcome of promotion to and within the MPS NPCC ranks?

2. Do social networks, play a significant role in the poor representation of BMEs within the MPS's NPCC echelons?

3. Does Police Culture, contribute to the underrepresentation of BMEs within the organisation's NPCC ranks?

4. What strategies may be employed to create a more diverse balance of leaders within the MPS NPCC?

The objectives of the research have therefore been:

1. To identify whether the lack of BME representation within MPS NPCC is based on merit and criteria.

2. To understand why under-representation of BME officers at senior ranks has continued for such an extensive period of time.

3. To determine innovative approaches which may be more likely to improve the diversity within the NPCC ranks of the MPS.

This chapter addresses questions one, two and three of the four key questions devised for the purposes of the thesis. It also addresses objectives one and two. Both question four and objective three will be discussed during the ensuing chapter which provides the recommendations. Therefore, in keeping with the chronological direction of this chapter let us now discuss question one:

Are there specific patterns and/or characteristics affecting the outcome of promotion to and within the MPS NPCC ranks?

10.2 Configuration and Characteristics of NPCC Officers in the MPS

Before probing into the specifics of this particular discussion let us first rehash what was unveiled during a cursory examination of previous Commissioners who the research illustrates as the ideal leader within the strategic management of the MPS. The examination illustrated that there is an informal culture (Wallace et al, 1999) which induces an organisational preference for Commissioners. These prerequisites were - predominantly Male, White, English and assumed Heterosexual individuals who possessed an LLB or, attended Cambridge or, were educated at Grammar School. This therefore provided a line of enquiry to be pursued in endeavour to decipher whether this "cultural matching" (Rivera, 2012) spilled-over into the realms of the additional executive officers within the NPCC outside the rank of Commissioner.

Having spoken with most officers within the five executive ranks it became apparent that this factor remained a preference when considering the appointment of the most senior members who formed the board of directors of the organisation i.e. the Commissioner and the Commissioner's closest advisors (which consists of the Deputy Commissioner, and four Assistant Commissioners). They all enlightened me of their educational background, and in doing so, the MPS board of directors explained;

> *"I went to a Grammar School and had selective education. I went to Cambridge, and enjoyed my degree mostly because I was good at it, then everything fell in place after that. And I suppose....so I suppose going to Cambridge and things like that kind of sort of continued that naïve middle class upbringing"* (Assistant Commissioner)

Another one of the four Assistant Commissioners explained;

> *"Then I got through to go to a grammar school did reasonably well at school got 12 or 13 0'levels and then got my A 'levels"*

The third of the four Assistant Commissioners also stated;

"In the interim period I was qualified as a barrister and I was doing that part time as well. Of course I had to make the decision, do I stay or do I leave, was I gonna leave,-cause you get to that point, well at that point I'm thinking well if I go to be a Barrister now I'm starting from the bottom again, I've got to start at the bottom and I didn't want to do that"

However, the Deputy Commissioner explained;

"County Grammar schools had gone when I was a little kid, so I went to a local comprehensive school"

The above quotations from four of the five members (I only interviewed four) of the Commissioner's "board of directors" endorses the fact that this indeed seems the ideal prerequisite for such an elite appointment (Cross et al, 2002; Berry et al, 2004; Rivera, 2012). Albeit we can establish that in examining the Deputy Commissioner's early years we see that he did ***not*** meet this requirement as this option was not available to him at the time due to the disbandment of grammar schools in his area. Nevertheless, it proved extremely testing not to observe, that for reasons unknown to me, he felt it necessary to justify why he did not attend grammar school without any specific knowledge that this occurrence would be of any particular interest to the research.

It also came to light that in the lower ranks of this executive forum, although not uncommon, this seemingly ideal prerequisite did not appear to be as prevalent as per its board of directors. Nonetheless, similar to the senior officers in the more operational component of the organisation, most respondents seemed to possess higher education qualifications although this would not have been a necessity for entrance into policing. However, within the operational

segment, the specifics of grammar school attendance, Cambridge and or LLB attainment seemed far more infrequent.

In revisiting Brass (1995) who argues that the characteristics of the organisation or the strategy of the said establishment defines the pertinent individual attributes to be deliberated in the selection, recruitment and promotion of its employees. It is my view that these educational prerequisites form part of these "attributes" for the "crème de la crème" within the organisation's elite. The empirical evidence is unequivocally suggestive of this fact. This then initiates the act of homophily within network which consequentially inhibits the discussion of diverse perspectives and therefore preserves the interests of elites whilst hindering opportunities for others (Berry et al, 2004).

Likewise, only one of the five board members fell outside of the BBP typology. Again, this seems another prerequisite which dictates the likelihood of acceptance into the elite. The current first female Commissioner who was appointed during the latter stages of this investigation also meets this educational criteria which is very much conducive to previous Commissioners and runs analogous with the vast majority of her board members. Therefore, it seems quantitatively fair to conclude that the educational prerequisites of the elite which has been inflicted by the informal cultural expectation of the organisation (Bourdieu, 1993; Maull, 2001), is a significant factor to be considered when selecting board members. As a result, officers who are in possession of these credentials seem to be favourable candidates to attain the rank of Chief Officer within the NPCC component of the organisation.

It is worthy of mention that the reputation of these schools and such qualifications are certainly affiliated with success. Additionally, individuals who are able to attend these schools and attain such qualifications are indeed generally perceived as highly intelligent and are therefore assumingly extremely capable of delivering successful outcomes. It is therefore crucial that

these factors are acknowledged and esteemed accordingly. The research by no means seeks to disregard the potential, credibility or aptitude of these individuals in alluding that it is only because of these credentials they have been appointed to such prestigious positions. Having said that, it is important that we are able to establish these common factors amongst these elite members and recognise the way in which social networks operate within this organisational setting (Brass, 1995; Cross et al, 2002; Berry et al, 2004).

If we are to revisit the Impact of Police Culture on Diversity chapter, we are reminded that the organisation resides within two dimensions (Wallace et al, 1999). The mainstream, or BBP edifice within the MPS has unequivocally illustrated its inherent preference when faced with selecting members of the Route B compartment of the organisation - a filter which seems to become increasingly restrictive within the realms of the NPCC (Montgomery et al, 2011). The research was able to establish that in carefully choosing members of this outer flank to represent their respective groups, there is a clear predilection; and within the realms of BME selection, the research has clearly identified that the tendency seems to be "mixed race" or "Asian" individuals.

In addition, due to the sensitivity of this subject and the near enough impossibility of asking direct questions of this sort to ascertain why this is in fact the case, it seems fair to assume that from a cultural perspective, such individuals are more physically able to blend into what is perceived as ideal (Montgomery et al, 2011). Therefore it seems unsurprising that the chosen BME in this case who formed one of the five board members, in addition to the aforementioned "ideal educational prerequisites", also possessed the "ideal BME physical attributes" which seems to be of organisational preference. This depicts a holistically clear picture that there are in fact specific patterns and/or characteristics exclusive to the successful candidates within the MPS NPCC ranks as outlined as one of the key questions set for the research.

So let us now move on to the appointment of the first female Commissioner, who, post her appointment, overtly stated that she is a lesbian (not before). The study has quite clearly enunciated that external influence is paramount in inflicting change and organisational learning within the MPS (ReussIanni and Ianni, 1983; Loftus, 2009). The establishment seems to be one which is more likely to react to external pressure as opposed to inducing change independently and proactively (Zhao et al, 1999). The history of the Metropolitan Police Service has endorsed this reality and here, yet again, this recent appointment of a female Commissioner as the first "non-traditional" Commissioner is testament of this occurrence.

It was highlighted that the NPCC is held to account by its political governing bodies i.e. the Home Secretary and the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) (Reiner, 1991; Charman & Savage, 1998). It is therefore difficult to ignore that the Mayor Mr Sadiq Khan (first BME Mayor of London) Sophie Linden (female Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime) and the Home Secretary Amber Rudd (one of three female Home Secretaries in over two hundred years), who incidentally are all supported by a female Prime Minister, were in fact actively influential in the appointment of the first female Commissioner.

Furthermore, the research has also outlined that the first port of call for the mainstream when considering protected groups for acceptance is indeed, white females. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the pressure of the external entities in this instance, who were also representatives of protected groups themselves, and, the propensity of the organisation to lean toward the acceptance of white females when pressured into selecting from minority groups, would arguably have aided the current Commissioner's chances of success.

In addition, if we revisit the sequential police culture diagrams illustrated in chapter eight, we see that it clearly portrays that both political and global influences are effective external influences pressing against the organisation's cultural preferences and demanding change

(ReussIanni & Ianni, 1983). Taking these factors into consideration it seems to question the depth of the change and whether this alteration is an occurrence which is able to perpetuate (Smith, 2005; Loftus, 2009).

In my perusal of the establishment and based on the findings which proves the police are holistically resistant to embrace diversity initiatives (Burke, 1993; Miller *et al.,* 2003; Loftus, 2009) - it seems to be practical to argue that despite these changes, there is a real threat of impermanency within any long term alteration of who is promoted within this elite spectrum. The research does not in any way indicate that this recent appointment of the first female Commissioner will change the way the elite are reproduced. In fact, more specific to the interests of this research, BME appointments within the NPCC ranks remain unaltered.

In fact there is merely a deeper comprehension of the propensity to be accepted into this forum in understanding the peripheral factors involved in these appointments. Yet again, I feel obligated to reiterate that by no means is the Commissioner unfit or unsuitable for the job, on the contrary, it is in fact quite the opposite. Nonetheless, the research only exposes the dynamics which can be easily overlooked if it is not brought to the forefront of this analytical discussion

The third and final element which was identified as a prerequisite for the Commissioners - to have experienced working within different forces to become more rounded as a leader. This is an occurrence which seemed to be relatively widespread throughout the NPCC within the MPS. Most Chief Officers who were interviewed were in fact officers who had moved around to various police forces in the country. Furthermore, in conducting additional research on the guidelines for appointing Chief Officers it became apparent that this in fact, is an official prerequisite for selection (COP, 2018). However, only one BME officer of a senior rank within the operational element of policing benefited from this experience of moving from and

returning to the Met. In addition, the primary reason for this move by the officer in question was due to the fact that after years of being repeatedly refused promotion to the next rank the opportunity presented itself elsewhere. As a direct result of this, the desire to move away from the organisation was cemented in an endeavour to facilitate the desired professional growth.

This supports Bian (1997) in his explanation of how strong ties operate. It also echoes Waldinger's (1995) argument on how dominant groups can monopolise power within organisations. The research showed that this BME's experience was quite dissimilar to the experiences of the Chief Officers who were interviewed. During most interviews white Chief Officers explained how they would have endeavoured to venture elsewhere purely based on the desire to ensure continuous self-development as opposed to trying to manoeuvre around what appeared to be a deliberate block in their path. The below paragraphs endorses this conclusion;

> *"During this time I had been working with as a senior manager and had been promised the role of the next rank up, and I never got it, so after I finished, I said "Fuck it I'm leaving" cause I worked my tail off for a year doing all this stuff, haven't been recognised and then had been forgotten. I was told that if I stayed they definitely would give me the next rank, so I said, definitely I would stay during the implementation, so I stayed for about a year. So, after about 4 months it was clear that I wasn't gonna get the appointment, as the Met decided there were far too many people at that rank around, um so I couldn't have it, another blow, so at the end of that second year I done most of the implementation, I said well I'm gone, I've had enough of this. I was so pissed off with the organisation at the time that decided I would leave, so I looked around and saw there was an application for the next rank up in a County force, so I applied and got through"*

This quotation merely encapsulates the senior BME's account to leave the Met for a County Force. It illustrates the frustration of the officer and the lack of choices available to promote through what was perceived to be deliberate. The ensuing two quotations exemplifies the overall difference in the Chief Officers who moved around to different forces in and out of the MPS.

> "I knew I would like to come to the Met but I hadn't considered um what I would do to prepare for that interview. So it was really great when I got the call to come to London and get the experience and I think it was a lot better then. I had a sponsor in the Met there were people who had moved around, who knew me and they were now in the Met. And I think they were keen for me to come, to be seen in the Met"

Another Chief Officer explains;

> "After you've done the strategic command course, it's always kind of quite high stakes to apply away from the force that knows you especially if that's the Met, it's quite a big deal and I didn't apply to the Met at all, I only applied to a County Force, so I was taking a huge gamble, because if I hadn't gotten the job I would have missed the boat to be promoted in the Met"

The preceding quotations have been incorporated only to highlight the difference between the ordinariness in which Chief Officers would have moved forces with a general ethos of personal desire for self-development, as opposed to being on the brink of leaving policing due to the inability to promote. Unlike the BME, the Chief Officers' moves were not a means of escape or an attempt to avoid what was perceived to be prejudicial obstacles, but rather an attempt to challenge themselves in another policing forum as part of a long term plan. This further exposes the difference between the lived experiences of the senior BME to that of their senior BBP Chief Officer colleagues. Additionally, and very importantly, it also highlights the alternate

route to promotion for BMEs which is outside of the traditional route for their BBP co-workers (Wallace et al, 1999).

So let us re-examine the first of the three research questions - are there specific patterns and/or characteristics affecting the outcome of promotion to and within the MPS NPCC ranks? The research clearly suggests that there are in fact common characteristics which are exclusive to this elite group of individuals. Albeit there is in fact a mainstream and an outer flank, individuals who possess certain qualifications or attended specific schools are clearly treated more favourably and were able to move themselves through what seems to be an additional requirement at this level. Through the monopolisation of centrality by the dominant BBP group (Brass, 1995; Waldinger, 1995), this method of elite reproduction has perpetuated itself throughout the decades.

The very few selected BMEs who have been privileged to be a part of this elite group seem more likely to blend into the cultural surroundings based on their physical appearances. This seems to be a cultural preference for the network - "taboos" used by insiders to converse within the organisation (Spataro, 2005; Montgomery et al, 2011). In addition, members of the LGBT group are also given opportunities, however, this seems to be predominantly based on whether the individual's deportment is appeasing to that of the main group.

The BBP group monopolises dominance through centrality and the research argues that the less an individual seems to resemble the epitome of its ideal leader (Rivera, 2012) the more difficult it becomes to be accepted at this level. The organisation does in fact has its perceived ideal cop and is reluctant to change this entrenched ideal (Reiner, 1992; Mc Laughlin, 2005). Still, in the event that the dominant group is pressured into making changes, it attempts to retain the "accepted difference" to be as close as possible to what it perceives to be the ideal (Reagans et al, 2004). This becomes significantly more important when selecting members of the NPCC as

within the more operational entity of policing, the boundaries are marginally more relaxed in comparison - although the principles have been observed to remain the same.

Let us now scrutinise whether social networks, police culture and the British Bobby Physiognomies typology are significant influential factors in describing the MPS's poor diversity within its leadership.

10.3 The Impact of the Three Analytical Lenses

Social networks and the reproduction of the elite, police culture and the British Bobby physiognomies have been discussed, in detail, in the preceding chapters of this thesis. The research has been able to conduct a thorough analysis of each phenomenon and contextualise their relevance as it relates to the study.

In perusing the journey of the Metropolitan Police Service it became abundantly clear that the organisation has been and continues to be predominantly reactive in its ability to embrace change(Martin, 1980; Heidensohn, 1992; Brown, 1998; Silvestri, 2003; Zhao et al, 1999). This was highlighted by (Reiner, 2000) where he explains that there is a machismo culture within the police whereby women were only accepted into policing after a protracted campaign. Loftus (2009) adds that white, heterosexual male officers are resentful of the increasing demand for more diversity in police recruitment. In addition, she adds that a significant influential factor in the recent changes in the police stems from the pressure applied by external entities. Smith (2005) argues that the racism is being driven underground because of these pressures, and if drastic measures are not taken, the "ice" would not melt anytime soon.

The empirical evidence indicates that the culture of the organisation is firmly embedded and reluctant to embrace real modification (Zhao et al, 1999). It supports these arguments and

reveals that any alteration which has been illustrated by the organisation has in fact been as a direct result of external pressures and influences (within the realms of diversity) (Loftus, 2009). The organisation possesses its own informal culture (Wallace et al, 1999) which is further engendered by the way the social network within elite has formed its unofficial rules through the strength of ties (Bian, 1997). A Chief Officer explains;

> *If you don't have that exposure within that senior group of people and they don't know who you are or what you are capable of doing. Trying to get that recognition. I think that might be tricky for some. And particularly in this machismo leadership there is a problem about when passing the baton over to somebody who is below. Do you know what I mean?*

The quotation highlights the occupational culture within the organisation (Reiner, 2000), whilst simultaneously reiterating the centrality of its elite network (Brass, 1995). It ties the theoretical concepts together and encapsulates precisely how one complements the other. In addition, the quotation also reveals the difficulties for individuals who are excluded from this network and the complexities when "*passing the baton on to someone who is below*" (Spataro, 2005; Montgomery et al, 2011).

However, we still see sporadic changes. BMEs have been promoted. Yet narratives not only indicate that these promotions have been achieved via an anomalous route in comparison to their BBP colleagues - but individuals who are within the dominant group have often acknowledged this problem of resistance and unfairness. If we rehash the very first quotation of this chapter, the Chief Officer puts forward that;

> *I believe that the system didn't recognise that in him and I genuinely don't know why, um yeah, I'm not so sure that the system does recognise diversity in its wider sense"*

The overall consensus of the thesis is that personal attributes are crucial to any individual's success at the elite level. However, in order advance to the elite echelons of the organisation acceptance via sponsorship from the elite network's members within this closed system cannot be overlooked. It is key and supersedes all other elements (Spataro, 2005; Montgomery et al, 2011). In this case, it is fair to argue that this particular individual who is referenced by the Chief Officer, simply did not fit in. Therefore, the network needs to re-think its cultures and structures so that they are more harmonious with the characteristics and requirements of dissimilar employees ensuring that there are supplementary procedures designed to assist minority groups to fit in (Liff, 1999). As although positive action and equality has prompted increased opportunities for women and ethnic minorities to be permitted into organisations, the development and progression of these groups have not been addressed (Cox & Blake, 1991; Kandola & Fullerton, 1994).

Kilian et al, (2005) state that without vigorous leadership from senior executives, current cultural norms and management approaches cannot be altered. In addition, Silvestri (2007) argues that very few would dispute the idea that effective leadership is crucial to the process of creating organisational change. However, in this instance, I argue that albeit there has been change within policing, the rules within this particular element have remained the same. Sponsorship into the elite is an informal cultural norm within this network which to date, has not been altered. Therefore, similar individuals are recruited into the elite in accordance with its principles (Bourdieu, 1993). A Chief Officer explains;

> *So we have sponsors (in the NPCC). You always hear who is sponsoring you? This is common you may come across this. In your travels, your research, I will just test the word sponsor. Some people would say yes I am sponsored quite well, blah blah blah. And it is the language I have heard from the NPCC coaches….. Well who is gonna sponsor you? Now if you're visibly different, if you are different in how you speak, if*

you are different in the way you collect or put phrases together just because you are different, I think that creates and generates a little bit if uncomfortableness in terms ease of communication.

This quotation covers all the analytical lenses employed for the purposes of the research. It highlights that there is a functional network within the NPCC which has its own norms – and these norms are understood by the members of this network (Brass, 1995; Wallace et al, 1999; Berry et al, 2004). Furthermore, the quotation also brings to the forefront that any cultural difference, or diversity, generates discomfort for its members (Spataro, 2005; Montgomery et al, 2011). Therefore this inevitably impacts on the club's aptitude to recruit and sustain a diverse membership (Reagans et al 2004). As a direct result of this, the somatic characteristics of its members continue to be of a similar nature. Nonetheless, critical incidents or other external pressures seem to be the prime factor which initiates any significant level of change initiatives (Zhao et al, 1999).

Zhao et al, (1999) clearly states that change is induced by momentous events that affects an entire group of individuals simultaneously or the immediate environment of the police officer. If we take a holistic view of the organisation it becomes apparent how this manifests itself within the MPS. The first female intake, recruitment of the first black officer and the appointment of the first female Commissioner have arguably been directly correlated with external influences. However, despite these changes the organisation's behaviour has illustrated that such alterations tend to be superficial (Fox, 2004; Morris, 2004; Smith, 2005; Loftus 2009).

The women's suffragettes in the early 1900s, civil rights battle for racial equality in the 1960s, and the appointment of the first BME London Mayor, female Home Secretary and female Prime Minister are all significant national and global occurrences which, when closely

examined, correlates with historically significant diverse appointments within the MPS. This fortifies Zhao et al (1999) in their argument which underpins the significance of external influences and the reaction of policing entities.

Furthermore, if we revert to the sequential police cultural diagrams we comprehend that not only does national and global influences play a significant role in applying pressure to the organisation (as it clearly has in this case), but the reaction of the organisation to illustrate change often results in defensiveness (McConville et al., 1991; PCC, 2014). Therefore, although behaviours may change to appease the pressures and critics, attitudes remain unaffected for the most part (Fox, 2004; Morris, 2004; Smith, 2005; Rowe, 2007; EHRC, 2016). This is undoubtedly justified by the continuous struggles of BMEs and other underrepresented groups within the elite ranks of Metropolitan Police.

Although there is not a "first gay recruitment" which has been officially recorded, the requirement for and the evidence produced by the Gay Police Association which was founded in 1990, disbanded, and now evolved into the National LGBT Police Network; supported by the book titled "Coming Out Of The Blue" (Cassell, 1993), reveals an interesting account and is quite telling in terms of the mind-set of the organisation. The responsive act of the establishment to implement change has repeated itself over the years.

The murder of Stephen Lawrence (which is also another factor incorporated into the Police Culture diagrams) and the organisation's response to this critical incident is testament of this fact (Fox, 2004). Incidentally, the appointment of the first female Commissioner also supports this theory as the research has previously signposted the external influences which arguably played a significant role in this appointment.

Therefore from a holistic perspective, the investigation is able to demonstrate that the recruitment of females, blacks and gays or the appointment of a female Commissioner, does

not represent genuine cultural change (Loftus, 2009), nor does it represent an alteration of how the elite members of the organisation reproduce themselves (Reiner, 2000), nor does it shift the centrality of power outside that of the BBP edifice (Brass, 1995). In fact, on the contrary, it is a treacherous misrepresentation of what routinely occurs within the establishment and because of this, can exacerbate feelings of denial which seems to be submerged firmly within the occupational culture of the organisation.

The research has shown that the three analytical lenses are most certainly interrelated with each other. The main group or BBP as it is referred to within the context of this thesis has created a potent informal culture (Wallace et al, 1999; Ogbonna & Harris, 2002; Lok & Crawford, 2003) which employs the use of social networks to reproduce its elite using strong, as opposed to weak ties (Bian, 1997). In doing so, there is exclusion of individuals regarded as "outsiders" (Waldinger, 1995; Portes, 1998).

The mere existence and familiarity of this main group, has resulted in the reproduction of itself through social networks and in some instances the culture of idealism has ominously impacted on the organisation's desire or ability to inflict change (Courtney et al, 1998). In existing within this closed system, the organisation mostly responds to the pressures of external influences and pressure groups as opposed to genuine acceptance and insistence to evolve into a more diverse entity.

This occurrence cannot by any means be underestimated as the research clearly depicts that even in an effort to embrace diversity which the organisation seems generally reluctant to do, (Loftus, 2009; Police and Crime Committee, 2014) it by default, reverts to its comfort zone in the absence of these external influences. My account of the Direct Inspector process highlights this fact. In theory, this ground-breaking initiative to recruit external candidates into management roles is an ideal opportunity to commence the disruption of a cultural cycle of

elitism in ensuring diversity and inclusion are prioritised during such an endeavour. However, it seems as if the lack of external pressure towards this initiative has encouraged the default recruitment of individuals who would also physically blend into the BBP group.

Yet again, the act of articulating the desire to change, perhaps with the sincerest of intentions, results in superficial changes (Morris, 2004; Smith, 2005' Rowe, 2007). As a direct consequence, the research argues that there may be a genuine feeling of proactivity amidst the main group and therefore when there is challenge, a strong sense of defensiveness is initiated through what in fact seems to be genuine denial. Ironically, the denial of the main group seems to stem from the fact that they are in fact the main group and therefore struggle to visualise and comprehend a perception that is different or may come across as criticism (Edward et al, 2008). The group lacks the benefit of novel ideas which can be genuinely supportive of others (Burt, 2004).

In returning to the second and third questions outlined in chapter one of the thesis - Are Social Networks, Police Culture and the theory of the British Bobby Physiognomies significant influential factors in describing the current state of affairs in terms of the poor diversity within leadership? The research indisputably indicates that these theories do in fact play a crucial part in this issue. The presence and continuation of these ideologies have been instrumental in the underrepresentation of BMEs in the elite. The BBP typology in particular, which has been arguably proven during the research permits a more accurate illustration that BMEs commence their careers at a disadvantage (which is supported by empirical data incorporated into the BBP Chapter).

Therefore this presents an immediate obstacle to overcome on entry to the establishment. This coupled with the fact that the BBP Induced Cycle is indeed a genuine occurrence, further endorses the restrictive movement of BMEs as it highlights that in being promoted, the BME

reverts to the outer flank and subsequently requires additional acceptance in order to attain continued progress. The fact that only one of the two BME Chief Officers within the MPS is a "home-grown" officer who progressed through all the ranks within the organisation before attaining the rank of Chief Officer further endorsees this fact.

The power and centrality of the dominant network and how it culturally operates has a momentous bearing on how individuals are promoted. The research has revealed the closed system approach of this unofficial network through its in-depth discussion of the co-production of opportunities and individual volition vs social network volition. It has been brought to notice that the rank of Chief Officer within the NPCC entity of the MPS requires various means of sponsorship in order to obtain the required opportunities for professional development to build self-confidence which are both mandatory in the pursuit of promotion.

Furthermore, we are reminded that in the vast majority of success stories, individuals are sought after and nurtured through mentorship and sponsorship which have been instrumental to the success of the NPCC Officers. On the contrary, the lived experiences of the BMEs articulated a somewhat different experience to that of their Chief Officer counterparts permitting the research to draw inference from such narratives. Additionally, the research also illustrates that potential candidates to be recruited into the NPCC are viewed through a different lens. Fairness is discarded and replaced by an intensified focus on the individual's ability to fit into an existing elite network.

Based on these factors the study undeniably argues that Social Networks and the Reproduction of the Elite, Police Culture and the typology of the British Bobby Physiognomies all play a pivotal role in the poor representation of BMEs within the NPCC component of the Metropolitan Police Service. Having encapsulated this reality, let us now re-explore the objectives of the research which we are reminded are:

1. To identify whether the lack of BME representation within MPS NPCC is based on merit and criteria.

2. To understand why under-representation of BME officers at senior ranks has continued for such an extensive period of time

3. To determine innovative approaches which may be more likely to improve the diversity within the NPCC ranks of the MPS.

10.4 The Research Objectives

10.4.1 Objective One

Firstly, permit us to explore objective one - To identify whether the lack of BME representation within MPS NPCC is based on merit and criteria.

In observing the collective narratives from these Chief Officers, the common rhetoric for success seemed to be sponsorship, mentorship and acceptance. The research argues that these attributes provides valuable opportunities which then induces self-confidence and a reputation of competence – and by consequence, promotion. Having said that, it is important that we recognise it takes diligence, resilience and high levels of astuteness to deliver successful outcomes when allocated with these opportunities – hence, the ability of the individual is also key in delivering efficacious results.

However, if we downgrade the role of sponsorship or acceptance within this context then promotion becomes far more equivocal. This has been highlighted when comparing the narratives of the senior BME officers who it seems did not have the same level of sponsorship or acceptance as their Chief Officer colleagues and as a result, promotion seemed not only a more arduous task, but also more time consuming. This highlights that the alternate route for

promotion although viable, is tedious and prolonged. This alternate route has been referred to as the BBPIC and described as "*negotiating a snakes and ladder board*".

As previously encapsulated, the research argues that there are indeed preferences outside of merit and explicit criteria when considering individuals to be appointed as Chief Officers within the MPS. It seems as if the filters apply a far more vigorous scrutiny of the candidates at this stage through this informal culture (Wallace et al, 1999; Edward et al, 2008). In addition, it appears as if the corporeal physiognomies and temperament of the potential candidate are also covertly considered and compared at this junction (Rivera, 2012).

The cultural norm of the network encourages the co-production of opportunities. Furthermore, the assessors who select individuals to become a part of this elite forum often view things through a "*different lens*" and the process "*may not necessarily be a fair one*" (interview, 24) at this level (Simon & Warner, 1992; Kilian et al, 2005). There seems to be particular interest in the candidate's ability to fit into this elitism and idealism which seems to be prevalent amongst this NPCC group (Brass, 1995; Cross et al, 2002)). This was articulated by Chief Officers who were interviewed during the field research stages and such provides a justifiable platform for debate.

In addition, the research also shows there are disadvantages for the members of the outer flank prior to any other consideration which may be relevant when being assessed. The mere fact that an individual is not a member of the BBP group creates an almost instant hindrance in terms of the strategic "start point" for no other reason than because of this fact. This has also been highlighted in the BBP Analysis Chapter and was referred to by a Chief Officer as "*starting at level four as opposed to level ten*" (interview, 2) based on the impact of positive and negative stereo typing. Also, and very importantly, the research indicates that amongst the elite members of the MPS there is also an additional preference when being considered for the

board of directors within the NPCC in candidates would also be at an advantage if they are in possession of the preferred schooling and or qualifications which have been previously highlighted in this chapter.

In conducting a comprehensive scrutiny of the various narratives of the participants, and also taking into account the findings of the three individual discussions, it seems fair to conclude that the appointments within the NPCC ranks of the MPS are indeed prejudiced. The evidence is arguably overwhelming and therefore it seems a justified deduction to be made based on these findings.

However, the research argues that if these individuals are not only able to understand the collective similarities of their accounts, but also the resemblances of the accounts of the BME members of the organisation, then perhaps this could well possibly influence their view of the establishment. It is noteworthy that the research indicates that appointments within the NPCC ranks of the MPS are in fact prejudicial. Merit and criteria does not seem to be the primary source of recruitment.

It appears as if being a part of the organisation for such an extended period of time has influenced perception. As a result, this prevents a genuine acceptance that the current practices and prejudices arising from its informal culture (Wallace, et al, 1999) are of significant detriment to their BME colleagues (Portes, 1998; Liff, 1999; Reagans et al, 2004). Albeit there seems to be levels of awareness, there seemed to be very little emotional intelligence or assertiveness as it relates to the diversity shortcoming within the NPCC ranks.

It is fair to argue that this type of culture, whereby the organisation endeavours to identify and rectify mistakes within its set parameters has induced a very inflexible view of the world which then confines it to a type of learning whereby the only innovation that occurs is within the boundaries of its existing assumptions, perspectives and values. Therefore the intent cannot be

regarded as the issue but rather the organisation's inability to genuinely identify and embrace diversity issues due to the limitations of its current approach to diversity.

10.4.2 Objective Two

Now, permit us to discuss the second objective - To understand why under-representation of BME officers at executive ranks has continued for so long.

A Chief Officer explains;

"In '81 it happened (Riots) you should listen to Brixton '85 it happened again, you didn't listen to Brixton, 2011 it happened, get the characters and the actors out of it, look at the messages, exactly the same so don't come to me now and show me that this community practice wasn't done on time and had it been done the riots wouldn't have happened, if you think that, then you are not leading, you haven't led in a long time, you haven't listened to your communities, so there is this thing about, well two things that I've just told you that firstly it's a club, secondly uh will that club listen, they weren't particularly listening to National Riots in 2011, yeah and how are they gonna listen to something else, and here is the bad thing; it's lip service, unless the government, unless Theresa May actually puts a foot down their throat things aren't gonna happen so…. 'casue you have to shake it up, and what's disappointing and what I find distressing is actually…………because it hasn't changed and it lacks diversity, the policy, the leadership traits, the future travel of it, is exactly the same as it was 15/ 20 years ago 30/ 40 years ago it hasn't changed and it does not reflect or isn't able to cope with the needs out there" (interview 13)

The organisation's ability to learn is very much reliant on individuals and groups acting as agents for the transferral of information, and whatever lessons are learnt become part of the culture, structure, and memory of the organisation. These lessons persist within the organisation despite the fact that employees may eventually change (Courtney et al, 1998). However, we now know that the BBP group monopolises power and centrality (Brass, 1995) within the Met – and the act of homophily within this group inhibits the discussion of diverse perspectives (Portes, 1998; Berry et al, 2004). Therefore the organisation's views on diversity are limited to the parameters set by the dominant group.

Reiner (2000) also argues that the cultural domain of policing is one of old-fashioned machismo whilst Loftus (2009) notes that cultural beliefs of the police supports deep-seated attitudes which are impervious to real change. Therefore authentic voices of officers' attitude remain unchanged – but are instead, simply driven underground. This rhetoric was also highlighted by Morris (2004) who explained that discrimination was being driven underground and therefore permitting what could be defined as a fresh breed of "stealth racist" to remain concealed.

However, the research has revealed that the MPS functions in a way that is resistant to embrace change. Nonetheless, here we see how these riots would have involved potential embarrassment and threat to the reputation of the organisation, therefore rigorous reasoning is discarded and defensive reasoning adopted. In doing so, the organisation is then almost forced into adopting change initiatives (Zhao et al, 1999). But there are more problems with the Met that not having the correct learning strategy. My research challenges such simple ideas. Those with power want to maintain and reproduce places in the higher reaches of the organisation that match their own characteristics or BBP. To do this, the 'network' is used to assist mobility for those with the prescribed characteristics and in doing so simultaneously block movement for those that do not possess these characteristics. Under pressure to be more diverse, diversity

is conceded to diluted BME candidates, on the basis of colour-coding. Simple learning theory is technocratic and ignores the social characteristics of the organisation and the role of power and politics in organisations.

The instinctive act of homophily within the dominant group seeks to retain the power and centrality and in doing so, individuals who are regarded as outsiders are excluded (Portes, 1998). This, by consequence, has had a direct impact on the lack of diversity within the executive ranks and by extension poor relationships with ethnic minority communities. I will close with a valid question posed by a Chief Officer;

> *"It seems to make sense to me, that if you've got very very few people who are like you, how much confidence are you gonna have, to go an approach people who aren't like you?*

10.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter illustrated how the three analytical lenses overlap each other and through this solidarity becomes more robust in both their existence and impact. Chapter ten paid particular attention to how these frameworks influence progression in the organisation and reiterated that the MPS seems generally reluctant to embrace change (particularly within the realms of diversity). Instead, the Met reacts to the external pressures from a variety of sources and in doing so change becomes superficial (as depicted in the Police Culture Diagrams).

The chapter provides a comprehensive response to the research questions and objectives. It concludes that based on the empirical evidence it seems as if the appointments within the NPCC component of the organisation are in fact prejudicial. It was shown that officers who hold positions at the very top of the Met not only possess similar physical characteristics but their

academic backgrounds are also similar. However, when examining the second objective which sought to establish whether these acts were deliberate, the chapter concludes that the unconsciousness of the Chief Officers suggests that these occurrences are for the most part is based on routine and learned behaviour.

The chapter argues that the MPS's current approach initiates a defensive attitude in the event of any significant or critical incidents which may cause the organisation potential embarrassment. In doing so, there is a propensity to apportion blame as opposed to accepting responsibility. Due to the similarities of these officers at these executive ranks and the manner in which similar officers are recruited, ideas which can positively impact on diversity are limited; perspectives are restricted. This cycle represses the MPS's ability to learn and as a result the defensive culture which has been set by the informal culture of the organisation continues to exist.

Furthermore, the chapter highlights that in light of this, BMEs continue to promote through the alternate route displayed by the BBPIC. This route, unlike the traditional route set by the occupational culture is far more challenging and time consuming and as a result, takes the BME much longer to arrive at a position whereby they may be eligible for PNAC (the gateway for NPCC). However, even if this eligibility comes to fruition, there are additional informal criteria set by the dominant group which generally prevents successful outcomes for the BME. The network rules are different particularly at this stage of promotion; the process is no longer based on ability and specific criteria. This benchmark is intangible and difficult to manoeuvre and therefore BMEs continue to be underrepresented at the most senior ranks of the MPS.

Chapter Eleven

Recommendations – Conclusions – Future Research

"The feedback I have given to this organisation! My organisation – (it's great and I love it to bits)……you close shoulders, you close ranks, shoulder to shoulder, you close the shutters and you turn your backs on people, and when people say actually we have got an issue, you look out the window and say, well if you wanna make a complaint, well you go down to room number thirty four in corridor number five, and off you go. That's the process, you use the process selectively but you never listen to people, and if you are not going to listen to people after they have rioted, because they rioted, they were unhappy, they were displeased, no trust, they did not have the confidence, they have walked away, they have taken your consent for you to police them, if you don't wanna listen to them now, if you're just gonna try and defend and you don't get the policy and you're trying to find this or the other, you are gonna face another riot. I am sick and tired of people telling me that it happens once in a generation…. all white cops telling me it happens once in a generation" – Chief Officer MPS

11.1 Introduction

Chapter ten pulls together the findings of the research to make strategic and practicable recommendations to improve the diversity within the senior ranks of the MPS. In doing so, it addresses the fourth of the four research questions - What strategies may be employed to create a more diverse balance of leaders within NPCC; and, the third objective - To determine innovative approaches which may be more likely to improve the diversity within the NPCC ranks of the MPS

The chapter provides a detailed framework of precisely how each proposition is to be enacted, the motives behind each proposal, and the consequences of failure to embrace these novel strategies which are designed to improve the overall learning and development of the MPS. Through these recommendations, chapter ten aims to not only improve the overall efficiency and reputation of the organisation via the provision of adequate steps towards enriched diversity and inclusion strategies, but also to take a calculated stride towards truly building and sustaining effective relationships with high volume ethnic minority communities where confidence and communication seems to be adrift.

During the research it was made abundantly clear by various interviewees that the endeavours to improve on this issue have been cyclically futile, therefore all recommendations are innovative, justifiable and fit for purpose. It is worthy of note nonetheless, that although the core aim of the research sought to decipher the reasons why there is such a poor representation of BMEs specifically within the NPCC component of the organisation, the study has revealed that what occurs within the "operational" component of the organisation cannot be ignored – and as such, some recommendations will inevitably involve this element of the establishment.

11.2 Positive Action PNAC Programme

This programme would be ideal for the MPS due to the large quantity of Chief Officers employed specifically within the organisation. The aim is purely to limit unfairness at this stage of promotion, and as a result, diversify the ethnicities of officers within the Met's NPCC ranks. The Positive Action PNAC Programme should be designed to do exactly what it says on the tin – take positive steps towards preparing ethnic minority officers who demonstrate the ability to become Chief Officers. Chief Officers alongside HR (Human Resources) should take lead on this initiative and success should be measured on an annual basis.

The proposition is that Chief Officers develop an *official* "quota driven" succession planning scheme whereby prior to each PNAC process, and wherever possible, a designated number of eligible minorities from each group must be given priority. The purpose of this group would be to prepare all individuals for PNAC and hence significantly increase the possibilities of a successful group which is genuinely diverse. It is important that the organisation acknowledges that this must be quota driven. The research has clearly demonstrated that without pressure, diversity initiatives are often unsuccessful. In light of this, the Commissioner, Mayor of London and Home Secretary must oversee the progress of such an undertaking. There should be a specific time frame, whereby an agreed number of minorities must be appointed. If this is not possible, a clear explanation as to not only why it would not be possible, but what steps would be taken to ensure that these targets would be met in future.

Sanctions should be agreed in the event of failure to comply. If the MPS demonstrates that it is incapable of delivering on these objectives, then its governing bodies, i.e. MOPAC and the Home Secretary, should seek to alter legislation whereby the organisation becomes legally obligated to deliver on diversity issues. Albeit my research has clearly demonstrated the MPS's negative attitude towards diversity (they are reactive as opposed to proactive), the research has also outlined the successes of national and international policing entities having employed "hiring quotas".

It was highlighted in the first chapter of thesis that internationally and within the nations of the UK, we have seen more direct attempts to address imbalances in the recruitment of BME officers. Some police forces have employed hiring quotas to improve diversity shortcomings. The Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) for example, was lawfully obligated to enact an affirmative action strategy of recruiting 50% of its officers from a Catholic background and the other 50% from other religions. As a result, the organisation currently stands at 70% protestant and 30% catholic (PSNI, 2017). The New York Police Department (NYPD) also used hiring

quotas to increase minority group recruitment and as a result, is considerably more illustrative of New York than the MPS is of London (Police and Crime Committee, 2014). However, such options are currently unavailable to policing entities in England and Wales. Still, the PSNI has clearly illustrated the benefits of employing such strategies (as highlighted above).

It is important that the MPS are given the opportunity to address the issue of diversity as this would help to repair its reputation of being racist. Being proactive in addressing this deficit would portray a level of acceptance and willingness to rectify this issue. However, if specific time frames are not met, then official sanctions from its governing entities must be implemented to ensure these objectives are attained.

11.3 PNAC and Chief Officer Selection

This research has revealed that this particular process of moving up from Chief Superintendent to Commander within the Metropolitan Police is one which raises numerous questions in relation to its fairness. Direct quotations from both Chief and Senior Operational officers who were interviewed during the course of the research have raised alarm bells which certainly warrants further investigation from an external and independent entity to measure its fairness. The empirical data shows that firstly, the prerequisite to access the Senior Police National Assessment Centre (PNAC) is based on recommendation and support from line managers; and in order to become a Chief Officer or a Commander in the Metropolitan Police Service (or Nationally), Chief Superintendents must attend and pass PNAC to become eligible for promotion. Therefore if the officer is not recommended for PNAC, there is no eligibility for promotion into the NPCC. Secondly, if successful on the PNAC course itself and hence, fully qualified for the role of a Chief Officer, there is still no guarantee of promotion.

My study has highlighted that officers have been known to pass the PNAC process and become qualified to be promoted into the NPCC but have never been offered a job. In order to increase the opportunities for fairness at this level, the role of social networking needs to be acknowledged and this process requires some level of alteration. In light of this, it is recommended that the NPCC develops a comprehensive workbook that encapsulates all the competencies and work-based evidence which it considers necessary to be an effective Chief Officer (similar to that of Detectives).

Chief Superintendents should be able to independently access, complete, and submit this work-book without any supervisor oversight. Workbooks should be nameless and assessed by HR police staff specifically trained to assess these particular types of portfolios. The information included in the workbook should be available to be "dip-sampled" and any candidate who is found to have been dishonest should face the threat of gross misconduct proceedings.

A key factor of this endeavour should be supervisory avoidance. However, in an attempt to ensure that only serious applications are submitted, the process should only be made available biennially as opposed to annually. Quality assurance can be further engendered by employing a three strike rule in a six year period for candidates whereby if officers fail to evidence their suitability for PNAC on three consecutive attempts their eligibility to apply for PNAC is forfeited.

This approach would provide a far less discriminatory route to PNAC whist maintaining the credibility of the process. It would allow for individuals who genuinely feel they are entitled to this opportunity to progress without prejudice and as a result, disrupt the current pattern which is supported by the unofficial rules of those currently dominant within the elite network. In doing so, it would clear the way for capable and aspiring ethnic minority officers to be afforded this opportunity which currently looks blocked for the reasons explored in this thesis.

Failure to take the process seriously or submit mediocre work-book evidence would result in wastage of one of three opportunities. Being given the opportunity to avoid being blocked by supervisors, whilst understanding the consequences of the three strike rule, would increase much needed fairness in this process. It is fair to say that in every process it is near enough impossible to completely eradicate all traces of nepotism. However, what is key here is identifying that there is a problem and taking steps to mitigate the opportunity for prejudiced appointments in the best possible way. My research has clearly indicated the necessity of such alterations.

11.4 Assessors

Having created this reformed system for a much fairer access route to be enlisted as a candidate onto PNAC, candidates are still required to negotiate the well-established occurrences of subconscious bias often affiliated with these assessments. Therefore it is important that the organisation recognises that is paramount, in endeavour to illustrate fairness, that all assessors, at all times, must be 50:50; a clear and equal mixture between ethnic minority and white assessors. The study has highlighted that in attempt to ensure fairness, evaluators cannot continue to be predominantly white.

Such an endeavour, would yet again, reduce the opportunities for unconscious bias for any ethnic minorities on the PNAC course. This would help candidates to feel more at ease and encourage fairness and transparency. No ethnicity or gender should be permitted to conduct assessments or interviews on their own. It is important that we understand that one undertaking will not produce change, nor would transformation be perpetrated overnight. However, taking gradual steps within various areas which are currently susceptible to prejudice would eventually amount to the equality which the organisation desperately needs to attain. The MPS

should implement an initiative whereby all assessments must be evaluated by an equally diverse board of assessors.

11.4.1 Direct Entry

This 50:50 assessor initiative should also be incorporated into key schemes such as the Direct Entry Inspector and Direct Entry Superintendent processes. The novelty of these programs may make positive contributions to the disruption of police culture and rigid thinking within the organisation. However, if these opportunities are not utilised to ensure that successful candidates are from diverse backgrounds the MPS runs the risk of perpetuating the current underrepresentation of ethnic minority leaders within the establishment despite having created a strategic opportunity to make significant positive changes through such an initiative.

In doing this, the organisation then continues to allow itself to be vulnerable to the incessant allegations of reluctance to embrace diversity. Having personally participated in the process I can attest to the feelings of discomfort and intimidation which ethnic minorities are likely to encounter when placed in such distinct isolation from both peers and assessors. If evaluators are equally deployed from all groups then not only does it help the organisation to move a step closer to illustrating growth but it also provides a more "equal" playing field for ethnic minority candidates.

11.5 The Compartmentalisation of BMEs

Based on the findings of my research, it is strongly recommended that the terminology currently employed to compartmentalise any individuals who fall outside the BBP forum should be abandoned. The title presently being used, Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) or

Black, Asian and Minority Ethnics (BAME), is outdated and demonstrates a clear lack of understanding of different cultures and ethnicities which, ironically, is of particular importance within policing. As a direct result of this illustration of lack of awareness and understanding, it is debatable that using such inappropriate titles further undermines the MPS's credibility in its ability to police diverse communities across London.

It reinforces the existence of a main group or in this case, the ideal BBP group, and according to the findings of the research, encourages feelings of segregation, intimidation and inferiority. It also provides the opportunity to perpetuate with the infamous "tick box exercise" (which has been illustrated in chapter eight) whereby self-defined BMEs despite their physical appearance or cultural understanding of BMEs are promoted and officially recorded by the organisation as a BME promotion when in reality, this is misleading. Although it is crucial that individuals are recognised as self-defined it is important that there is an acknowledgement of individuality and difference within this BME group.

My research showed that the organisation falls into a false sense of positive growth when BMEs who look white in their physical appearance are promoted. Even though such individuals are in fact BMEs, the diluted appearance still segregates them from many ethnic minority communities. Furthermore, the term BME is far too vague and incongruous. It is not affiliated within any specific culture, history, values, norms, or feeling of "belonging" outside of the common actuality of being different from the main group. Likewise, the term does not require any level of comprehension or genuine appreciation from the members of the main group. The term BME can be perceived to be derogatory, as it suggests that the groups who fall within this BME parasol can all be classed as being either similar to, or the same as their BME counterparts. On the contrary, this in fact could not be further from the truth, but rather exemplifies the ignorance and nonchalance of the dominant group as it relates to diversity.

The members of this so called BME group are in fact all very different individuals with their own distinctive cultures, and these identities can be lost or suppressed under the BME label. A closer perusal of this BME forum would highlight the numerous sub-groups which are unanimously considered to be of completely contrasting backgrounds, cultural values, beliefs and norms. The differences between these groups range from mother languages and religious beliefs to contrasting histories and cultural backgrounds, yet still, the MPS illustrates little understanding of this by categorising all non-white officers as BMEs/BAMEs whilst simultaneously attempting to convince communities that they understand diversity; an irony which is difficult to overlook.

A very simple comparison can be made between Black West Indians, Black Africans, and Black British ethnicities, albeit these are all Black individuals, they all represent different communities, with different norms. Black West Indians and Black Africans can be dissected even further as there are numerous islands in the West Indies affiliated with different cultures, languages, histories and customs. Similarly, an identical rule applies to Africa which is home to 54 countries, 1500 – 2000 African languages and a multitude of cultures. This type of differentiation is far from being specific to one group within this BME parasol as a closer look will reveal that Asians can be further dissected into numerous countries, languages, ethnic groups and other significant differences whereby each would be required to learn about the other. The organisation needs to illustrate an understanding of this by acknowledging and respecting diversity as one does not in fact, represent the other.

This can also usefully be compared with White British nationals; regardless of the British interface which encapsulates these individuals they all proudly represent different countries and will not accept any other suggestion. Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and England are all in fact different nations with different histories, cultures and values. Therefore, albeit these countries constitute the United Kingdom and those from the respective countries can be

referred to as British, to suggest a Scotsman is in fact the same as an English, Welsh or Irishman would indeed be quite offensive as this is not only untrue but it illustrates high levels of disregard and ignorance by whomsoever would have made the suggestion.

If we now put this into context, unlike the example used which represented British nationals, BMEs are not even within the same parasol as per say, same country, nationality, or region; they are all simply non-white with very little or no other similarities. Therefore the mere idea that these individuals can be compartmentalised into one forum is almost inconceivable, and in doing so, highlights a clear disregard for individualism and authenticity. It is therefore of utmost importance, if the MPS is to be seen as taking positive and innovative steps towards demonstrating a deeper and richer understanding of ethnic minority groups, that they desist from labelling non-white officers as BMEs or BAMEs.

Having said that, it is undeniable that understanding that some groups are in fact in the minority is an issue that warrants recognition. However, the manner in which such groups are categorised is of equal importance. Imposing a title to encapsulate the presence of this eccentric group is admittedly a necessity and therefore cannot be circumvented. Nonetheless it is important that the organisation recognises that the title, although unspecific, must illustrate that in acknowledgement of its existence there is also recognition and respect for difference within the group itself. This demonstrates organisational growth and portrays genuine respect for individuality – an endeavour which would help to heal the self-inflicted wounds the organisation has suffered due to previous racist incidents.

11.6 Diverse and Protected Groups

The term Diverse and Protected Groups whilst generic, promotes a deeper understanding of diversity simply by announcing that 1 - these groups are diverse and - 2 there is an

acknowledgement that this diversity should protected. Additionally, a simple but effective method would be to separate the most prominent minority groups - Blacks, Asians, Mixed Race and Self Defined. Yet again, this shows a better understanding of difference and allows for improved accountability and transparency. For example, under the title DPG, additional sub-grouping which is reflective of the precise ethnicity of the officer is essential if this is to be effective. It is crucial that statically, this is recorded as a four strand group as opposed to "one size fits all". Minorities who are recruited or promoted under this banner should be recorded as "Black", "Asian", "Mixed Race" or "Self Defined" specifically to illustrate a more accurate picture of the diversity within the organisation.

Unlike BME or BAME this title does not allude that these groups are similar, nor does it suggest that they are capable of representing one another in the broader sense whenever reference of the DPG group is made. For example, in current proceedings the MPS (when asked) is able to state that they have successfully been able to recruit four (now two - both of whom are mixed race) BMEs into its NPCC ranks. This response is acceptable and considered the norm in terms of providing an account for unrepresented ethnic groups. The use of the term BME within this context simply means that there is no requirement for any additional transparency as BME encapsulates any non-white individual.

My research suggests that in order to be held more accountable, become more transparent, and illustrate a deeper understanding of diversity, this current practice requires modification. The use of the term DPG facilitates this requirement as in such instances, when approached with similar questions, a diminutive response such as "we have two BMEs within our Chief Officer ranks" will require a deeper explanation as the DPG is employed in a more specific context. Therefore a further explanation of exactly what type of minority groups constitutes the two in reference would then become a necessity.

This alteration exemplifies thought and consideration on the MPS's behalf as it demonstrates a deeper understanding of diversity cultures whilst ensuring that the organisation becomes more transparent and accountable for its underrepresented ethnic groups. In addition, it also allows for individuals to retain their individuality within the workplace in mitigating the link to unrelated cultures. The title Diverse and Protected Groups is significantly more politically fit for purpose as it holistically encapsulates ethnicities which are currently in the minority whilst demonstrating courtesy and recognition for individual difference. This is key if the establishment is to show that it is desirous of positive and proactive growth within diversity and inclusion issues.

The ultimate goal is to have an organisation which adequately reflects the community it serves and changing the title BME supports this aspiration in that diversity issues would become far more transparent in constricting the grip of accountability. Hiding behind the generic use of the term BME will inexorably become an occurrence of the past. This undertaking would also assist the organisation to move away from the assumption that any BME group can represent or connect with any BME community or vice versa. If these recommendations are employed there would be an enhanced aura of awareness and transparency. The organisation would therefore be in a stronger position to further understand its workforce to community ratios in a less generic way and thus become far more accountable when articulating why specific groups (and not just the generic "BME") are not being appointed in certain positions; more specific to the research, within the realms if of the NPCC.

Although seemingly quite simple at a cursory glance, the impact of such a venture would have an enormous impact on the ability for ethnic groups to progress as it would expose, in a much more accurate way, which minority groups are particularly undeveloped within the MPS. This would, in the long-term, provide a more balanced platform for diversity development and therefore contribute towards better chances for a diversification of the elite. A diverse police

service at all ranks would inevitably assist the MPS to not only understand, but build and sustain effective relationships with its diverse communities.

11.7 Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this study has been to understand why there is such poor representation of BMEs within the NPCC ranks of the London Metropolitan Police Service. In light of this, the investigation provided detailed accounts from a significant sample of the executive and senior operational officers within the MPS. These accounts highlighted the lived experiences of these officers and as such, provided a unique platform for comparison and learning. The research findings therefore aid our understanding of the complexities involved throughout the journey to the top tier of the Met. It provides a detailed account of how some individuals have risen to the top and also describes how and why other aspiring officers have not. The study employed two theories to be examined – Social Networks and Police Culture. The research also examined the British Bobby Physiognomies typology and how this impacts on the promotion of BMEs into the elite.

The theory of social networks initiated a comprehensive perusal of all the previous Commissioners who were historically appointed to lead the MPS and exposed common attributes of these appointees. In doing so, the study prompted the creation of the British Bobby Physiognomies typology, and the ideology that there are very specific educational prerequisites when seeking to appoint MPS Commissioners. The aims and objectives of the research focussed on examining the relevance of these theories and typology in terms of the organisation's inability to employ a more diverse group of leaders, and, recommend feasible methods of disrupting any counterproductive practices identified during the investigation.

The findings confirmed that there are in fact two entry points into the MPS - one for the dominant group referred to as the BBP and the other for minority groups. These entry points seem perfectly equal when viewed through formal lenses but the existence of informal sub-cultures and processes means that members who enter outside of the dominant group commence their careers at an immediate disadvantage. The empirical data reiterated this and referred to this handicap as "*starting at number 4 as opposed to starting at number 10*". This finding is supportive of the BBP typology.

This study has also demonstrated that the higher the promotion, the more difficult it becomes for the ethnic minority candidate (BBP Induced Cycle) to be promoted. Furthermore, within the realms of the NPCC, acceptance becomes less about ability and explicit criteria, and more about "fitting into" this elite NPCC network. In essence, selection at this stage of any officer's career is not as fair and transparent as it may be when seeking to be promoted at much lower ranks. The research concludes that social networks within this elite network is rife and plays an instrumental role in how officers are recruited and then further engendered to be a part of this group (Simon & Warner, 1992; Rivera, 2012). Similar minded individuals form the nucleus of the network, and any acceptance of difference, especially minority ethnics, is uncomfortable for members. This difference is more tolerable within the lower ranks of the organisation.

The NPCC network is built through strong ties as opposed to weak ones (Bian, 1997). It possesses a culture that not only regulates how people behave, what they pay attention to, and the manner in which they respond to various situations – but in addition, it also influences how individuals mingle with new members and, disregard those who do not fit in (Montgomery et al 2011). In addition, the research concludes that this elite group possesses its own unofficial rules and protocols. There is hierarchy within the structure of the network and some officers are held in lower esteem than others.

Furthermore, recommendations from unpopular members can be counter-productive for mentees as it is the word of mouth within the network which carries significant influence in being afforded opportunities. These unofficial recommendations supersede that of any corporate process and can be of significant benefit to the individual being referenced. The network provides the co-production of opportunities as part of its recruitment strategy and in doing so, ensures members are professionally developed. This strategy is helpful, as it means individuals who benefit from such opportunities become more competent and confident officers and as such, are better placed to be promoted.

The investigation revealed that this is not the case for BME officers. On the contrary, this group finds promotion to be challenging and increasingly difficult the higher rank. The BME group undergoes a constant battle to be accepted at each stage of the promotion process which in some cases triggers feeling of resentment and or a desire to leave the organisation. Additionally, members of the group have been inclined to feel as if being appointed within the NPCC is "not for them" and can therefore be reluctant to proactively take steps to apply in fear of rejection. Furthermore, unlike network members, there is little support for BMEs in preparation for promotion into the elite. The co-production of opportunities which exist for members are non-existent for BMEs, instead, BMEs often need to challenge the fairness of the process to be given opportunities. This is a time consuming and tedious task that reduces momentum and results in reduced opportunities to attain executive rank.

The investigation found that the organisation's occupational culture is resistant to diversity (Loftus, 2009; PCC, 2014) and is mostly responsive to significant events which induce reflection and demands reform (Zhao et al, 1999) [Police Culture Diagrams stages 1 – 5]. It was highlighted that the organisation employs a rigid way of thinking and is defensive - particularly in terms of diversity (EHRC, 2016). The MPS does little to accept failure but instead prefers to apportion blame. The study also shows that the Met does not understand

diversity in its broader context and would promote self-defined BMEs (who are white in physical appearance) in an endeavour to "tick the right boxes". Promotion of BMEs into senior ranks of the Met is not a priority for the organisation, nonetheless, this is in dire need of change.

This defensive culture and lack of understanding resists the pressures of the external entities demanding change [Police Culture Diagrams stages 1 – 5]. As a result, the cultural norms and values of the organisation remains unaltered (Loftus, 2009). Any changes within diversity and inclusion become superficial. The act of homophily within the organisation's dominant network perpetuates this issue as "outsiders" are prevented from partaking in the strategic decision making process (Berry et al, 2004). In addition, the capabilities of this group are limited as they are unable to adequately connect with or understand the issues of other groups (Burt, 2004). The organisation needs to prescribe to Burt's structural holes theory to help change the rigid way of thinking and become more informed of issues across networks (Burt, 2004). This would increase the likelihood of positive change as information would become available to officers at this very senior and strategic level.

The British Bobby Physiognomies and British Bobby Physiognomies Induced Cycle have proved to be very accurate descriptions of the lived experiences of the BME population. The quest for promotion has been described to be similar to negotiating a "snakes and ladder board" and not "fitting into the syndicate". The Metropolitan Police Service needs to re-think its policies and protocols – especially as it relates to access to the elite. If these changes are not implemented, the physical characteristics of the elite members of the organisation would not change any time soon – and BMEs will continue to be underrepresented at these executive ranks.

11.8 Future Research

A more detailed research should be conducted in order to obtain a deeper understanding of the MPS's preferences when accepting and recruiting "outsiders" into the elite. For example, White females, Black Females, Asian Females, Black Males, Mixed Race Males, Asian Males, and so and so forth. The research clearly suggests that there is in fact an organisational preference when accepting and recruiting individuals who differ from the main group. However, this theory has not been fully explored and requires further research.

It is also recommended that further and more in depth comparisons are conducted between the MPS and organisations where hiring quotas were employed to address diversity issues. This would provide the MPS with a clearer and methodical approach to perhaps adopting similar strategies. The research also suggests that a future investigation should be conducted to measure the success of the research recommendations in order to ascertain the benefits of this study. The BBP Typology requires further exploration. It is recommended that a more quantitative based approach is adopted in future to test this typology. Colour coding theories should also be examined to understand, in much more detail, the varying levels of prejudice encountered by minority groups.

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